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CONTENTS

OF

Nos. 398, 399, AND 400.

No. 398.—APRIL, 1904.

ART.		PAGE
I.	The British Mercantile Marine	323
II.	The Art of the French Renaissance	355
III.	Gabriele D'Annunzio	383
IV.	Recent Æsthetics	420
V.	Retaliation and Scientific Taxation	444
VI.	Leslie Stephen and his Works	468
VII.	The Novels of Thomas Hardy	499
VIII.	The Peninsular War: Baylen and Corunna	524
IX.	Marco Polo and his Followers in Central Asia	553
X.	Russia and Japan	576
XI.	Chinese Labour for South Africa	611
XII.	The Political Situation	623

No. 399.—JULY, 1904.

I.	The Meaning of Literary History	1
II.	Giotto and Early Italian Art	27
III.	Recent Lights on Ancient Egypt	48
IV.	European Thought in the Nineteenth Century	76
V.	A Great French Scholar	101
VI.	The Sleeping Sickness	113
VII.	The Laws of the Anglo-Saxons	139
VIII.	The Novels of Sir A. Conan Doyle	158
IX.	The Tsar	180
X.	India under Lord Curzon	210
XI.	The Life and Philosophy of Herbert Spencer	240
XII.	The Japanese Revolution	268
XIII.	The Militia and Volunteers	309

No. 400.—OCTOBER, 1904.

I.	The Panama Canal and Maritime Commerce	329
II.	The 'Advocatus Diaboli' on the Divina Commedia	358
III.	The Palace of Knossos	374
IV.	The Polish Nation	396
V.	The Influence of Kant on Modern Thought	420
VI.	Thomas Traherne and the Religious Poetry of the Seventeenth Century	437
VII.	The Animals of Africa	465
VIII.	The Coming Presidential Election in the United States	493
IX.	British Rule in Egypt	526
X.	Fatigue	556
XI.	French Painting in the Middle Ages	576
XII.	Higher Education in Wales	599
XIII.	The Case of the Scottish Churches	626

145138

CONTENTS

OF

No. 402.—JANUARY, 1905.

PAGE

ART. I.—WILLIAM STUBBS, CHURCHMAN AND HISTORIAN - 1

1. Letters of William Stubbs, Bishop of Oxford, 1825–1901. Edited by W. H. Hutton. London: Constable, 1904.
2. Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum: an attempt to exhibit the course of Episcopal Succession in England. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1858.

And other works.

ART. II.—HORACE WALPOLE AND WILLIAM COWPER - 35

1. The Letters of Horace Walpole, fourth Earl of Orford. Chronologically arranged and edited with notes and indices by Mrs Paget Toynbee. Sixteen vols. In progress. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903.
2. The Correspondence of William Cowper. Arranged in chronological order with annotations by Thomas Wright. Four vols. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1904.

And other works.

ART. III.—PROFIT-SHARING AND COPARTNERSHIP - - 61

1. Co-operative Production. Publications of the Labour Copartnership Association, 1901–3. Central Office, 15 Southampton Street, Holborn, W.C.
2. Twenty Years of Copartnership at Guise. With introduction by Mr Thomas Burt, M.P. Translated from the French by Aneurin Williams. Labour Copartnership Association, 15 Southampton Street, Holborn, W.C.

And other works.

ART. IV.—THE MAKING OF THE UNITED STATES - - 88

The Cambridge Modern History. Planned by the late Lord Acton; edited by A. W. Ward, G. W. Prothero, and Stanley Leathes. Vol. VII. (The United States.) Cambridge: University Press, 1903.

And other works.

PAGE

ART. V.—POULTRY-KEEPING AS A BUSINESS - - - 125

1. Our Poultry. By Harrison Weir. Two vols. London: Hutchinson, 1904.
2. The New Book of Poultry. By Lewis Wright. London: Cassell, 1902.

And other works.

ART. VI.—THE TUDORS AND THE NAVY - - - - 145

1. The Principall Navigations, Voyages, and Discoveries of the English Nation. By Richard Hakluyt. New edition, in twelve volumes. In progress. Glasgow: Maclehose, 1903–4.
2. The Naval Tracts of Sir William Monson. Vols I and II. Edited for the Navy Records Society by M. Oppenheim. London, 1902–3.

And other works.

ART. VII.—CANON AINGER - - - - - - - - 169

1. Charles Lamb. By Alfred Ainger. (English Men of Letters Series.) London: Macmillan, 1882.
2. The Letters of Charles Lamb. Edited, with introduction and notes, by Alfred Ainger. Two vols. London: Macmillan, 1888.

And other works.

ART. VIII.—THE DIRECTION AND METHOD OF EDUCATION 197

1. Code of Regulations for Public Elementary Schools, with Schedules, 1904. [Cd. 2074.]
2. Regulations for the Training of Teachers and for the Examination of Students in Training Colleges, 1904. [Cd. 2134.]

And other works.

ART. IX.—MATTHEW ARNOLD - - - - - - - 221

1. Poetical Works of Matthew Arnold. London and New York: Macmillan, 1891.
2. Letters of Matthew Arnold, 1848–1888. Collected and arranged by George W. E. Russell. Two vols. London and New York: Macmillan, 1895.

And other works.

ART. X.—TARIFFS AND NATIONAL WELL-BEING - - 250

1. Modern Tariff History: Germany, United States, France. By Percy Ashley. With a preface by the Right Hon. R. B. Haldane, M.P. London: Murray, 1904.
2. The Rise and Decline of the Free-trade Movement. By W. Cunningham, D.D. Cambridge: Clay, 1904.

And other works.

ART. XI.—THE WAR IN THE FAR EAST - - - - 280

ART. XII.—THE PRIME MINISTER'S DUTY - - - 309

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2. *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum: an attempt to exhibit the course of Episcopal Succession in England.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1858.
3. *Select Charters and other illustrations of English Constitutional History.* Ninth edition. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901.
4. *The Constitutional History of England in its Origin and Development.* Three vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1874–8.
5. *Seventeen Lectures on the Study of Modern and Medieval History.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1886.
6. *Ordination Addresses.* Edited by E. E. Holmes. London: Longmans, 1901.
7. *Historical Introductions to the Rolls Series.* Collected and edited by Arthur Hassall. London: Longmans, 1902.
8. *Visitation Charges delivered to the Clergy and Churchwardens of the Dioceses of Chester and Oxford.* Edited by E. E. Holmes. London: Longmans, 1904.
9. *Lectures on European History.* Edited by Arthur Hassall. London: Longmans, 1904.

I.

THE letters of the late Bishop of Oxford, William Stubbs, edited by Mr W. H. Hutton with the care and appreciation which belong to a labour of love, help us to understand the strength and depth of character of one who

was not only among the first of English historians, but was also a great ecclesiastic and a remarkable man. We can see in these pages how much the practical work of the Church gained in compensation for the loss to science and literature when Dr Stubbs became a bishop, and brought to the counsels of the episcopate and to the guidance of a diocese his wealth of learning and his thoroughness of thought. We see him as a churchman of strong views, lofty aims, and distinctive powers. We see also how a character, naturally reserved, self-reliant, but somewhat timid in utterance, independent of others, but by no means anxious for power, was disciplined and strengthened by the opportunities and the troubles of life.

The reminiscences incorporated in the memoir show that he was 'a strenuous worker from his earliest years.' He owed his historic taste and gifts in a large measure to his father, who was a solicitor at Knaresborough, and set him as a boy to read charters and old documents. He soon learnt to discern the difference between classical and medieval Latin, and became familiar with medieval phraseology. While at school in Knaresborough he was not only learning classics, but was also laying another foundation; 'he was learning and thinking deeply of religious matters.' All through his life he recurred to the benefit which he had derived from attending the Bible lessons given by a Mrs Stevens 'in a little room off Kirkgate.' He gave early evidence of his love of fun and of his political bent; at the age of six he 'was privileged to wave the true-blue Tory flag in the face of Henry Brougham.'

No man perhaps was more easily misunderstood, and therefore he was by many undervalued. One cause of this was his keen sense of the ridiculous. Canon Liddon wrote to him on his appointment to the see of Chester: 'You will have to be on your guard against looking at persons and events from the critical and humorous side'; but the Bishop could not, and perhaps would not, accept the warning; he would be himself and nothing else. Another cause of his being misunderstood was his contempt for public opinion. As he said in his first visitation charge in the diocese of Oxford: 'If I am told that I am an unmitigated sectarian, I will answer, I am

sure I do not care.' So, from his playfulness and from his independence, some thought him indifferent, when in truth he was the very reverse. No one who observed even his sturdy walk as he planted his short steps with quickness and firmness could fail to detect a character of precision and decision, while the twinkle of his eye showed his lightness and geniality. His apparent levity was never frivolity; it sometimes cloaked grave displeasure; but chiefly it was the natural and irrepressible manner of relieving the tedium of listening to irrelevant speech. He disliked lengthy discussions, and, as we are told,

'he often relieved the tedium of meetings which seemed to him to do no practical good by the manufacture of epigrams. Here is one which he wrote . . . when waiting for others to come before business could be begun:—

"To the *l'État c'est moi* of Louis le Roi
A parallel case I afford.
Something like it, you see, may be said about me;
Am I not the Diocesan Boar'd?"'

He was always a reader of stories. The ceaseless activity of his brain made him buy a novel as he started on a railway journey to occupy his thoughts without much strain. He was interested even by inferior writings, for he used to dissect the plot, expose the improbabilities of it, if there were such, and with merciless severity condemn any looseness of moral tone. There is no doubt that there were those who disliked seeing him read 'such trash' in a railway train. He knew they did, but he took his own line, and never would appear to be what he was not. But these were merely his relaxations.

'His note-book' (at the time of his ordination by Wilberforce) 'shows that he threw himself ardently into two studies, the study of theology and the study of the past history of his college. Early church history was analysed and digested by him with the minute accuracy which marked all his work.'

Naturally, with his strong convictions and his ardent love for the Church, he resented the effect of Liberalism on his University. He held that it

'Made our Oxford fall a prey
To that foul Chevalier,

Who Bunsen hight, with Arnold's might
And Puritanic zeal,
Struck the first blow that broke the strength
Of England's Church's weal.'

In 1850 he was ordained priest at Cuddesdon; and next day he was presented to the living of Navestock. At Navestock his parochial work and his time for study prepared him for his life's great work. The lines he wrote on undertaking the charge of his parish show how he linked the natural and the spiritual.

'Is not this
As fair a portion of my Master's garden
As e'er was blessed in Eden? Who am I
To till and keep the souls that surely draw
Some inspiration from the scenes they dwell in?'

His fulfilment of his duty as parish priest was exemplary, and his diligence in historical study bore noble fruit. The appendix in which Mr Hutton has given a list of the Bishop's works gives convincing evidence of the wide range of his literary work and of the editor's careful labour. It will be noted that the list contains no reviews. The Bishop used to say that he never would be induced to write one. It was at Navestock that he compiled his 'Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum,' a work of profound research and scrupulous accuracy. It may be doubted whether this book commands the attention it deserves. He offered it 'as a contribution to ecclesiastical history in the departments of biography and exact chronology'; and Mr Hutton truly writes of it:—

'It may be said, briefly, that it has become an indispensable assistance to the student of English history. Its extraordinary accuracy, and the width of knowledge which is shown in the list of authorities, in print and manuscript, are the merits which are most conspicuous.'

In 1862 he was appointed by Archbishop Longley Librarian at Lambeth. This post afforded him opportunities for study and original research of which he made an exemplary use. His labours in writing the introductions to many of the volumes of the Rolls Series were signal. As Mr Hutton remarks,

'The rescue of the memory of the great Archbishop Dunstan from the ignorant abuse of Protestant controversialists, and the equally unhistorical defence of Roman hagiologists, was one of the first and greatest services which Stubbs rendered to our national history.'

He was severe on Dean Hook's 'Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury,' specially on Hook's 'Life of Becket.'

'His view of the martyr' (he writes to Freeman) 'is a singular Erastian view that takes its own measure of every person or act and maintains its own conclusion, by Hook or by Crook, for I cannot look on it as straightforward.' ('Letters,' p. 94.)

In 1866 he left Navestock, and delivered his first lecture as Professor of Modern History at Oxford on February 7, 1867. Mr J. R. Green went down from Stepney to hear it, and wrote in the 'Saturday Review': 'The hopes which were excited by the selection of Mr Stubbs are more than justified by the inaugural lecture which is now before us.' The following sentence quoted by Mr Hutton shows the spirit in which he regarded his new task:—

'There is, I speak humbly, in common with natural science, in the study of living history, a gradual approximation to a consciousness that we are growing into a perception of the workings of the Almighty Ruler of the world; that we are growing able to justify the Eternal Wisdom, and by that justification to approve ourselves His children.'

His 'Constitutional History,' published in 1874-1878, was the chief work of his professorship. It showed that the editor of medieval texts was also a great original thinker; and a sentence in his preface gives an insight into his characteristic views on historical study, especially the study of constitutional history.

'The history of institutions has a deep value and an abiding interest to those who have courage to work upon it. It presents, in every branch, a regularly developed series of causes and consequences, and abounds in examples of that continuity of life the realisation of which is necessary to give the reader a personal hold on the past and a right judgment of the present. For the roots of the present lie deep in the past; and nothing in the past is dead to the man who would learn how the present comes to be what it is.'

The influence of historical study on Dr Stubbs himself was profound. He was a Conservative because to him Radicalism was subversive of the idea of a nation's growth and progress. To change for the sake of changing was to him odious, because it ran counter to his conviction that the life of a nation, as the life of an individual, when viewed in its real proportions, is an exemplification of God's dealings with men. Decided as he was in politics, he was no partisan. He could be, and often was, as severe, if not more severe, on the acts of those with whom in theory he agreed as he was on the acts of those to whom he was on principle opposed. The Local Government Act was a grievous offence to him, because he saw that it was drafted in forgetfulness or in ignorance of 'the most elementary truths of our constitution.' How keen his perception of what those truths were, what they involved, and what evil consequences must follow from disregarding them, he never disguised. It was to him a removing of landmarks which were to be retained not in a mere sentimental reverence for the past, but as a practical method of safeguarding local interests, while they also gave evidence of cohesion and continuity as strongly as they limited the sphere in which men were to act.

His power of concentration, his quickness of thought and rapidity of writing, along with accurate assignment of every detail to its proper place in his memory, were astonishing. To see him at work was a lesson, but it was a lesson few could learn. For instance, when he was finally correcting the masterly introduction to William of Malmesbury, he went to Paris to consult the manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale; and, finding a more trustworthy document than he had expected, he laid his thick quarto note-book on the desk and said, 'I must take some time about this; it will take me longer than I expected.' In very little more than an hour he verified every word about which he had a doubt, and that from a manuscript which it would have taken many men a long time to read. Of course he had the words marked in his note-book before he went to Paris; but the rapidity with which he hit upon the word in the manuscript, and the quickness with which he wrote any correction which was needed, were very remarkable. This power of concentration, along with rapid execution, made him somewhat impatient of

those who, as he expressed it, 'would not give five minutes' to learn how to read or decipher ancient manuscripts. He would not allow that any one was incapable of doing it.

His capacity for historic research and his power to found a school of historic learning were recognised by Mr Gladstone, who, in thanking him for a copy of the 'Lectures,' wrote:—

'I am under a painful impression that the Oxford of our day has for the time damaged the great final examination in the Classical School, and that this damage will tell, and is telling, on the men whom she sends into the world. This impression, be it correct or not, only intensifies my desire for the fulfilment of your inspiring anticipations, and my pleasure in what has already been achieved—owing most of all, I believe, to you—for the foundation of an Oxford School of History.' ('Letters,' p. 148.)

In the foundation of that school, and in the encouragement of right methods of research, perhaps no book has had more influence than his volume of 'Select Statutes,' a book whose example has been more or less successfully followed by numerous similar collections, both in this country and America.

With the views which he held on the need of exact accuracy in historical work, it was not unnatural that Bishop Stubbs thought lightly of Froude and Kingsley as historians. His epigram on these writers is well known.

'Froude informs the Scottish youth
That parsons do not care for truth.
The Reverend Canon Kingsley cries
History is full of lies.
What cause for judgments so malign?
This short reflexion solves the mystery:
Froude believes Kingsley a divine,
And Kingsley goes to Froude for history.'

It is impossible to overrate the importance of the work done by Dr Stubbs on the Royal Commission appointed in 1881, by Mr Gladstone's advice, to 'inquire into the constitution and working of the Ecclesiastical Courts.' Dr Stubbs was present at every one of the seventy-five sessions of the Commission, and he also gave evidence before it. He, with Dr Westcott, saw the danger of Erastianism; and both did their utmost to

avert it. Although he did not think the general Report the best conceivable, he signed it without reservation, because he was convinced

'that the one thing to do, after having fought our view fairly as we have done, was to strengthen the recommendations *as a whole* as much as we could, and to weaken them as little as we could.' ('Letters,' p. 229.)

Mr Gladstone, on reading the papers which Dr Stubbs had presented to the Commission, wrote:—

'I have read the papers so kindly sent me with much interest, and I think there is not anything of what you have said against the present Court of Appeal in which I do not concur.'

Those who read his evidence before the Commission will observe how confident he was that Convocation is truly a Provincial Synod, and that the *Præmunientes* clause in the writ summoning the bishops to Parliament 'has no reference whatever to the Convocation of the Clergy.'

But perhaps the greatest service which he rendered to the Commission and to the Church was the historical draft prepared by him to deal with the subject of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and a paper of suggestions, in which he clearly shows how well balanced his judgment was as to the relation between Church and State; these suggestions ought, indeed, to be read as a whole, but two salient points may be given:—

'In case of any readjustment of rights and duties between Church and State, the clergy have a right to accept or refuse by the action of their representative assemblies. . . . The Privy Council is a body which, neither by its history nor by its composition, has any claim for special regard as a supreme judicial tribunal.' And again: 'I believe that it obtained its legal position, as regards the matters now before us, by a culpable oversight; it has worked calamitously for the Church of England, having done more than anything else to promote the growth of Roman Catholic influence.' ('Letters,' p. 222.)

When we consider the way in which Lord Brougham pushed the Bill through Parliament 'without debate,' Dr Stubbs's words seem not too strong. Dr Stubbs's resolution, seconded by Lord Bath, was lost. It provided that, for lack of justice in any of the courts of the arch-

bishops of this realm, it should be lawful to the parties grieved to appeal to the Queen's Majesty in Council; whereupon the Lord Chancellor was to examine such appeal and to report whether the points in dispute were of temporal or civil right, or of spiritual law; the former to be determined by the Judicial Committee, the latter by the archbishops and bishops of the two provinces.

The proceedings of the Commission terminated on July 13, 1883; and on February 7, 1884, Dr Stubbs received a letter from Mr Gladstone proposing to him that he should succeed Bishop Jacobson in the diocese of Chester; a proposal which, after some hesitation, he accepted. He went to Chester with full parochial experience and great learning, taking with him the same simplicity of life and manners with which he used to welcome his friends at Kettel Hall. It struck many with surprise that one who had been essentially a student and devoted to literary work could throw himself into the business of his diocese with the energy which he displayed. He distrusted mere organisation, and steadily refused to be organised himself. He relied on his own judgment both as to men and matters, and did not value conferences or boards very highly; yet no one could deny the prudence, wisdom, or utility of the papers drawn up by him for the guidance of his diocese on Church defence, elementary education, and study. He was not satisfied with the outcome; like other bishops, he found a lack of men who would vigorously use the material which he furnished. The rapidity with which he saw the point in debate and the issue of a course of action, his concise statement of the bearing of what had been said, and his appreciation of it, often took his hearers aback, and some took offence, although the Bishop's shafts were never tipped with venom, and his irony could wound none but the oversensitive.

On his coming into the diocese he had to consider whether he would continue to adopt the eastward position when celebrating the Holy Communion in the Cathedral. He knew that the Dean did not approve of his doing so; but the Bishop wrote:—

'As we do not think alike on this point, I am sure you will do me the justice of believing that I act on reasons which seem to me to be sufficient.'

He had, on being ordained priest in 1850, satisfied himself that the eastward position was allowed, if not enjoined, by the rubric, and he had never taken any other position. He made up his mind, saying, 'I will not sail under false colours.' He thought that the practice was more seemly, but did not wish to influence others. The position, he held, did not affect the validity of the sacrament; he adopted it because of his conviction that it was permissible and preferable.

Ritual, as such, had no attraction for him; ritualistic elaboration rather irritated him, as obscuring, while adding no dignity to, the deep verities of Christian worship. But no one who saw his 'three congés,' after the manner of Laud, as he walked up towards his throne in the Cathedral, could doubt what was in his mind. There was absolute simplicity and a complete absence of ostentation, joined with a quiet dignity and subdued reverence which expressed his sense that he was in a holy place, and that he was about to do homage to the King Eternal. If he was sometimes betrayed into an act or phrase which might be deemed to contradict this attitude of mind, it was a protest against what seemed to him unreality through excess. But no one could be more tolerant of the ways of others, whether on the side of defect or of excess, as he judged things. He never would be severe on what he termed 'accidental irreverence.' Intention was the standard by which he ruled and measured the acts of those with whom he had to do. He specially disliked long letters; and, if they appeared to him superfluous, he sometimes returned a curt answer. It is related that, having been consulted about the propriety of placing curtains in a church, he answered on a post-card in three words, 'Hang your curtains.' It was certainly a permission, but also an intimation that the letter need not have been written.

His successor in the see of Oxford truly writes, in the admirable sketch which he has contributed:—

'Perhaps what most of all helped people to misunderstand him was a nervous and almost morbid dread of anything like display. Almost morbid, I say; because I think that sometimes he came near displaying what was not real for fear of being tempted into displaying what was.' ('Letters,' p. 407.)

A very simple incident reported from Chester illustrates the truth of this sentence. An American who often visited Chester, and whose grandfather had been Subdean of the Cathedral, met the Bishop, and asked leave to shake hands. The Bishop put both hands behind his back, and, laughing heartily, asked: 'Why in the world do you wish to shake hands with me?' The American answered: 'My lord, I wish to touch the hand that wrote the "Constitutional History of England."' The Bishop instantly relaxed and heartily shook hands; he was ready enough to oblige an American who took a real interest in the constitution of the old country.

Of another characteristic, the present Bishop of Oxford writes with equal truth:—

'I do not think that it is strange or puzzling that he used great reserve. For his was a singularly strong and thoughtful and penetrating mind; he looked often, and saw deep, into the pathos of life; it seemed the element he most discerned and felt, as with an instinctive sympathy; and those who so watch life have many thoughts they cannot freely talk of.'

So it was that he earned a bad report because of his apparent want of sympathy; he could not bear to express it. When his chaplain said to him, 'Bishop, you would like to see the man,' he would answer, 'Don't you know that I hate to see my fellow-men?'

Before Dr Stubbs's translation to Oxford, the Archbishop of Canterbury asked him to act as an assessor in the Bishop of Lincoln's case. He refused, and, in a letter to the Dean of St. Paul's, gave reasons for his refusal.

'The very fact of my being named as assessor would weaken the authority of the Court in the eyes of the hostile party, whilst my disbelief in the constitutional competency of his Court disqualified me from honestly acting as a member of it.' ('Letters,' p. 319.)

The Archbishop urged that the court would be deemed incomplete without him; and the Dean of St Paul's advised him to accede. The Bishop yielded, but he made it plain that the whole business was distasteful to him, that he had no particular knowledge of the points in dispute, no aptitude for adjudicating or advising on a subject which he thought ought to have been at once

dismissed. Nor did he disguise that he was impatient at the thought of a friend, whom he revered as a saint of God, being brought to trial by those who had a very questionable right in law to do so. He wished it to be clearly understood that the decision was the decision of the Archbishop alone. In his second charge to the clergy of Oxford, he said (p. 154):—

'I believe that the cautions expressed in the last paragraph of the Archbishop's decision are still necessary, but that good men on both sides have seriously taken them to heart: "The Church has a right to ask that her congregations may not be divided either by needless pursuance or by exaggerated suspicions of practices not in themselves illegal."'

The Bishop has left it on record that his responsibility as regards the decision begins and ends with the two words, 'exaggerated suspicions.' It is an expression which contains a rebuke for those who stoop to 'discredited expedients.' However, when the decision was made public, he wished it to be obeyed. It might be inferred from his action on the Royal Commission that, in his view, the competent tribunal would have been the archbishops and the other bishops of the province; but the Bishop has left no such opinion on record.

His letter to the Archbishop on the 'joint action of Convocations' has unfortunately been lost sight of. He showed that

'the whole question turns on the point whether or no it is competent for the Crown and the Church, on the terms and within the conditions of the first clause of the Submission of the Clergy, to co-operate for the summoning and holding of such a national synod as is desired.' And he 'was unable to see that the two archbishops, singly or conjointly, can by their ordinary power either assemble the two Convocations in a national synod, or bring them together for a joint sitting, or assemble any bodies of the same constitution and character.'

He would have preferred to make the best use of the organisation we have; he did not join in the outcry that Convocation did not represent the Church. Convocation is summoned, not to represent aggregations of individuals, but to represent the several jurisdictions which constitute the powers of the Church—bishops as representing their jurisdiction, chapters and archdeaconries as representing

theirs. He looked with more than disfavour on the meetings in London of the Convocations gathering as Committees with laymen, who have no right to be present at a Committee of Convocation; the whole thing was to him unreal, if not something more. Had he lived to see the meeting of what is called the Representative Church Council, his opinion of it can scarcely be a matter of doubt. His words, written with reference to the other proposal, would apply with greater force to this:—

'I cannot believe that the conclusions of such an assembly, if brought together, would carry more legal weight than those of the Central Council of Diocesan Conferences.'

His opinion, formed after a survey of historic precedents and of constitutional principles, led him to write: 'I think that the joint sitting would require a writ of its own.'

He deprecated the passing of resolutions on which the Church could not act because of her historic constitution. In his second visitation charge he said:—

'We have so long maintained the legal and constitutional continuity of the Church before and after the Reformation that it becomes a matter of mental difficulty to enter into the arguments of those who would deny it; of the Puritan who believes us to be an Act of Parliament Church, and the Romanist who believes that Henry VIII was our founder.'

To contemplate any such departure from our constitutional position as might either obscure or destroy it was to him a mental distress. He laboured and wrote to prove that our own Church had 'an organic constitution and political or ecclesiastico-political independence as a National Church before and since our breach with Rome.' He was not at all confident about seeking legislative powers for a brand-new constitution; for to go to Parliament was a course wholly different from acknowledging the supremacy of the Crown. The law advisers of the Crown might be timid and hesitate about writs or even about letters of business; but Parliament might be rash and pass, in ignorance or in malicious defiance of the just rights of the Church, measures wrong in themselves and disastrous in their consequences.

His speech in the Upper House of the Convocation of

Canterbury on the reform of Convocation, like his third visitation charge, showed that he was well satisfied with Convocation as it is, and how moderate was his idea of what he termed 'a fair reform.' It was in effect to assimilate the constitution of the province of Canterbury to that of the province of York, so that there should be two proctors elected in each archdeaconry 'to represent the counsel and consent of the body.' He had increasing confidence that the practical benefits of co-operation between the two provinces were 'being realised now in the sympathetic mutual confidence of the two provincial assemblies.'

Some have thought that it was a mistake that he was taken from his historical work and made a bishop; but perhaps enough has been said to show that there is another side to that question. It is unfortunately true that the Church of England and all who study history have lost an invaluable instalment of his historical work. He had prepared more than an outline of the history of England in relation to the Church during the Tudor period; he had all the bearings of it well arranged in his mind; but when he accepted a bishopric he gave up the project. On the one hand, he felt that the task would interfere with the discharge of the duties and responsibilities which he had undertaken; on the other, he knew that the work could not be done without frequent visits to the British Museum, and even journeys abroad to consult the archives of foreign states. He therefore resolutely put his unfinished task aside, because, like his colleague of Peterborough and London, he knew that the work of an historian is incompatible with that of a modern bishop.

His preaching was not what is called popular; but no one who heard him could doubt the strength of his convictions or the depth of his feeling. Whether on the subject of prayer unfeigned, or on the historic claim of the Church of England to be to us the Church of God, the tone of his words was as forcible and direct as it was lofty and spiritual. He was conscious of his own power, but no man ever made a more modest use of it; he never employed it to wound, although he never shrank from exposing a fallacy or from proving how untenable a position was in which he detected a false principle. He took pains to show the mistake which men sometimes

make who believe themselves to be resting on principle when they are 'using a shallow argument of expediency or a taking piece of clap-trap.'

In his attitude towards Biblical research his natural conservatism was apparent. He used to enforce with an earnestness all the more remarkable because of his restrained and quiet manner, that the Bible was a trust from which we were not 'to construct theories or to concoct conundrums,' but that we should use it 'as a treasury of preaching definite doctrines which we pledged ourselves to as believers and maintainers.' On leaving the Cathedral Church of Chester, after hearing an able sermon on the Incarnation, in what may be termed the 'Lux Mundi' style, he is reported to have said: 'I prefer the Gospel in its original form.' He was impatient of speculation on a revealed fact which is outside human experience, but which, as revealed, is seen to be a sure basis for the Christian religion, with all its ethical and spiritual power. He did not believe that the superstructure built upon Philippians ii, 7 was warranted. He held that St Paul gave the full meaning of 'He humbled Himself' in the words which follow, 'taking the form of a servant,' so that the passage means that He Who from all eternity was God, became also in time very Man. So, when the present Bishop of Worcester resigned the position of Principal Librarian of the Pusey House, Dr Stubbs, as Chairman of the Governors of that institution, wrote to the Rev. R. L. Ottley ('Letters,' p. 336) to express his strong feeling that the House ought not in any way to be connected with 'any suspicion of patronising the negative side of the historic criticism of the Old Testament,' or with 'a theory on the Incarnation which had been attributed to the retiring Principal'; and he continued:—

'You know the point about Phil. ii, 7, and that I regard this as very critical. Now I know, from what you have told me yourself, that you are inclined to value the Higher Criticism more than I do; but the more important and direct point touching the Incarnation I have no doubt of your sympathy upon, although you might not use exactly the same language that I should. It is in this assurance that I offer you my best sympathy in the task that you are thinking of taking up.'

Believing as he did in the divine origin and the con-

tinuity of the Church, it was natural that he should sometimes speak of the danger of disestablishment as one which might be regarded with comparative equanimity. He made it plain, indeed, that the term itself was fallacious: it could not be accurate to speak of disestablishing that which had never been established. But he was also careful to point out the process that was going on gradually but surely; how the education of the people, and our colleges and universities, were being withdrawn from the influence of the Church. In a memorable sermon he said:—

'It may be that England, giving the lie to her glorious history in the past, and renouncing her glorious hope of forming the world of the future, shall break up the secular framework of her historical Church'; but 'she cannot kill the inner life; we need not fear that.'

What he did fear was the effect of disestablishment on the nation. He had confidence that the Church would recover her strength within half a century, 'but what of the flock in the meantime?' His anxious wish was that, if the question of disestablishment should come before Parliament, the conflict about the separation of Church and State should be argued upon a question of morality, such as the Deceased Wife's Sister Bill, or divorce, not upon the comparatively trivial question of ritual or judicial procedure. He expressed this in his terse way: 'If we are to be killed let us die fighting for the religious life of the nation.'

Dr. Stubbs's natural independence led him to place little trust in democratic opinion. He never tried to win a fleeting popularity by confusing principles, nor did he believe that any one gained respect by pretence. History, which led him to condemn the miserable saying of Archbishop Reynolds, 'Vox populi vox Dei,' taught him a deep distrust of public opinion. He warned his clergy, with strong emphasis, not to write to a newspaper, because, as he expressed it, 'you then appeal to a jury whose verdict you would not accept.' The Church of England was to him—and he endeavoured to make it so to others—the presentment of the Kingdom of God. He pressed on the men whom he ordained that they must view their calling in this light. He would urge in the

same breath that the responsibility was tremendous, but that faith and prayer warranted us in undertaking it. He warned them further that, if the ministers of Christ were to be received by the flock as ambassadors coming in His name, they must seek Christ in the flock. He held 'that this double relation, the mystic union that exists betwixt Christ and His Church, was to be made a living fact in the relation of the minister of God with the flock of God.' The Church would have lost much if he had not had, as a bishop, opportunity to inculcate such a line of thought on the clergy of his day.

As to the future, he was convinced that nothing short of apostacy, or such persecution as would break up our organisation so that we could no longer fulfil our spiritual, our national, our historical charge, would bring the doom that our candlestick should be removed. He saw that hindrances lay in our path, because it was our duty 'to cover the whole ground.' In this connexion he foresaw that greater difficulties would arise in our task of providing elementary education for our people than either Roman Catholics or other religious bodies would have to meet. They could not be asked to do more than to provide for their own wants; but the Church of England could not be content to accept such a position, because she is bound to leaven the nation and to win it for Christ. A paragraph in his first charge in the diocese of Oxford indicates how clearly he weighed in the balance the probabilities of legislation as it might affect our schools.

'The prohibition of distinctive formularies, of Church teaching, means practically the inculcation of the idea that what the Church teaches her children as necessary to salvation is not necessary to salvation; it means the proscription of the doctrinal as well as the formal teaching of the Gospel. Non-inclusion is prohibition; and prohibition is practically contradiction. The exclusion of conformity is the inculcation of nonconformity.' ('Charges,' p. 116.)

As Bishop Stubbs read history, the Church had established the nation, and enabled it to fulfil its high mission throughout the world. A breach in the continuity of the Church, or a lessening of its power, would be, in his judgment, a national disaster. But in these and all other matters of public dispute the spirit which animated

him shines forth in the closing sentence of his fourth and last visitation charge.

'Nothing in this world can justify the malice of controversy —no, not even the love of the Eternal Truth, if we could conceive it to operate in combination with it. No truth in the world is worth fighting for with weapons like these; nothing in the world is so certain as, and nothing in heaven more certain than, the authority of the law of love.'

II.

An American critic once expressed his surprise that the writer of the 'Constitutional History' was not only free from political bias, but appeared to be scarcely 'influenced by ecclesiastical sentiment or prejudice'; and this appreciation elicited from Dr Stubbs a warm recognition of the reviewer's insight.

'Here am I' (he says) 'steeped in clerical and conservative principles, and yet able to take such a view of matters as scarcely to betray ecclesiastical prejudice or political bias. Seriously speaking, that is just what I wish. I understand the clerical spirit and mind to be that which regards truth and justice above all things, which believes what it believes firmly and intelligently, but with a belief that is fully convinced that truth and justice must in the end confirm the doctrine that it upholds; with a belief that party statement and highly-coloured pictures of friend and foe are dangerous enemies of truth and justice, and damage in the long run the cause that employs them.' *

This profession of belief, coming from an earnest and reserved man, is, by itself, a valuable clue to his aspirations and character. There are no mystic dreams, no crafty pleading or narrow-minded fanaticism, in the books of this Anglican divine. On the contrary, they are conspicuous for common-sense, scrupulous fairness, and breadth of view. It is not to a Gfrörer or a Janssen, for whom history was the handmaid of theology, that we should liken the late Bishop of Oxford, but rather to the single-minded, wonderful Benedictine scholars of a former age, to a Mabillon, for instance. Rare, indeed, are the

* 'Lectures on the Study of Medieval and Modern History,' p. 29.

occasions when we are able to trace a special clerical leaning in his writings. He believes in progress on religious grounds; he is sure that God is leading, but never forcing, mankind towards better things. He is apt to look to the Church for temperate, constructive work. He abhors the Puritans for their vulgarity, arrogance, hypocrisy, and despotism. Still he acknowledges some good points even in these, his bitterest enemies; he feels bound to side with them in their resistance to religious and political oppression.

Stubbs's aptitude to take in the many sides of a subject did not come from weakness of conviction or uncertainty of view; it was intimately connected with the ideal aims of the historian. Truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth—this he considered it his duty to seek; and his repeated declarations in this sense are not truisms or mere ornaments of speech. The strict research of truth, when it comes to be the guiding principle of a scholar's life, educates him in a certain sense, and warns him more especially against particular failings. The Bishop was exceedingly distrustful of anything which might look like partisanship or sharp practice. He is hardly in touch with modern sympathies when he jests about the invention of printing as inducing people to write, not for the sake of saying what they think, but in the hope of catching readers. But he indicates a dangerous vice of modern journalism when he protests against the 'niggling' spirit of reviewers, who try before all things to pick holes in a book instead of discovering the author's meaning, and drawing a fair estimate of his results.* It is not to Macaulay or even to Hallam that Stubbs looked for models of historical treatment, but to Ranke, the great master of 'objective' history, like himself a Conservative by temperament, who achieved a reputation by explaining the cause and necessity of change. No wonder that it is not in modern epochs that the Professor of Modern History felt most at home, but in the Middle Ages, where he sought the deep roots of the present, while evading its clamorous contentions and doubtful issues.†

And yet the Professor of Modern History would not

* Lectures, p. 52. † Ib. p. 208.

have willingly exchanged his chair for that of Ancient History, although the latter is even more remote from the strife of modern party. There were other drawbacks in its case. According to Stubbs's view, historians of the ancient world are too apt to consider mankind in the abstract, to amuse themselves with principles,* whereas he himself felt exceedingly cautious in respect of abstract reasoning and generalisations. He not only criticises sweeping theories like that of Freeman's unity of history or Carlyle's Gospel of Force, but he draws a distinct line between his work and that of a philosopher or a man of science. In his lecture on Canon Law he gives a humorous expression to his views.

'A lawyer, no doubt, would make short work of the subject, and pronounce a definite judgment, without misgiving, on any subject, historical or other, human or divine, on which he had evidence before him; and a philosopher would systematise, to his own satisfaction, any accumulation of details that could possibly be referred to the categories of cause and effect. The student of history has not, *ex officio*, any such privilege of infallibility; the highest point to which he can rise is the entire conviction of his own ignorance and incapacity before the vast material of his investigation.' †

Of course, there is something more than scepticism behind this distrust of generalisations.

'Shall I be saying too much if I say at once that one great objection to the very idea of reducing History to the lines and rules of exact science lies in the fact that generalisations become obscure and more useless as they grow wider, and, as they grow narrower and more special, cease to have any value as generalisations at all.' ('Lectures,' p. 89.) And again: 'A perpetual straining after the abstract idea or law of change, the constant "accentuation," as it is called, of principles in historical writing, invariably marks a narrow view of truth, a want of mastery over details, and a bias towards foregone conclusions.' ('Const. Hist.' iii, 519.)

On the few occasions when Stubbs himself indulges in what he contemptuously describes as the 'common-places' of generalisation, his efforts are not, indeed, of a very high order, and seem to halt between truisms and fallacies.

* Lectures, p. 14. † Ib. p. 292.

A man with a thorough knowledge of facts is not at his best when he essays to be 'sententious.' Nor is it strange that a thinker endowed with strong common-sense clearly realised the difference between history, on the one hand, and sciences employing experiments and quantitative analysis, on the other. In spite of all this, Stubbs is just one of those historians whose work may be cited as an example of a scientific treatment not pretending to exactness. Guided by his investigating spirit, he has analysed a great subject in an almost exhaustive manner. It is not by the gift of direct intuition, or by imaginative power, or by the brilliancy of rhetoric and style, that he has attained his high place among historians, but by 'an unlimited capacity for taking pains,' and by the yet greater capacity for directing his study to general conclusions. These conclusions, for all their unassuming, matter-of-fact appearance, are of high value for the formation of opinions on national character, constitutional development, and the relation between men and institutions.

In the case of Bishop Stubbs, as in that of other eminent men, the course of a life's work is instinct with a certain dramatic interest, although its external aspect is devoid of accidents and excitement. He started from a psychological problem, from a conflict of leading ideas which it took a strong man's labour to overcome. A cautious and sober-minded thinker and student, with a deep distrust of dogmatism, partisanship, and imaginative flights, he was drawn by the investigating spirit to a study of the human past with its tantalising obscurities, controversies, uncertainties of cause and motive. It is not the occasional scepticism but the constructive character of his work which is remarkable from this point of view. The wish to begin at the beginning, to discover the deep roots of English life, as well as impatience of modern polemics, led him to select the Middle Ages as his particular field of study. But the investigator had more than ever to reckon in this case with the incompleteness and obscurity of evidence. His earlier efforts were naturally directed towards the collection of materials and their critical sifting. The editions prepared for the Rolls Series justly rank as models of this kind.

The criticism of authorities, as exhibited in the pre-

faces to these editions, is especially characterised by remarkable moderation. All the circumstances which may throw light on authorship, information, methods, political bias, are collected and examined with care, but the limits between the ascertained, the probable, the possible, and the unknown, are defined with the utmost scrupulousness. We are never led into those mazes of assumption and hypothesis which are too often the bewildering outcome of investigations in this line. Further, these prefaces do not concern themselves merely with critical preparations for the reconstruction of history, but proceed to this reconstruction itself. Stubbs was fully convinced of the importance of the personal side of history, and gave to it much of his time. History cannot be read as a chess problem, he said. It is needless to mention that his contributions to 'external' history have enriched it with a number of sound and productive results: the essays on the epochs of Dunstan, of Henry II, of Richard I, of the first two Edwards, are among the best that have been written on the general history of England. Still, it is not in this direction that Stubbs found employment for his greatest abilities. He lacked the sense of form and colour which makes the painter, and the strength of real or feigned feeling which makes the orator. He never attempted to picture scenes, and he seldom succeeded in being eloquent. The want of warmth and artistic power is very noticeable in his portraits of great men, of which, as in duty bound, he has left many. Touches of fancy occasionally occur, as when he likens Henry II to one of those mighty and restless spirits of medieval legend who build up gigantic castles in a night, to see them crumble away at dawn; but such instances are rare. It is quite exceptional that an actor on the scene of history elicits from the reserved spectator an outburst of passion, as does John Lackland, the gambler-king. As a rule we get full enumerations of qualities and vices, sound appreciations of policy, and well-balanced contrasts between fathers and sons or between political competitors. Artistic synthesis is a matter, not of argument, but of intuition; and the life which a Michelet or, in a widely different manner, a Ranke imparted to their personages, does not come from reasoning. To infuse it into his personal

sketches was not one of Stubbs's gifts. A significant instance is afforded by the elaborate lectures on Henry VIII's career; they are judicious and convincing, but we do not receive from them a vivid impression of the lion gradually awakening to a consciousness of his overwhelming strength.

The defects of the Bishop in this respect are hardly to be explained by dryness of disposition or indifference, for he was a man of keen feelings, warm affections, and strong likes and dislikes. Behind all these painstaking estimates of character one perceives some uncertainty in the writer's mind. His grasp of personality and personal action is hardly adequate: he seems to require something more solid than human disposition to use his best tools. Clues to the perplexities which beset the historian are often to be found in his writings. How is one to judge of a man's intentions and character on the strength of prejudiced, conflicting, fragmentary testimony? The surest way is, after all, to look to results, although a judgment based on the examination of results must needs disregard motives and assume an impersonal aspect.* In this way Dr Stubbs was gradually led to the domain which was to be particularly his own. Men are intricate beings, made up of half-fulfilled promise and irrational strivings; but their efforts create institutions which, in their impersonal development, are less liable to be misrepresented by contemporaries, and afford better scope for the thoughtful observer of history. It is not the 'false glare of arms' nor the details of personal achievement which give the decisive impulses to a nation's destinies, but the slow processes of its internal growth.† It is not, however, merely in the mechanism of institutions that the expression of these internal forces is to be sought. History has to deal with organism, not with mechanism; and institutions can be studied as products of organic forces.

'If' (he remarks) 'there be such a thing as national character, it must be closely connected with national institutions. In one state of society they grow out of it; in another it is fashioned by them until it seems to grow out of them. They develope together in a free state; in a subject one they affect

* Const. Hist. ii, 510. † Lectures, p. 242; Const. Hist. p. 1.

one another by assimilation or opposition according to the nature and duration of the pressure. What is merely a probable speculation at the best, in regard of character, is, however, a true story applied to institutions.' ('Introductions,' p. 110.)

Thus it is in the study of constitutional development that the Bishop found a fit subject for the unfettered use of his best faculties—patient and exhaustive observation, scrupulous judgment, and a harmonious conception of life. Instead of having to deal with the moods and feats of individuals, he rose to an appreciation of the growth of a collective personality, the English nation itself in its working order and character.

It may be added that the attention of Dr Stubbs was chiefly directed to the institutions of the people and to its classes as political factors. He certainly was not blind to the importance of economic processes and of the development of private law, which are also conditions with which the history of society has to reckon. But he was not a trained economist or lawyer; and there were many historical questions which, as he thought, could be left to the care of specialists in economy and law. We understand the rise of Common Law better nowadays, and do not think of connecting Bracton's treatise with Segrave's particular influence. One of our best guides in early Common Law, Professor Maitland, has taught us also a good deal about Canon Law in England which does not coincide with Stubbs's previsions, although it will always remain to the credit of the elder scholar that he started the enquiry. The description he gave of old English husbandry, the use he made of Domesday-book, the paragraphs he devoted to villainage, to the Black-death, to the rising of 1381, leave much to be desired. The changes which took place in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are treated exclusively from the point of view of combinations and collisions between political groups; and the transformation of society in consequence of the passage from natural to commercial husbandry is hardly glanced at.

But when we have taken note of these shortcomings, almost inevitable in the case of a historian who concentrated his efforts on the institutional side of history, there remains the admirable treatment of this great

aspect of national life, and it is needless to dwell on the greatness of such an achievement.

'The growth of our constitution' (he says) 'was never, at least during the Middle Ages, sensibly affected by philosophical or doctrinaire views. The several steps of growth have been almost always of a character that might seem accidental were it not that, even in their most experimental forms, they testify to an increasing confidence on the part of the rulers in the wisdom of trusting to the people, and a corresponding sense on the people's part of the wisdom of a just and moderate use of their powers as the surest way to retain and increase them. . . . As law took the place of despotism, and organisation succeeded to routine; as peace and security increased wealth, and the consciousness of wealth made peace and security more precious; as the people educated themselves by the exercise of their judicial and economical powers on a small scale for the exercise of the same powers on a great scale—the advance towards a more or less perfect system of self-government was found to be rapidly accelerating. The source of the advance was in the deeper current to which the outward and visible signs of it were ascribable. . . . With the superficial student and the empiric politician it is too common to relegate the investigation of such changes to the domain of archæology. I shall not attempt to rebut the imputation; only if such things are archæology, then archæology is history; and that is as much as its most fervent students would ask for it. If by archæology is meant the science of the obsolete, I deny that they are archæological; it is only to the plucked flower that the root is archæologically related. The healthy nation has a memory as well as aspirations involved in the consciousness of its identity; it has a past no less living than its future. Even the energy that is based on reform and repentance cannot afford to think of that past as the dead burying its dead.' *

The main points of such a development, as brought out in the 'Constitutional History,' are well in keeping with the fundamental principles. It would be impossible and unnecessary to give an abstract of the chief events in a long and winding national career, but we may be allowed to mention some turnings on the significance of which Stubbs laid particular stress. He starts as a thorough Germanist. Without denying possible analogies

* Preface to the 'Chronicle of Roger of Hoveden'; 'Historical Introductions to the Rolls Series,' pp. 291, 292.

in Celtic custom and some influence of Roman civilisation, he does not see sufficient reason for assigning to these factors a definite place in tracing the origins of English institutions. The 'Germania' of Tacitus gives us one of the first glimpses of the germs of English political arrangements; and, in a sense, the Teutonic character of Anglo-Saxon society was even more marked than that of Germany on the Rhine. Taking its start from this fact, Anglo-Saxon development arrives ultimately at a characteristic result—at the formation and vitality of self-governing local bodies. The shires, hundreds, and townships retain a power of tenacious growth even when the Anglo-Saxon state as a unity has 'run to seed' and has fallen a prey to foreign invaders. These foreigners have brought to England the discipline of an energetic central administration; and the interpenetration of the opposing elements in centre and localities shapes the course of further development. The county appears as a fully formed combination of social forces for the purpose of local administration; a second step is achieved when the king utilises this living organisation for the purposes of justice; and the next step brings the country together in the formation of a national parliament.*

Parliamentary government, as it appears in Montfort's scheme, and more definitely in Edward I's system, was the product, not only of a concentration of local machinery, but also of a concentration of estates; and it is important to notice the peculiarity of this process in England. The estates meet in common action, and are represented by bodies which soon assume the character of national and not of class institutions. This is already perceptible in the constitution of the ecclesiastical order, which ceases to be an estate when the lower clergy leave Parliament for Convocation, and in the constitution of the peerage, which connects it with a dignity in the king's council instead of creating a class ennobled by blood. But the most important feature of all is the representative character of the knights of the shires, who attend as deputies of local organisations and not of classes, and are naturally drawn into a common channel with the burgesses and not with the barons.

* Introductions, p. 144.

The chief institution of English political life, Parliament, acquires its characteristic shape in the course of the fourteenth century, and is less prominent in the fifteenth. But the history of this latter epoch is full of meaning for the future. It is noteworthy for the displacement of classes and the beginning of the struggles between prerogative and Parliament. It is ushered in by Richard II's premature attempt at absolutism, and proceeds with the premature trial of parliamentary government in the Lancastrian time. In these oscillations of the political pendulum we may already notice the play of forces which subsequently manifest themselves in the Tudor dictatorship and the anti-constitutional policy of the Stuarts, on the one hand, in the Radicalism of the Commonwealth on the other.* Happily for England neither extreme prevailed in the long run: and the compromise of 1688 was won as the crowning event of a chequered history, in which we need not single out heroes and criminals, but ought rather to look for opposing forces, represented by men most of whom were well-intentioned and honest in their ways, although every one brought his share of prejudice and violence into the contest. It was for the nation at large to draw the balance of these conflicting tendencies in the longer span of life which is given to it; and England has been, on the whole, wise, enduring, and fortunate, although not always consequent and thorough in her aims. One may be tempted to apply to the whole course of English constitutional history the remarks made by Dr Stubbs in regard to one of its periods.

'If the result is a compromise, it is one made between parties which, by honesty and patriotism, are entitled to make with one another terms which do not give to each all that he might ask; and justly so, for the subjects on which the compromise turns, the relations of Church and State, land and commerce, tenure and citizenship, homage and allegiance, social freedom and civil obligation, are matters on which different ages and different nations have differed in theory, and on which even statesmen and philosophers have failed to come to a general conclusion, alike applicable to all ages and nations, as the ideal of good government.' ('Const. Hist.' ii, 304.)

* Const. Hist. iii, 524.

The scholar who began his academic career by stating the truism that 'there are few questions on which as much may not be said on the one side as on the other,' seemed particularly fit to understand and to expound the history of these struggles and compromises.

Stubbs was wont to steady himself in his course, and to illustrate his meaning, by comparisons between England and its neighbours, France, Germany, Spain—comparisons which brought into relief the special features of each case, but never savoured of an invidious or self-complacent disposition. We may take example from the Bishop and place for a moment by his side one or two of his compeers in historical learning in order to make out more clearly his stature and complexion. He reminds one forcibly of Waitz, the great student of German 'Verfassungsgeschichte'; and on the shelves of all historical libraries, by the side of his volumes, may be seen the books of another eminent German—Gneist. It may be a matter of dispute which of the three is more conspicuous for vast knowledge and working strength. But it may fairly be asserted that Stubbs is superior to Waitz in the clearness and firmness of his exposition, and superior to Gneist in scholarly, single-minded treatment of historical facts. Waitz's descriptions resemble sometimes a vast canvas filled with blurred outlines and contradictory shades, in which it is difficult to make out either figures or groups. Gneist knew too much beforehand what he was going to find in English history. He was trying to teach his countrymen reverence for monarchy and the self-government of the gentry; and he would never have written the words—which may stand as a brief summary of the Bishop of Oxford's 'Constitutional History':—

'The idea of a constitution in which each class of society should, so soon as it was fitted for the trust, be admitted to a share of power and control, and in which national action should be determined by the balance maintained between the forces thus combined, never perhaps presented itself to the mind of any medieval politician. . . . Yet, in the long run, this has been the ideal towards which the healthy development of national life in Europe has constantly tended, only the steps towards it have not been taken to suit a preconceived theory.' ('Const. Hist.' ii, 158.)

III.

It is natural to compare the 'Lectures on European History,' published only last year, with the series on Medieval and Modern History collected in 1886. In both the constitutional element is almost entirely absent, while in both Dr Stubbs has a free field for his vivid realisation of character—a quality which is prominent in his 'Introductions to the Rolls Series.' Nevertheless the differences between the two volumes are strongly marked. The several lectures on Medieval and Modern History were given at considerable intervals, on subjects more or less self-contained, but generally in close relation to his special studies. They were probably intended for publication, and were duly corrected for the press. The European series covers a period very long, wide, and complex; there is a common plot round which the lectures are constructed; there is an express disclaimer of research; the lecturer's learning reveals itself rather in the ripeness of conclusions than in the novelty of facts. There is no sign of preparation for publication; it is possible to discover pardonable slips, pleasing indiscretions, tantalising inconsistencies. They are in fact Oxford terminal lectures at their best, aiming rather at utility than elegance, didactic rather than literary. They were helped then, as they still are for those who knew the lecturer, by the sympathy of the voice and the laughter in the eyes. It is not print itself, but the preparation for print that dims the speaker's eye and silences his voice. It is certain that a book should never be delivered as lectures, but not so clear that lectures should never be printed as a book. The spontaneity of informal lectures, as of impromptu letters, makes them easier reading. Byron is less exhausting than Horace Walpole. It may even be regretted that the editor excised the lecturer's colloquialisms, a euphemism at times for curses hurled at objectionable historical characters.

In Dr Stubbs there was a compound of criticism and kindliness, impulse and caution. On the whole the impulse and criticism were the more closely mingled, and, though no more real than the other qualities, lay nearer to the surface of his character, and hence are more apparent in

an uncorrected work. Had he printed these lectures, the strong expressions of prejudice might have been softened down; and he might have suppressed the sting-tailed witticisms which are not epigrams, nor exactly *ὀξύμωρα*, but rather *ἀπροσδόκητα*, such as,

'Alva was too able a minister to let well alone.' 'Alençon was a prince of no principle, bad temper, and small capacity except for giving trouble.' 'Scarcely any age has seen three such (great men) as Oxenstiern, Richelieu and Wallenstein, alive at the same time: altogether the mischief they worked in Europe has never been exceeded until the advent of Napoleon.'

He would certainly have deleted the not too cautious prophecies of the future of Germany and Italy, for in his published Essays Dr Stubbs deprecated the use of prophecy; and, indeed, though historians provide the materials for prophecy, their own place is not among the prophets.

When these lectures were delivered, England and Oxford were flooded by a wave of Liberalism. The lecturer's criticism was therefore all the more Conservative. He rarely took the accepted view or followed the popular historian. It is fair to remember that views which have now become commonplaces, were at that time, in the eyes of the average half-educated Liberal, heresies. It was then usual to believe that Charles V aimed at universal domination; that Maurice of Saxony was the hero, Philip of Hesse the martyr, of the Reformation, and William of Orange both; and that the cause of Liberalism had always found its champion in the Hohenzollern as against the Habsburg. For the reign of Charles V English readers still pinned their faith on Robertson; and Robertson's 'characteristic unfairness' was due to his exclusive reliance on French sources and on such old German Protestants as wrote in Latin. In Netherland history Motley held the field; and for the American historian every republican Protestant was saint or hero.

The worship of Robertson and Motley was for Dr Stubbs idolatry; and he set himself to destroy it. In his more elaborate criticism of Robertson he acknowledges his great qualities and services, but in his running comments he is unsparing. When blaming Motley's conception of Charles V, he apparently includes him among

'unintelligent and incompetent critics'; while later he describes him as being 'as inferior to Prescott in fairness, as in the language in which he records his impressions'—a courageous utterance for those days, though it might pass unchallenged now. His fiercest denunciation is, however, launched against the pro-Prussian historians who set themselves to prove that, while the Hohenzollerns were insignificant, the other governing powers were determinately in the wrong, and Prussia, as soon as she existed, invariably in the right; who blackened every Habsburg as a tyrant, strong or petty, shameless or subtle; who, beginning with an imaginary Charles V, and an imaginary policy of universal empire and unflinching repression, represented the whole existence of the dynasty as a sin against society. Intentionally, as he confesses, he takes a lenient view of Habsburg policy, for historical fairness compels us to lean to the Austrian side in spite of its faults.

In his impulses Dr Stubbs was sturdily Teutonic. He had little sympathy for the Latin nations. For Spain he had no hope, owing to 'the incurable wrong-headedness of her politicians.' He almost despaired of the revival of Italy, because she lacked the gift of governance. The development of republics and despotisms presented to him no interesting problems in the morphology of states: 'their internal struggles (he says) are little more worthy of examination than the vagaries of a parish vestry.' He even justifies Austrian rule, for 'Italy richly deserved what she got; and, so far, it was for the good of the world. She exchanged the shadow of liberty for the substance of peace.' Throughout the volume there is scarcely a good word for France. Germany, whether represented by a Habsburg or not, by Catholic or Protestant, is hailed as England's natural and immemorial ally against France. Dr Stubbs saw in the France of his own day the heiress of monarchical vices in a degraded form. Henry IV is described as a Frenchman of the old régime, 'without the debasement and ensavagement that successive struggles of blood and glory have produced in the Frenchman of the ordinary type of to-day.' That king's murder is a subject for congratulation, for his intended humiliation of Austria would have been a misfortune, 'since French ambition has brought infinitely

more misery upon Europe than all the repressive policy of Austria in all the years of her influence.' Through Henry IV, Richelieu, and Mazarin is traced with an unsparing hand 'the traditionary policy of France, as strong in the present day as it was then, but modified by the character of the administrator . . . in itself a thoroughly selfish and ungenerous one.' It is fair to add that the strictures on North German intrigues against the Habsburgs are almost equally severe.

In reviewing the religious aspects of his subject, Dr Stubbs is Anglican, as in surveying the international he is Teutonic. He thought it easy for an Englishman to be fair, as far removed from the persecuting repressive instincts of seventeenth-century Jesuitism as from the hypocritical and rapacious intolerance of seventeenth-century Protestantism. But in his balance the weights of the latter sink. Not infrequent are such alliterations as Protestantism and plunder, pirate and Puritan interests. For the Thirty Years' War he holds the Protestant powers the more responsible. He exults over the break-up of the Evangelical Union, for it had done no work except to originate a war in which on every occasion it shirked fighting. So, too, he ascribes the Great Rebellion to the warlike enthusiasm of the English Puritans for the worthless Elector Palatine, which was exhausted before war began and quite quenched by its ill-success. The Puritans forced the war, stopped the supplies necessary to its maintenance, drove the king into unconstitutional proceedings, and then made these the pretext for overthrowing the monarchy.

His predilections for periods are as outspoken as those for countries and parties. The sixteenth century is placed far below the thirteenth, as a century of ideas, real, grand, and numerous.

> 'Compare the one set of men with the other as men, and the ideas as ideas; and the advantage is wonderfully in favour of the semi-barbarous age, above that of the Renaissance and the Reformation.'

The period of his lectures he divides into three Acts—the age of Charles V, the French Wars of Religion with the war of Netherland Liberation, and the Thirty Years' War. Of these he prefers the third to the first, and the first to

the second. Philip II, Elisabeth, and Henry IV are, he writes, small beside Charles V, Henry VIII, Francis I, and Solyman. On the other hand,

'the best men of the sixteenth century were men of impulse more than of principle . . . even Luther was a man who had a great purpose but an uneducated and disproportionate zeal; whereas men of the seventeenth century had impulses better trained, deeper seated, less easily roused, but more consistent, more proportionate, more thorough.'

Cromwell and Strafford are placed far above Maurice and John Frederick of Saxony, while even the convictions, purpose, and statesmanship of William of Orange, who is an admitted exception to the generalisation, will hardly bear comparison with the heroes of the seventeenth century, much of his glory depending, indeed, on the contrast with contemporary statesmen. After this last verdict, Dr Stubbs concludes his Second Act, the most melodramatic period that the modern world has known, with this strange *envoi*—'But we have had enough of him and perhaps of all of them. The period is not a lively one.' In such utterances there is a petulance, an impatience, almost a perversity, characteristic of impulse, and absent from his greater work. The expressions might pass for extempore ebullitions and affectations, if they were not in the one set of lectures committed by himself to print, and in the other to writing.

The author's power as writer, teacher, and thinker might well be illustrated from the 'Lectures on European History.' Imbedded in the easy, homely narrative are passages of high literary excellence—due either to exceptional finish, or, perhaps, to the fire of enthusiasm or indignation upon which preparation for press might have acted as a damper. Nowhere has his natural vigour of expression received freer play than in his character of Charles V, unfortunately too elaborate to quote here. A marked feature is the constant employment of comparisons, a reflex no doubt of his own vivid interest in personality, but also, perhaps, the skilful lecturer's device; for nothing so surely arrests attention when wandering from the course of narrative. Occasionally centuries far apart are brought into immediate juxtaposition. Thus Prussian policy in 1866 is denounced as immeasur-

ably falser, immeasurably more dishonest than that of Charles V. Again, it would not be difficult to identify the actual modern statesman to whom Henry IV is compared in the following description of the French king's opportunist conscience:—

'Like the statesman of the present day, he had not the slightest difficulty in training his conscience to believe that the course most expedient for him at the moment was the one which his higher nature recommended to him, which the development of his own views showed him to be the right, nay, which, under a different form, was the course which he had always intended to hold. Such a form of character . . . involves very many decided advantages to the nation that he governs, and is not unfrequently found in connexion with a genuine love of the people, and a purpose, mainly honest, of working for their good. Still, it is a lack of principle, and as such, a fault.'

More often the comparisons lie within the four corners of the lectures, such as that of the character and conduct of John Frederick and Philip of Hesse, of the toleration of Henry IV and the Emperor Maximilian II, of the military talents of Gustavus and Wallenstein, of the political ideals of Wallenstein and his master Ferdinand II, of the courageous perseverance of Ferdinand II and the cowardly presumption of Frederick, Elector Palatine. The teacher is, perhaps, at his best in the last pages of the book, where he shows how neatly his long subject may be classified and labelled, only to prove that this very tidiness hides away half the truth. The whole is permeated by the play of thought. Dr Stubbs is always thinking and making others think. This is why he is so often reputed dull and difficult, for thinking is to most men difficult and to many dull.

Art. II.—HORACE WALPOLE AND WILLIAM COWPER.

1. *The Letters of Horace Walpole, fourth Earl of Orford.* Chronologically arranged and edited with notes and indices by Mrs Paget Toynbee. Sixteen vols. In progress. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903.
2. *The Correspondence of William Cowper.* Arranged in chronological order with annotations by Thomas Wright. Four vols. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1904.

LETTER-WRITERS appeal to our sympathies in many different ways. The historical interest of the subject-matter, the charm of the style, the frankness of the autobiographical self-revelation, in combination with other qualities of infinite variety, contribute to the attraction. In Walpole, we are fascinated by the material and the form; in Cowper, by the man and his manner. It is indeed scarcely possible to imagine greater contrasts than those which are presented by the correspondence of the two men; and the letters of both are significant of their respective lives and characters. Walpole, living among the Gothic artificialities of Strawberry Hill, sharing in all the brilliant gaieties of the aristocratic world, conversant with every intrigue of placeman or fine lady, is full of point, glitter, and antithesis. Cowper, from his retirement in a quiet Buckinghamshire village, shy, timid, and gentle as one of his own hares, lets his playful, whimsical humour flicker over the monotonous trivialities of rural life. Walpole composes in the blaze of the lamps that lit the Pantheon, of the torches that waited on coaches and sedans, or of the wax tapers that illuminated the faro table. Cowper writes, as it were, in the low-ceiled room of a lace-maker's cottage at Olney, by the light of a solitary farthing candle. The letters of the one are revised and annotated by his own hand for publication; the correspondence of the other is his inmost self, and intended for no other eyes but those of the individuals to whom it is addressed. We may grudge Sir Horace Mann the receipt of Walpole's brilliant letters; but we feel that he lost little or nothing by the interruption of personal intercourse. On the other hand, we envy Mrs

Unwin her daily walk in the company of Cowper, in spite of his transient moods of melancholy and religious mania. The one writer dazzles us with his cleverness, amuses us with his epigrams, and leaves us cold towards himself. The other compels our personal interest, evokes our sympathies, and excites, if that is not too violent a word for the nature of the impression, our wish to have known him in the intimacy of everyday life.

Both Walpole and Cowper have been recently re-edited on the modern principle of making the collection as complete as possible, and securing the scrupulous accuracy of the text. We have no complaint to make against either the principle or the practice. All that can be urged against the inclusion of every letter has been said by Walpole when he deplores the injury inflicted on the memory of Madame de Sévigné, his 'Notre Dame des Rochers,' by her editor's indiscreet revelation of her human infirmity of a sore leg. Probably these complete collections are caviare to the general; and a wise selection of the most characteristic letters might appeal to a wider circle of readers. Few and weary, we think, will be those who persevere to the end of the four volumes in which Cowper's correspondence is collected, or of the sixteen volumes in which the letters of Walpole are to be enshrined. Both are necessarily, from their very completeness, books to dip into here and there; both afford a field in which to practise the art of judicious skipping. On the other hand, both are at once established as standard works of reference, and possess the great advantage of enabling each reader to make his or her own selection out of the abundant material. Nor is this the only merit of two excellent editions. Both are, so far as the text is concerned, definitive. In this respect Mrs Toynbee's scholarly edition is far superior to that of Cunningham, while Mr Wright's chronologically arranged collection of Cowper's letters must necessarily supersede the mutilated, defective, or confused editions of Hayley, Grimshawe, or Southey.

The editor of Cowper asserts that his author is 'universally acknowledged to be the greatest of English letter-writers.' Precisely the same distinction is claimed by Sir Walter Scott for Horace Walpole. Universal consent is a large phrase, which admits neither of proof nor

of refutation. There may be readers to whom Cowper's outpourings of religious feeling are as attractive as Walpole's gems of gossip are repellent. But if the comparative claims of the two writers are to be discussed, in one sense the title must be conceded rather to Cowper than to Walpole. Both wrote in the midst of those wars which, in the eighteenth century, threatened the very existence of Great Britain. It is in Cowper's letters, rather than in those of Walpole, that we recognise the sterling stuff of which the nation was composed, and the solid qualities that enabled the country to emerge victoriously from that tremendous struggle. For this reason, if for no other, Cowper's letters best repay, as they certainly most demand, careful perusal. Very few of Walpole's figures are more than mere names—distinguished names, it is true. But we know less of them than Cowper's unstudied method reveals to us of William Wilson, the barber and wig-maker; Banister, the costive shoe-maker; Daniel Raban, baker and hero of the village pump; James Andrews, sculptor and painter, who taught Cowper drawing; 'Kitch,' the gardener who, on great occasions, donned the smart blue coat discarded by his master; or Ashburner, the gigantic draper and undertaker, whose countenance was stamped with the firm conviction that he was born only to bury others, never to be buried himself. Walpole's figures belong to a different world. But it is not every one who is interested in the fact—even though the heroine is a duchess—that a lady, once married, lay-in twenty-six times, or that a countess had triplets, or that this or that titled lady of fashion betrayed or was betrayed by her husband.

It is, of course, grossly unfair to suggest that there is nothing else in Walpole. On the contrary, the historical value of his letters as a minute chronicle of the events of the time is priceless; and, when he was in the mood, he could paint such a scene as that of the funeral of George II with extraordinary force. But it remains true that vast tracts of Walpole's letters are brilliant anticipations of the ideal to which modern society papers labour to attain. They are composed of the chit-chat of the town, retailed with sparkling gaiety by a man who kept the best company. Not even the vivacity and wit of Walpole can entirely save his gossip from the fate which

would inevitably befall the publication of sixteen volumes of the 'World' or of 'Truth.' There is too much of it, and it becomes wearisome from its perpetual glitter. The station in life of Cowper's actors is more lowly, their situations are unexciting, the occurrences entirely humdrum. The background of his picture is sober and harmonious in colouring, full of quiet observation; in the foreground he has sketched his crowd of figures with an unstudied skill that, after the lapse of a century and a quarter, makes them still alive. His letters, in fact, give us, apart from his revelation of his own character, an abundance of the same kind of material as that on which Miss Austen founded her comedies of real life, and he handles the little dramas with something of her playful yet caustic humour.

Walpole and Cowper never met; and Cowper is not mentioned in Walpole's letters. In Cowper's correspondence there is only one important reference to his contemporary, and that allusion illustrates the sensitive pride of the poet. His publisher, he tells Lady Hesketh in March 1791, 'has repeatedly called on Horace Walpole, and has never found him at home. He has also written to him and received no answer.' No doubt Lady Hesketh had suggested that it would be well for Cowper to obtain Walpole's name as a subscriber to his translation of Homer.

'My back is up' (continues the poet), 'and I cannot bear the thought of wooing him any further, nor would do it, though he were as *pig* a gentleman (look you!) as Lucifer himself. I have Welsh blood in me, if the pedigree of the Donnes say true, and every drop of it says, "Let him alone"' (iv, 50).

It is most unlikely that, had they met, the two men could ever have become friends. They had indeed some tastes in common. Yet, even where there was community of taste or feeling, the differences were more marked than the resemblances. Cowper adored the memory of his mother, whose portrait was one of his most cherished possessions and inspired his familiar lines. If Walpole felt much for anybody, it certainly was for his mother; and, though he does not seem to have always been on friendly terms with his father, he was a loyal champion of Sir Robert's reputation. Both men were proud of

their descent. Yet here again there was a difference, due partly to circumstances, partly to character. Walpole, the son of an all-powerful minister, exerted himself to draw up his pedigree, establish his ancient lineage, and connect himself with medieval times and Norman barons. It is just possible that there may have been another and more serious motive in this assiduity. Did Walpole believe himself to be, as was often asserted, the illegitimate son of Lady Walpole by Carr, Lord Hervey? Cowper, on the other hand, valued his birth in the same way in which it is valued by men who have fallen on evil days. It gave him a position in society; it saved him from being spoken of as 'that fellow Cowper.' Both men were charming with children. Walpole is at his best in the company of the little Ann Conway, as he shows the best side of his nature in his generosity to his relations and numerous acts of kindness to dependents. Both had many friendships. But Cowper possessed those qualities which peculiarly endeared him to women and won him the true affection of Theodora Cowper, Mary Unwin, Lady Hesketh, and Lady Austen. In Walpole, on the other hand, women found the gifts and attractions of the witty companion rather than those of the intimate friend, unless, indeed, the blind Madame du Deffand carried her infatuation for his genius as far as love, or unless Miss Berry entertained a tenderer feeling for her septuagenarian adorer. Most ladies probably agreed with Madame d'Arblay: 'I like and admire him; but could not love or trust him.'

Both men were kind-hearted lovers of animals. Both had their pets; Walpole his Vandyke cat, with black whiskers and boots; Cowper his pigeons and tame hares. Neither cared for field sports. It would be hard to say which would have found the boisterous society of the fox-hunter most uncongenial. But Cowper was essentially a lover of country life. As a boy he excelled at cricket and football; he had carried a gun, was fond of bathing, and, at one brief period of his life, as a rider, claimed the title of the 'Knight of the Bloody Spur.' Nature did not, however, intend him for a horseman; if she had, the world would have lost 'John Gilpin.' Walpole was as essentially a lover of the town. He could see no difference between a sirloin and a country gentleman; and country

ladies appeared to him a combination of inquisitive hospitality and domestic economy. At Houghton he proclaimed himself a prisoner in a barren melancholy province; the summer had no charms for him if he spent it in the country; and his only comment on the Alps is the exclamation, 'What uncouth rocks!' Both men were ardent gardeners. But Walpole planted for effect, Cowper for the pot. While one cultivated ornamental trees and shrubs, the other was intent on cucumbers, aspired to melons, studied the arts of sowing, pruning, and planting, and attempted every sort of garden produce from cabbages to pine-apples. It is difficult to imagine that Cowper, like Walpole, could ever have called an acacia the 'genteelest of trees.'

Both men loved dogs in their characteristic fashions. If men are known, as it is said, by their friends or by their books, why not by their dogs? Cowper's favourites were 'Beau,' the water-spaniel, whose ears were always delivered by the careful hand of his master from the burs he had gathered in the thickets, or 'Mungo,' the bull-dog, with his thunderous bark, wrinkled forehead, and face like an African. In a genuine burst of feeling Walpole protests against the destruction of dogs in London as a protection against hydrophobia: 'The dear, good-natured, honest, sensible creatures! Christ! how can anybody hurt them?' But while Cowper made dogs his friends and walking companions, Walpole treated them as his pets or his mistresses. He adored his 'Tory,' the black King Charles spaniel, 'the prettiest, fattest, dearest creature,' who was carried off by a wolf under his master's eyes, or his silver-fleeced 'Patapan,' in his rainbow ribbon, equally fat, and with adorable eyes, whose portrait was painted by Wootton, the Landseer of George II's reign.

Both men loved literature; both were readers as well as writers. But Walpole's taste was less fastidious and far more catholic in range. Both admired Pope, yet for different reasons. To Walpole the point, the finish, the antithesis appealed most strongly; Cowper, though he thought him 'a disgusting letter-writer,' admired his capacity to write strongly and his contempt for false ornament. A poor man, with but 'twenty books in the world,' Cowper read within a narrower range, restricted partly by taste, partly by a meagre library. In the summer

he was in the garden all day, 'giddy-headed as a boy'; in the winter 'lumpish,' and absorbed in his books. He abhorred political writings. For fiction he had no taste; Barclay's 'Argenis' was the only romance he ever read through. He eschewed philosophy, and says that he avoided poetry because he wrote it himself and feared to become an imitator. Condemned to stay at home, yet curious to learn about foreign countries, books of travel seem to have been his favourite reading. Religious, historical, and general literature was included in a range which was sufficiently varied. Medical works occasionally appear in his list; and his curiosity in this direction would have marked him out as a gold-mine to the modern purveyor of quack medicines. Simplicity was what he most missed in modern writers; he found it in Swift and Addison and Pope, but with them the power of writing simply seemed to him to have disappeared. For the sturdy sense and forcible expression of Samuel Johnson he had the greatest admiration. But he despised him for presuming to write about love, a passion which he supposed the Doctor had never experienced in his life. From his critical judgments, and especially from his depreciation of Milton, he dissented, and dissented so strongly that he would have liked to 'thresh his old jacket' till he made 'his pension jingle in his pocket.'

As with Cowper's reading, so with his other tastes. They were narrowly limited. A wide world of interest, which fills so great a space in modern life, was excluded from his horizon. The Gothic revival, in which the contemporary letter-writer was a pioneer, would have seemed to Cowper, had it come within his observation, affected and artificial. He collected nothing. For pictures or statuary he had cultivated no taste. The glamour of illuminated missals, the lore of bindings, the mysteries of type, the science of rare editions, passed him by unmoved. He showed no inclination to explore the antiquities of his neighbourhood, far less to make pilgrimages, like his contemporary, to see its ancient houses, its feudal castles, its medieval monuments. It is certainly not in the language of enthusiasm that he speaks of our forefathers' 'vast rambling mansions,' their 'little gardens and high walls, their box-edgings, balls of holly, and yew-tree statues.' On the contrary, he wonders that a

people who 'resembled us so little in their taste should resemble us in anything else.' In these limitations Cowper was essentially a man of the prosaic, matter-of-fact eighteenth century; and his poetry, with all its charm, belongs to the period.

To Walpole a wider range was opened. The religious world, in the sunshine or gloom of which Cowper alternately expanded or cowered, was to him an unknown territory. In other directions he was a pioneer and a discoverer. Where a man had so much taste, some at least was inevitably bad. No doubt his Strawberry Hill, with its battlements, turrets, corkscrew staircases, and painted glass, was an appropriate 'Castle of Otranto' for the residence of an 'old English Baron,' as he was then understood. His zeal for antiquity was too enthusiastic to be according to knowledge. He collected miscellaneously, and in all probability, as we should now think, indiscriminately. We may tremble for the authenticity of his busts, his engraved gems, his medals, and his pedigree. There can be no question that modern critics would decide that his pictures were by any artist other than the individuals to whom he attributed their execution. He was a 'virtuoso,' a 'dilettante,' but he was also a real connoisseur. It is perhaps unfortunate for his reputation that his treasures were sold in 1842, in the early Victorian era of British Philistinism. The wits made merry at the expense of his collections. A parody of the catalogue drawn up by the famous auctioneer, Robins, was printed under the title of Gooseberry Hall, in which Robins appears as 'Mr Scattergoods'; and the house and its contents are turned into ridicule. But, with all his faults of amateurishness, Walpole did good service to a true taste for art and the scientific pursuit of antiquarian studies. So too, as a man of letters, his capacity in serious literature was greater than his performance. Had he piqued himself less on being an amateur, he might have produced work of a solid and lasting kind. Byron, with characteristic egotism, remarks that Walpole received scant justice as a writer, owing to the fact that he was, 'firstly... a nobleman, and secondly ... a gentleman.' Whether this was the case or not, Walpole's letters are incomparable; and his 'Memoirs,' in spite of their prejudices, are not only brilliant but invaluable to historians,

The 'Mysterious Mother' is a stranger to the footlights, and no one now yawns over the 'Castle of Otranto'; yet, to quote Byron's exaggerated estimate of the noble author, he was 'the father of the first romance and of the last tragedy in our language, and surely worthy of a higher place than any living writer, be he who he may.'

In outward circumstances no two men could be more dissimilar than Walpole and Cowper. A member of Parliament and a sinecure placeman, Walpole lived in the centre of the gay world. In his town house at Arlington Street or in his visits to Paris he was always in the very heart of social and political life. Now masquerading as Aurungzebe or disguised as an old woman at a ball, now sitting out a debate in the House of Commons, now treading on princes at Ranelagh, now picnicking at Vauxhall, now winning a *milleleva* at the faro table, now cheapening a gem in the auction room, now hurrying to see a fire in his slippers and embroidered suit, he was always engaged in collecting—to use his own words—'the follies of the age for the information of posterity.' An indefatigable playgoer, a subscriber to the opera, a dancing senator who passed from the House to the ballroom and retired to bed at five in the morning, he yet nursed a flimsy constitution and kept a cool head. His excursions into the country to see historic houses were but short interludes in the course of his urban life. Even when he retired to Strawberry Hill he was only at Twickenham and within easy reach of the metropolis. In 1747 he had bought the lease 'of a little farm just out of Twickenham' from Mrs Chenevix, the keeper of the fashionable 'toy-shop,' and a year later he acquired the freehold. On the farm stood a small house, built by Lord Bradford's coachman and called in the neighbourhood 'Chopped Straw Hall,' because its builder was supposed to have made his money by feeding his master's horses on chopped straw. There Walpole gradually built the castellated Gothic villa which at once became, as he himself says, 'the puppet-show of the times.' There he directed his carpenters, hurried his plasterers, scolded his paperhangers, or aided his glaziers to arrange, in two-and-thirty windows, the masses of painted glass which he had accumulated. There he entertained his guests, designed his chimney-pieces, laid out his walks

and gardens, wrote, read, and superintended his printing-press, or stored, arranged, rearranged, and exhibited his miscellaneous collections. There he played at farming, and invited his friends to a hay-making, a sheep-shearing, a sillabub under the cow, or an evening's fishing for gold-fish in the pond which he called 'Poyang.'

These pursuits were the serious business of Walpole's life. When he passed from the House of Commons to the ballroom he thought the performers in the latter were the most in earnest of the two; and it may be said in defence of his opinion that what men say to women is generally at least as sincere as what politicians say to the country. 'I am certainly,' he wrote to Conway in 1774, 'the greatest philosopher in the world, without ever having thought of being so; always employed and never busy; eager about trifles, indifferent to everything serious.' A man with such a temperament was fitted to shine in society. His long lean figure, arrayed in a lavender suit, a waistcoat embroidered with silver, ruffles and frill of lace, partridge-silk stockings, and gold-buckled shoes, was familiar in London assemblies for half a century. His dark penetrating eyes were set in a face the complexion of which was unhealthily pale. His wig, worn in the summer without powder, was queued behind and combed straight, showing up the smoothness of his forehead. As he slid into the room, *chapeau bras* compressed in his hands or held under his arm, walking according to the affected gait prescribed by the fashion of the day, with his knees bent and on tiptoe, there was a flutter of anticipation in the assembly. Affected and lively, gay and caustic, polite and sneering, he had the reputation of saying, in a soft pleasant voice, 'better things than anybody,' though in genuine wit he was inferior to his friend George Selwyn. Armed with the newest epigram, equipped with the latest scandal, telling his stories with brilliant point, exchanging the thrust and parry of his wit with all comers, ready with the neat trifles of complimentary verse, Walpole in society presented a striking contrast to the recluse who, at Olney, in the company of two female friends, read aloud for two hours to make amends for his silence during the day.

Unlike Walpole, Cowper, though he could rhyme, could not rattle. His natural shyness was increased by

the seclusion of his country life. For nearly thirty years (1767–95) he lived at, or near, Olney, in Buckinghamshire, on the flat banks of the sluggish Ouse. On every side, whether the traveller arrives from Bedford, from Newport Pagnell, from Northampton, or from Wellingborough, low hills slope so gently down to the broad valley of the river that the town lies rather in a saucer than a cup. The long street, the market square, the church, Cowper's house, the lengthy bridge spanning the wide meadows, remain the same as they were a hundred and fifty years ago. Many of the houses are unchanged. Over more than one of the shops stand names familiar to Cowper; two Rabans at least still ply their respective trades. Here Cowper passed his life, haunted by dread of the recurrence of his malady, driven by want of occupation to become a gardener, an artist, a bird-cage maker, and, if we trust his own diffident estimate of his inspiration, a poet. So rarely did he leave the neighbourhood that he compares himself to a cockle or a shrimp deposited in the cranny of a rock by the waves of some great storm. Yet he never wearied of his surroundings. His love of nature, partly inborn, partly the effect of habit, made every object in the fields a delight, and enabled him to look on the same tree or the same stream every day with a new interest. Only rural sounds broke upon his ear. The ass that brayed outside the greenhouse in which he sat and wrote might momentarily interrupt the thread of his thoughts; but the cackle of the fowls—they were indeed his own—or of the geese was not more disturbing to him than the whistle of the linnets in the orchard or the murmuring of the bees in the beds of mignonette. He had not, he said, a leg that was not tied to Olney; and if they had been at liberty not one would have hopped to London. He shuddered at the grim association of the great city with his past life. The thought of it distressed him; the sight of it would, he believed, have crazed him.

In Cowper's day there were in Olney

> 'One parson, one poet, one bellman, one crier,
> And the poor poet is our only 'squire.'

Recluse though he was and straitened in circumstances, Cowper was always scrupulously careful that his dress

should correspond with his position. His coat and knee-breeches were of green and drab. His wig was a 'very decent head-dress,' not easily distinguished from his natural growth of hair, 'worn with a small bag and a black ribband' about his neck. It was surmounted by a hat, in the selection of which he was particular. He expressed his abhorrence of a 'round slouch,' and desired a 'smart, well-cocked, fashionable affair.' He was nice in the choice of his yard-wide muslin neck-cloths, and was only willing to give them up if stocks were pronounced to be more fashionable. Half in banter, half in earnest, he rejoiced in the possession of the most elegant buttons in the country, and of a waistcoat which was the great admiration of the ladies. His shoe-buckles were of silver; and he was ready to give five-and-twenty shillings for such a stock-buckle as would make a figure in Olney. He had not as many snuff-boxes as would be needed for the hundred noses of an Oriental idol; but he carried at least three, one oval in shape, another with a picture of hares, and a third with a representation of the Peasant's Nest on the lid. His ruffles were the work of Lady Austen; his stockings were knitted by Mrs Unwin; and his shoes were of London make.

Olney, a town 'pretty clean in summer-time, and full of poor folks,' supplied few incidents and fewer anecdotes. Occurrences were as rare as cucumbers in December. Intercourse with the outer world, whether by the waggon which left the 'George' or the 'Windmill' in Smithfield on Tuesday morning, or by the Welling-borough diligence, which three times a week started from the 'Cross-keys,' also in Smithfield, was to modern ideas slow and intermittent. Few visitors braved the journey. But Cowper's friends knew his love of fish; gifts of cod and shrimps and oysters, or salmon and lobsters, arrived in from sixteen to eighteen hours from London. They were repaid with grateful thanks, or in kind, with fowls or home-fed bacon, ropes of onions, cheeses, or eggs, if they could be spared from harvest puddings. More rarely comes a sturgeon. Once a bustard is announced; but Cowper omits to mention whether the bird was good on the table. Commissions were exchanged between town and country. Cowper sends for tooth-brushes or bohea, and gives orders, to be

executed for his friends, for Buckinghamshire lace at threepence three-farthings the yard. The present of a cuckoo clock, 'made in Germany,' and sold 'in that narrow part of Holborn which leads into Broad Street, St Giles's, kept the household in a fever of delight; and Hannah Wilson, the maid-servant, lay awake all night to hear its music. A second gift consisted of 'two neat little pieces of furniture.' Lady Hesketh called them *chiffoniers*; but what the word meant Cowper was not, as he says, 'Frenchman enough to discover.' At another time he records the arrival of a pair of candle-snuffers, or 'rather, candle-snappers,' and praises them as an invention which had converted a disagreeable task into an amusement. In an existence so monotonous small occurrences were events. When fires took place, they were chronicled with all the importance that they deserved in a cluster of straw-thatched houses surrounded by a winter's fuel. Elections made a vast clatter in the belfry and some small stir in the streets. The arrival of a giant or a lion at Cherry Fair (June 29) was heralded with a flourish of the pen as well as with roll of drum and blare of trumpet.

As Cowper had lived at Huntingdon in 1766, so, with trifling changes, he continued to live at Olney or at Weston.

'We breakfast' (he says) 'commonly between eight and nine; till eleven we read either the Scripture or the sermons of some faithful preacher of those holy mysteries; at eleven we attend divine service, which is performed here twice every day; and from twelve to three we separate and amuse ourselves as we please. During that interval I either read in my own apartment, or walk, or ride, or work in the garden. We seldom sit an hour after dinner, but, if the weather permits, adjourn to the garden, where, with Mrs Unwin and her son, I have generally the pleasure of religious conversation till tea-time. If it rains, or is too windy for walking, we either converse within doors or sing some hymns of Martin's collection, and, by the help of Mrs Unwin's harpsichord, make up a tolerable concert. . . . After tea we sally forth to walk in good earnest. Mrs Unwin is a good walker, and we have generally travelled about four miles before we see home again. When the days are short we make this excursion in the former part of the day, between church-time and dinner.

At night we read and converse, as before, till supper, and commonly finish the evening either with hymns or a sermon; and, last of all, the family are called to prayers. ('Letters,' vol. i, pp. 80, 81.)

In later life the daily round thus described was adapted to Cowper's literary work. For a brief interval, while Lady Austen was an inmate of his household, evening amusements were tolerated. While Mrs Unwin strummed the harpsichord, 'to the accompaniment of a howling dog,' Cowper played spillikins, or battledore and shuttlecock, with his lively friend. Cards he never played. He used his card-table as a writing-desk, as a dining-table, for every purpose, in short, except that for which it was designed.

In the eighteenth century, country towns, like country villages, were self-sufficing. Difficulties of communication made them dependent on themselves for the ordinary supplies of food, clothing, and amusements. County families, instead of a season in London, formed their own society in the nearest town. Huntingdon, for example, had its card assembly, its dancing assembly, its horse race, its club, its bowling green. The place, as Cowper says, swarmed with amusements, 'devices,' as, in his evangelical fervour he thought them, 'for murdering time.' Cards and dancing were the 'professed business of almost all the *gentle* inhabitants.' His refusal to share in these gaieties gained him the reputation of a Methodist. The reputation is undeserved if sympathy with the peculiar tenets of the Wesleys is implied in the epithet. But at Olney, where he was the only squire, there was no society. Except for his own household and a few men of the type of Newton and Bull, the master of an academy at Newport Pagnell, who dined with him once a fortnight all the year round, he had no associates of his own rank or tastes. The village had, however, the reputation of being 'Methodistical.' Sunday was observed with a strictness which the soldiers at Newport Pagnell tried to disturb—with no result except the loss of an officer's sword, which was cried by the bellman on Monday. William Wilson, the barber, and critic of 'John Gilpin,' would not have waited on the king himself on a Sunday. Lady Austen was obliged to have

her hair dressed on Saturday and to forgo her night's rest if she would not have it disarranged for the next day.

Deprived of associates, both from choice and necessity, and without any taste for the strenuous idleness of sport, Cowper studied, with quiet kindly amusement, the characters of the village quidnuncs as they gathered at the blacksmith's shop. Thomas Raban, carpenter, preacher, and coffin-maker, and Samuel Teedon, the schoolmaster, devout, long-winded, and polysyllabic, were indeed admitted to some degree of intimacy; and the latter acquired over him in later years an extraordinary influence. But the gallery of local sketches contains many other portraits of his humble neighbours, drawn with life-like touches. Such was Tom Freeman, the stout gingerbread man, with his gingerbread wife, who carried his cooking apparatus and his wares in huge wooden panniers on horseback to all the fairs in the country. Another was the sturdily-built solitary who drew patterns for the lacemakers, but kept no other company than that of his own exceedingly protuberant belly, for he was never observed to speak to a neighbour. A third was George Mayne, the Weston farmer, who, in the days of his health, gloried in the belief that no part of him or his two mastiffs would survive the grave, and yet gained the posthumous credit of conversion by desiring to be buried in his own pew—to make amends, as Cowper suggests, for never having visited it in his lifetime.

No class described by Cowper has undergone so great a change as the country clergy. Walpole contributes a touch to the picture of clerical life, though he chiefly concerns himself with intrigues for bishoprics, or with prelates who only admitted their clergy to their presence if their visitors were attired in full canonicals. When he was showing a friend over Strawberry Hill she described it as 'just such a house as a parson's, where the children lie at the foot of the bed.' Perhaps the overhoused and overrated clergy of the present day might think their predecessors were in this respect more suitably accommodated than themselves. But it is plain that, whatever the fate of non-resident pluralists, the actual parochial work in rural districts was done by men the conditions of whose lives differed little from those of a modern agricultural labourer. Such a man was the

Rev. Isaac Nicholson, a curate of thirty-five years of age, whom Cowper met at Huntingdon in 1765,

'very poor, but very good and very happy. He reads prayers here twice a day all the year, round, and travels on foot to serve two churches every Sunday through the year, his journey out and home again being sixteen miles.'

Cowper supped with him on bread and cheese, flanked by a black jug of ale brewed by his own hands. At Olney the curate kept no servant; a woman came in once a day to make his bed and dress his dinner, and for the rest of the time left him to his lucubrations. Nor were the clergy as a rule on the side of sobriety. But for its emoluments, Cowper says, they would rather suppress the Church than restrict the sale of strong beer. 'Many of the most profligate characters are the men to whom the morals and souls of their neighbours are entrusted.' The laity had ceased to respect them—such, at any rate, was Cowper's experience; and he did not think that 'the diocese of Lincoln' was more unfortunate than others.

Where Walpole and Cowper describe a similar scene the essential differences in their habits, surroundings, and associates are strongly marked. Compare, for example, a picnic at Olney and at Vauxhall. We may be sure that, before the day for the country picnic was chosen, Cowper had carefully consulted the leech in a bottle which served as his weather-glass. No change ever surprised it, and it was always possessed of the earliest and most accurate intelligence. Yet it had cost only sixpence—but a groat above the market price. The oracle seems to have proved favourable.

'Yesterday se'nnight' (writes Cowper, vol. i, pp. 335, 336) 'we all dined together in the Spinnie—a most delightful retirement belonging to Mrs Throckmorton of Weston. Lady Austen's lackey, and a lad that waits on me in the garden, drove a wheelbarrow full of eatables and drinkables to the scene of our *fête champêtre*. A board laid over the top of the wheelbarrow served us for a table; our dining-room was a root-house lined with moss and ivy. At six o'clock the servants, who had dined under a great elm upon the ground, at a little distance, boiled the kettle, and the said wheelbarrow served us for a tea-table. We then took a walk into the wilderness, about half a mile off, and were at home again

a little after eight, having spent the day together from noon till evening without one cross occurrence, or the least weariness of each other, a happiness few parties of pleasure can boast of.'

The whole scene has about it a restful charm; but it belongs to another age, almost to another world. We can hardly imagine anything more humdrum or more alien to the tastes of the present generation than its simplicity, its quiet, its protracted duration. Walpole's entertainment is of quite a different character (vol. ii, pp. 452–456). He describes the scene at Vauxhall with astonishing vigour and vivacity; but the passage is far too long to quote in its entirety. Walpole and a party of friends were invited by Lady Caroline Petersham, in June 1750, to supper at Vauxhall. He called at his hostess's house at half-past seven, when she and 'little Ashe' had just finished putting on 'their last layer of red.' They looked 'as handsome as crimson could make them.' Gathering the rest of the party as they went, they sailed up the Mall, with all their colours flying, encountering on their way Lady Caroline's husband, 'with his nose and legs twisted to every point of crossness.' They bore his rebuff as best they could, and made their way to their barge, 'with a boat of French horns attending and little Ashe singing. We paraded some time up the river, and at last debarked at Vauxhall.' Narrowly escaping a quarrel in the Gardens, they finally assembled at their booth—

'Lady Caroline in the front, with the vizor of her hat erect, and looking gloriously jolly and handsome. . . . We minced seven chickens in a china dish, which Lady Caroline stewed over a lamp with three pats of butter and a flagon of water, stirring, and rattling, and laughing, and we every minute expecting to have the dish fly about our ears. She had brought Betty, the fruit-girl, with hampers of strawberries and cherries from Rogers's, and made her wait upon us, and then made her sup by us at a little table. The conversation was no less lively than the whole transaction.' In a little time the party had monopolised the attention of the garden; 'so much so that, from eleven o'clock till half an hour after one, we had the whole concourse round our booth. At last they came into the little gardens of each booth on the sides of ours, till Harry Vane took up a bumper and drank their

healths, and was proceeding to treat them with still greater freedom. It was three o'clock before we got home' (ii, 453).

In Cowper we feel that the whole atmosphere of life has altered. In Walpole we recognise changes; but they are rather in degree than in kind. Living in such different surroundings, the two writers not only handle their material with characteristic dissimilarity, but treat of subjects that seem essentially alien. Life, both in town and country, has doubtless changed its external features in many striking particulars. Yet Walpole's world seems less strange to us than that of Cowper. The town has not assimilated itself to the country. On the contrary, the country has approximated to the town; and no broad lines of distinction now divide the squire from the courtier, the farmer from the tradesman, the rustic from the citizen. Reading Cowper's letters, we stand at a greater distance from our own times than we do with Walpole as our guide.

Certain elements of picturesqueness and romance have vanished. The occupation of the blacksmith of Gretna Green is gone; the race of Fleet parsons is extinct. Smugglers no longer hang in chains on the Sussex Downs. Naval officers of to-day may sigh in vain for the chances of bringing into our harbours captured treasure-ships valued at 500,000*l.*, as they did in the wars of George II. It is not from fear of gentlemen of the road that evening wayfarers are timid of crossing Hyde Park; nor do travellers, starting on a noonday journey, now arm themselves as if for battle. Temple Bar has disappeared; and speculators can no longer sell halfpenny peeps through a spy-glass, as they did in 1746, at the heads of traitors impaled upon the spikes. There is less of the door-knocker and more of the latch-key about our immoralities. Athleticism has superseded conversation. *Bilboquet*, or cup and ball, is a forgotten recreation. The sportsman of to-day does not import his gun-barrels from Pistoia. Duelling has passed away. Dress has lost its individuality and assumed the monotony of a uniform type. In drunkenness modern society recognises an offence against itself instead of the stamp of good breeding. The hours of weddings, of dinners, and of other social functions have changed. 'Fashion,' wrote Walpole in 1753, 'has so far prevailed over custom that

at Oxford, the dinner hour has been changed from twelve to one'; he himself then dined at two. Balls began at eight; supper was served at twelve; tea, coffee, and departure were fixed for four in the morning. But nowadays it is impossible to imagine that a dozen of the young men should stay on till seven, and, in those three hours, drink thirty-two bottles of wine. A generation which remembers the sacrifice of the Derby holiday may hear with wonder that the House of Commons adjourned *en masse* at three in the afternoon to see 'Othello' played at Covent Garden by a company of amateurs; but such an event would scarcely surprise the world more than the assembly of half the members of White's in a Newgate cell to take leave of a condemned highwayman. Gambling is comparatively restricted by sobriety or natural prudence; fox-hunters do not carry sets of dice and boxes in their pockets to throw a main whenever the hounds are at fault. Betting has become a matter of business, a question of arithmetical calculation. It is less fantastic, perhaps less humorous. Certainly in the twentieth century it is scarcely possible to imagine two such bets as the following. A man dropped dead in the street opposite White's. He was carried into the club, where the members wagered heavily whether he was dead or alive. But when the doctors drew their lancets to bleed him the wagerers for the death interposed on the ground that the operation would affect the fairness of the bet. Again, in 1756 a match was made for 500*l.* between two noble lords to be walked by six geese and six turkeys between Norwich and Mile End turnpike, the winner to be the person who brought 'most cattle' alive to the turnpike. Yet, in spite of these and a hundred other differences, London society has not undergone the same revolution which has transformed rural life.

Walpole's letters, in fact, suggest comparisons with contemporary society almost as often as they suggest contrasts. What can be more modern than Walpole's description of the tyrannical fashion which compels people to go out of London every week-end, even if they only transport themselves to another town? Tea-drinking is generally supposed to be a modern excess. No one would think of associating the practice with the middle of the eighteenth century, when more serious drinking

was at its highest wine-mark. Yet Walpole declares that a new duty on tea was insupportable, because tea had become so universal that it would make a greater clamour than a duty on wine. The present importations of Parisian fashions of dress and cookery are nothing new. Mrs Chenevix, the 'noted toy-shop' woman, may not have called herself Madame Chenevix, nor did the Keppel Inn advertise itself as the Hotel Keppel. Yet Walpole in 1748 tells us that 'all our milliners, tailors, tavern-keepers, and young gentlemen are tiding to France for our improvement and luxury.' Nor were 'flannelled fools' unknown in the days of Walpole. The worship of athletics is not a modern cult. 'A ballad,' writes Walpole in 1742, 'is the only thing in fashion except cricket matches'; and he elsewhere describes Lord Mountford as a peer who had gained a reputation by fetching up 'parsons by express from different parts of England to play cricket matches on Richmond Green.'

What, again, can be more like our own times than the picture of the Duke of Newcastle at a military review hurrying, glass in eye, up and down the ranks, crying out, 'Finest troops, finest troops! greatest general!' The only difference seems to be that the want of reticence which was peculiar to the Prime Minister has become a characteristic of the nation. Young ladies of the present day are often reproached with the calculating prudence of their matrimonial projects. Whether the accusation is true or false, they are no worse than their predecessors, though perhaps they think their thoughts less aloud. In 1760 Lord Huntingtower, the eldest son of Lord Dysart, fell in love with one of Walpole's nieces, a young lady to whom he had never spoken. Addressing himself to the girl's father, he was referred to the daughter for an answer.

'On receiving the notification she said very sensibly, "If I was but nineteen I would refuse point blank; I do not like to be married in a week to a man I never saw. But I am two-and-twenty; some people say I am handsome, some say I am not. I believe the truth is I am likely to be large and to go off soon—it is dangerous to refuse so great a match."'

One hundred and fifty years ago, society was completely conquered by a pack of cards. With a few

changes in detail the conquest has been paralleled in our own day. In 1742 whist was coming rapidly into fashion, with Hoyle for its tutelary deity. 'I have not yet learned to play,' says Walpole, 'but I find that I wait in vain for its being left off.' The same reluctance to be swept into a vortex of card-playing was the experience of many yesterday, if not to-day. 'Whisk,' he writes elsewhere, 'has spread an universal opium over the whole nation; it makes courtiers and patriots sit down to the same pack of cards.' Substitute bridge for whist, free-trader for courtier, tariff-reformer for patriot, and the scene is reproduced. Walpole even attributes the absence of wonders —the disappearance of rabbit-women, epics, and elopements—to the paralysing popularity of the new game. To-day it seems as rare to elope as it is to write an epic; and there is the supernatural touch about a rabbit-woman which makes her more likely to obtain credit than the author of an Æneid or a pair of 'Eloping Angels.' But though a new list of marvels might be needed to complete the parallel, it would be easy to show that bridge, like whist, has falsified the proverb, 'wonders will never cease.'

A man endowed with Walpole's genius, who pursued trifles as his serious occupation and diverted himself with the comical earnestness of the real business of life, was eminently fitted to shine in society and excel as a letter-writer. The tone of irresponsibility which pervades his correspondence gives it an infectious air of gaiety but leaves no space for depth of feeling. It is not so much the choice of subjects, but the manner in which all are handled, that is frivolous. Walpole never mentions John Wesley. Too much stress need not be laid on the omission. Wesley is not mentioned by Cowper, who, though he contributed so largely to the evangelical revival within the Church of England, does not seem to have been attracted to Methodism in the distinctive and modern sense of the word. It was considered 'Methodistical' not to play cards on Sunday; and a maid-of-honour lost her place at court for declining to play. With that side of the movement which required a greater strictness of life Cowper was strongly sympathetic. But his one reference to Charles Wesley, under the transparent title of 'Occiduus,' is one of disapproval.

'Lady Austen' (he says) 'has been at his sabbatical concerts, which, it seems, are composed of song-tunes and psalm-tunes indiscriminately; music without words—and, I suppose one may say, consequently without devotion. . . . He seems, together with others of our acquaintance, to have suffered considerably in his spiritual character by his attachment to music.'

Walpole's remarks on Methodism are conceived in a different spirit. Thus, in 1748, speaking of the movement, he says:—

'This nonsensical *new light* is extremely in fashion, and I shall not be surprised if we see a revival of all the folly and cant of the last age.' Again, in 1749: 'Methodism is more fashionable than anything but brag; the women play devilish deep at both—as deep, it is much suspected, as the matrons of Rome did at the mysteries of Bona Dea' (ii, 336, 367).

Yet he was sufficiently interested in the movement to make some effort to study the causes of its influence. In the same year he says:—

'You asked me about the principles of the Methodists; I have tried to learn them, and have read one of their books. The *visible* part seems to be nothing but stricter practice than that of our Church, clothed in the old exploded cant of mystical devotion. For example, you take a metaphor; we will say our passions are *weeds*; you immediately drop every description of the passions and adopt everything peculiar to weeds; in five minutes a true Methodist will talk with the greatest compunction of *hoeing*—this catches women of fashion and shopkeepers. I forgot to tell you' (he continues) 'a piece of Methodism, which is that they write up religious nonsense everywhere, and have extremely purified the style of writing on public walls; they now scribble the name of the Prince of Peace instead of the Princess!' (ii, 402–3).

Yet Walpole could see some good points in the religious revival. Thus, in 1760 he says (iv, 399):—

'I met a rough officer in his' (John Hawkins's) 'house t'other day who said he knew such a person was turning Methodist, for, in the middle of conversation, he rose and opened the window to let out a moth. I told him I did not know that the Methodists had any principle so good, and that I, who am certainly not on the point of becoming one, always did so too.'

As a politician Walpole's attitude towards the Govern-

ment of the country was not wholly inappropriate. Public affairs were administered by methods which commanded little respect. They were only redeemed from absurdity by the conduct of individuals or the virtues of party loyalty. Political life was an intrigue for power, a scramble for place, a traffic in votes. It was a trade in which it was difficult to engage with clean hands, a game in which all tricks were considered to be fair. With many protestations of incorruptibility, Walpole consented to share in the division of the stakes. But, though he had not the inconvenient conscience of the reformer, he knew too much, and was too discerning to attempt to ignore abuses. He accepted the situation. He adopted the attitude of irresponsible frivolity, and surrounded the Government with an atmosphere of *opera-bouffe*, in which the comic business of stage statesmen was carried on under the disguise of earnestness. But the truth was not concealed from him. Writing on the eve of an election in 1747, he says:—

'In general, I believe, it is much as usual—those sold in detail that afterwards will be sold in the representation; the ministers bribing Jacobites to choose friends of their own; the name of well-wishers to the present establishment, and Patriots, outbidding ministers that they may make the better market of their own patriotism; in short, all England, under some name or other, is just now to be bought and sold; though, whenever we become posterity and forefathers, we shall be in high repute for wisdom and virtue' (ii, 281).

Cowper, though not in any sense a party man, was probably rather Whig than Tory in his sympathies. He had no patent-office to defend or excuse. Remote from the world, unfitted and disinclined by nature for political life, he watched, with keenly humorous eyes, the comedy of a representative system, which, apart from its general results, had degenerated into a farce. His description of the visit of a candidate to his house in 1784 is well known; but it may be quoted as an example of the simple ease and purity of the style of his letters, and as an illustration of the light in which thoughtful bystanders regarded the working of our electoral system.

'We were sitting yesterday after dinner, the two ladies and myself, very composedly, and without the least appre-

hension of any such intrusion in our snug parlour, one lady knitting, the other netting, and the gentleman winding worsted, when, to our unspeakable surprise, a mob appeared before the window; a smart rap was heard at the door; the boys haloo'd; and the maid announced Mr Grenville. Puss was unfortunately let out of her box, so that the candidate, with all his good friends at his heels, was refused admittance at the grand entry, and referred to the back door as the only possible way of approach.

'Candidates are creatures not very susceptible of affronts, and would rather, I suppose, climb in at a window than be absolutely excluded. In a minute the yard, the kitchen, and the parlour were filled. Mr Grenville, advancing toward me, shook me by the hand with a degree of cordiality that was extremely seducing. As soon as he, and as many more as could find chairs, were seated, he began to open the intent of his visit. I told him I had no vote, for which he readily gave me credit. I assured him I had no influence, which he was not equally inclined to believe, and the less, no doubt, because Mr Ashburner, the draper, addressing himself to me at this moment, informed me that I had a great deal. Supposing that I could not be possessed of such a treasure without knowing it, I ventured to confirm my first assertion by saying that if I had any I was utterly at a loss to imagine where it could be, or wherein it consisted. Thus ended the conference. Mr Grenville squeezed me by the hand again, kissed the ladies, and withdrew. He kissed likewise the maid in the kitchen, and seemed upon the whole a most loving, kissing, kind-hearted gentleman. He is very young, genteel, and handsome. He has a pair of very good eyes in his head, which, not being sufficient as it should seem for the many nice and difficult purposes of a senator, he has a third also, which he wore suspended by a ribband from his buttonhole. The boys halloo'd; the dogs barked; Puss scampered; the hero, with his long train of obsequious followers, withdrew' (ii, 182).

For refusing to take too seriously the sordid intrigues of professional politicians Walpole can scarcely be condemned. But political events in the latter half of the eighteenth century were of a sombre magnitude which harmonised ill with the brilliant glitter of his universal *blague*. The fate of empires were staked on the wars in which Great Britain was almost continuously engaged. Yet still Walpole preserved, or affected to preserve, the

same indifferent attitude. 'To be sure,' he says, 'war is a dreadful calamity, etc. But then it is a very comfortable commodity for writing letters.' Cowper, from his seclusion at Olney, looked out on the world in a different spirit. The game of politics had no interest for him; but he followed the course of political events with keen anxiety, at the expense of three shillings and threepence a quarter, for which sum he enjoyed the daily use of the 'Morning Chronicle.' The following passages from Cowper, written in 1782, are conceived in a loftier mood, and one more characteristic of the nation, than that which Walpole habitually exemplifies in his correspondence. They suggest the great reserve of strength which England then possessed in her silent country districts; they also illustrate the patriotism, determination, preference of deeds to words, and practical conception of 'an Englishman's business,' which carried the nation through the tremendous conflict.

'I recollect that in those happier days, when you and I could spend our evening in enumerating victories and acquisitions that seemed to follow each other in a continued series, there was some pleasure in hearing a politician. . . . When poor Bob White brought me the news of Boscawen's success off the coast of Portugal, how did I leap for joy! When Hawke demolished Conflans I was still more transported. But nothing could express my rapture when Wolfe made the conquest of Quebec. I am not, therefore, I suppose, destitute of true patriotism; but the course of public events has of late afforded me no opportunity to exert it. I cannot rejoice, because I see no reason; and I will not murmur, because for that I can find no good one' (vol. i, p. 436).

'I am not quite such a superannuated simpleton as to suppose that mankind were wiser or much better when I was young than they are now. But I may venture to assert, without exposing myself to the charge of dotage, that the men whose integrity, courage, and wisdom broke the bands of tyranny, established our constitution upon its true basis, and gave a people, overwhelmed with the scorn of all countries, an opportunity to emerge into a state of the highest respect and estimation, make a better figure in history than any of the present day are likely to do when their pretty harangues are forgotten and nothing shall survive but the remembrance of the views and motives with which they made them' (ib. p. 437).

'The blow we have struck in the West Indies [the defeat of the Comte de Grasse by Rodney, April 12, 1782] will, I suppose, be decisive at least for the present year, and, so far as that part of our possessions is concerned, in the present conflict. But the news-writers and their correspondents disgust me and make me sick. One victory after such a long series of adverse occurrences has filled them with self-conceit and impertinent boasting; and, while Rodney is almost accounted a Methodist for ascribing his success to Providence, men who have renounced all dependence upon such a friend, without whose assistance nothing can be done, threaten to drive the French out of the sea, laugh at the Spaniards, sneer at the Dutch, and are to carry the world before them. Our enemies are apt to brag, and we deride them for it; but we can sing as loud as they can, in the same key, and no doubt, wherever our papers go, shall be derided in our turn. An Englishman's true glory should be to do his business well, and say little about it; but he disgraces himself when he puffs his prowess as if he had finished his task, when he has but just begun it' (vol. i, pp. 481, 482).

To discuss the rival claims of Cowper and Walpole to be considered the 'greatest of English letter-writers' is wasted labour. The two authors are so essentially different in character, in subject-matter, in style, that they cannot be compared: they can only be contrasted. The literary form of both is perfectly adapted to the subject-matter. Cowper's unstudied natural ease is in absolute harmony with the rural life of Olney; the brilliance and glitter of Walpole are equally in keeping with the world of London society. While Cowper is an acknowledged master of the English art of letter-writing, Walpole is the only rival to the great French school whom our literature possesses. If moral value forms an element in literary merit, Walpole is a feather-weight in the scales; but if the interest of the events described is allowed to weigh in the balance, Cowper kicks the beam. On these and similar questions men might dispute for ever. They can at least unite in gratitude to Mr Wright and Mrs Toynbee for their admirable editions of two of the greatest of English letter-writers.

ROWLAND E. PROTHERO.

Art. III.—PROFIT-SHARING AND COPARTNERSHIP.

1. *Co-operative Production.* Publications of the Labour Copartnership Association, 1901–3. Central Office, 15 Southampton Street, Holborn, W.C.
2. *Twenty Years of Copartnership at Guise.* With introduction by Mr Thomas Burt, M.P. Translated from the French by Aneurin Williams. Labour Copartnership Association, 15 Southampton Street, Holborn, W.C.
3. *South Metropolitan Gas Company: Our Copartnership System.* Report of Meeting at the Crystal Palace, August 1903. South Metropolitan Gas Company, 709 Old Kent Road, S.E.
4. *Ireland in the New Century.* By the Rt Hon. Sir Horace Plunkett. London: John Murray, 1904.
5. *Reports of the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society, Limited,* 1902–3. Dublin: Sealy, Bryers and Walker.
6. *Report of the Moseley Industrial Commission.* Manchester: Co-operative Printing Society, 1903.
7. *Reports of Proceedings of the Institution of Mechanical Engineers,* 1901–3.
8. *Bonus Tables for calculating Wages on the Bonus or Premium System.* By Henry A. Golding. London: Griffin, 1903.

And other works.

THE clash of acrimonious discussion on the fiscal question will be very far from a sheer waste of energy if it serve to draw attention to defects in the existing economic system which are remediable and ought to be remedied. These defects exist alike in free trade and in protectionist countries, and therefore invite attention alike from tariff-reformers and free-fooders, or—to revert to the older and simpler nomenclature—from protectionists and free-traders. One of the most important of these defects is that existing economic arrangements hide from the great mass of the labouring classes the fact that their interests are served by whatever increases the productiveness of their labour. Every workman would agree that the ultimate source of his wages is the value of what he produces; and yet it is by no means clear to the workman that the more he produces the more he

gets. Self-interest is therefore not awakened, and fails to stimulate his energy and inventiveness. He seems to gain by spinning out a given piece of work over the greatest possible number of hours. The general spirit of trade-unionism is to limit output rather than to stimulate it; and the desire of trade-unionists is to restrict the supply of skilled labour rather than to increase it. Sir Alfred Moseley, in the introduction to his Industrial Report, quotes a leading trade-unionist as saying, 'Just as it is the object of the master to get as much work as he can for as little wages as possible, so it is the object of the workman to get as much wages for as little work as possible' (p. 11). Sir Alfred Moseley's opinion obviously is that the United States is outstripping England in the industrial race largely because the working men in America are sufficiently educated to see that they profit by the productiveness of their labour, and are not possessed by the idea that it is to their own interests to do as little as they can in return for their wages.

To recognise this is not necessarily to condemn trade-unionism. It is obvious that trade-unions have done much to raise the status of the worker and to protect his interests. But to say this is not to say the last word. The present organisation of industry fails to awaken in the average workman the desire to do his best; and he frequently believes that he and his class are actually benefited by his doing considerably less than his best. The loss to the working class and to the nation caused by this state of things is incalculable. Imagine, as Lord Grey has put it, the difference between the output of ten millions of workers who believe that they are fulfilling their duty to their fellow workmen by restricting their output, and that of the same number who believe it to be the interest of all concerned that their work should be as efficient as possible. A trade-union official, speaking at a recent co-operative meeting, estimated the difference in value to be at least thirty per cent. Besides this normal and constant loss to the national productive power, there are two other kinds of loss which also have to be reckoned with. There is, first, the deterioration of character which comes of slackness and want of industry, with its attendant drinking, loafing, gambling, and thriftlessness; this is a loss the magnitude of which cannot be

estimated by any arithmetic. Secondly, there is the huge national loss caused by strikes.* It is no uncommon thing for the loss to a single trade caused by a strike to run to hundreds of thousands; and Board of Trade returns on strikes point to their costing the nation, on the average, as much as half a million a year.

These are some of the results of industry being organised on a basis of war between capital and labour rather than on a basis of peace. In some respects things are growing worse rather than better, because the advantages of production on a large scale are year by year more and more pressing the small producer out of existence. The little tradesman, who combined in his own person the attributes of capitalist and labourer, is in many occupations becoming extinct; the small employer, who knows all his men personally, working with and among them, is less common than formerly. The old adage that ownership turns sand into gold is now too often inverted, ownership on a small scale usually turning gold to sand. Production on a large scale, therefore, holds the field, and is likely in the future to hold it even more completely than at present. The problem which co-operators have attempted to solve is how, while leaving production on a large scale in unquestioned predominance, to give the worker an obvious interest in the productiveness of his work, and to turn him from a hireling into a partner.

The joint-stock principle, with limited liability, and the development of banking are among the most important economic inventions of the last century. They have enabled every one who can save a few pounds to enter as a shareholder upon industrial enterprise. The drawbacks of the system are obvious enough. Still, making due allowance for frauds and over-speculation, no one can deny that the wealth of the world has been enormously increased by the massing of petty sums which separately could seldom have been used productively, and by the conversion of them into capital

* The master of a workhouse in the north of England told the present writer that, in his opinion, every big strike adds permanently to the great army of tramps and casuals. During a long strike men lose the habit of work; many of them take to the road, and habitual industry knows them no more.

which can be used collectively for the creation of wealth. Savings which formerly languished in old stockings or in a pot hidden in the thatch are now used to make railways, waterworks, docks, etc., and to promote every kind of productive industry. The effect of this Pactolus stream on production has been little short of miraculous; and the national wealth has increased by leaps and bounds. The benefit to the investing classes is no less marked. The middle class enjoy a standard of comfort which would have been beyond the dreams of avarice in ages not by any means remote. The economic difference between the past and the present cannot be attributed to any one cause; it is the effect of many causes acting together; but among these must always be placed the encouragement to saving offered by investments, and the consequent utilisation of capital which would otherwise have lain idle and unproductive.

Will it be possible for the twentieth century to do for the wage-earning man what the nineteenth century did for the middle classes—to encourage him to save by putting fairly safe and fairly remunerative industrial investment within his reach? Will it be possible, without abandoning the immense economic advantages of production on a large scale, to make the workmen something more than 'hands,' mere parts of the machinery in the big concern—to convert them into partners by giving them a direct pecuniary interest in the productiveness of their labour, and, at the same time, a reasonably sound investment for their savings? We propose to examine some practical answers which have been given to these questions.

The South Metropolitan Gasworks Co. furnishes our first example. The manager, Mr (now Sir) George Livesey, nearly thirty years ago obtained the consent of Parliament to a scheme for identifying the interests of the shareholders of his company with those of the consumers of gas. A certain standard normal price of gas per thousand feet was fixed, corresponding to a certain normal rate of interest; but, for every penny per thousand feet by which the price of gas could be reduced, the company were authorised to add another five shillings per 100*l.* to the dividends of their shareholders. The system worked

advantageously and identified the interests of consumers and shareholders. It is mentioned here to illustrate the bent of the manager's mind in desiring to bring about harmony where there was formerly antagonism. In 1887 and 1888 the company offered to its men the eight-hours' day and the three-shift system; but the offer was rejected. In 1889 the Gas Stokers' Union, then newly formed, demanded the eight-hours' day; and the directors, having been ready for it before the men were, immediately granted the request. The Union then appeared to think that whatever it asked for would be granted; and a long string of concessions, some reasonable and some unreasonable, was demanded.

Sir George Livesey had long considered it desirable to give the officers and men some permanent stake in the welfare of the company, and in October 1889 he obtained the consent of his board to a scheme of profit-sharing between employers and employed. The plan was explained to about a dozen of the leaders among the workmen. They approved; but the members of the Gas Stokers' Union said they must consult that organisation. The Union refused its consent to the adoption of the plan; but the workmen who were not members of the Union let it be known to the board that they did not see why they should be kept out of a good thing because others declined it. The result was that the directors gave every man in their employment the choice of accepting or rejecting on his own account the profit-sharing scheme. The stokers, who numbered about two thousand, refused the offer; the other employés, numbering about a thousand, accepted it. Acceptance carried with it the signing of an agreement to work for twelve months, with a proviso that any man might leave during that period with the approval of the engineer on giving one week's notice.*

This, no doubt, was the point in the arrangement which incurred the opposition of the Union. A signed agree-

* This approval was in practice never withheld; it was not infrequently applied for by, and granted to, men who had opportunities of more responsible and better paid posts in other works. The men themselves greatly valued the twelve months' agreement, as it secured their employment for this period.

ment to work for a year would take from the Union its most formidable weapon, the power to order an immediate strike. The officers of the Union were well within their rights in recommending their members to reject the profit-sharing scheme. It was for them to judge, to the best of their ability, which course would be most to the benefit of the workmen; but they went beyond this, and put themselves entirely in the wrong by making the outrageous demand upon the directors that they should dismiss from their employment the thousand workmen who had accepted the profit-sharing scheme. To dismiss men for accepting an offer which the directors themselves had made would have been to forfeit all independence on the part of the company. Nevertheless, because this demand was not complied with, the two thousand stokers gave a week's notice on the following day; and one of the most remarkable strikes on record immediately followed. It cost the company close upon 100,000*l.*, but they were victorious all along the line. It was one of life's little ironies that the scheme which had been intended to extinguish strikes and give identity of interest to employers and employed was the immediate cause of a most formidable strike.

The profit-sharing scheme, initiated in so much tumult in 1889, was an extension to the workmen of the sliding-scale principle which had long been found to work well between shareholders and consumers. The sum of 2*s.* 8*d.* per thousand feet was taken as the standard price of gas; and, for every penny per thousand feet below that sum for which the gas could be sold, the officers and workmen were to be entitled to an annual bonus of 1 per cent., afterwards increased to 1½ per cent., on their wages. At the time the scheme was started the actual price of gas was 2*s.* 3*d.* per thousand feet, or 5*d.* below the standard; and this allowed a bonus of 5 per cent. on annual wages. Like Leclaire in Paris, the directors, in order to convince their workmen of the *bona fides* of their offer, allowed it to be retrospective for three years; and each man who had been three years in the company's employment and accepted the scheme was at once credited with a sum averaging 3 per cent. per annum on his wages during the preceding three years. This sum, which amounted in the aggregate to 6863*l.*, was termed the 'nest-egg,' and it

was not to be withdrawable for five years, until 1894.* Half of the annual bonus accruing to each workman after 1889 was withdrawable in cash as soon as it became due; and in the early years of the working of the scheme about half of the available sum was thus withdrawn year by year. Sir George Livesey, however, attaches great importance to the workman allowing his bonus to remain at interest in the company's hands. He seeks to remove the antagonism between capital and labour by converting the labourer into a capitalist. He urges that the man who withdraws his bonus as soon as it accrues gets little or no permanent good from it; and it is noteworthy that the proportion of the bonus withdrawn has rapidly diminished since the inauguration of the scheme. Sir George Livesey, speaking before hundreds of his work-people at the Crystal Palace in August 1903, said:—

'At first nearly half of the annual bonus was left in the company's hands, but now nearly the whole is saved. I find there is a certain number of men who want the money directly they can lay their hands on it, but they are becoming fewer every year. . . . There was 28,000*l.* credited to the bonus account this last July [1903], half of which had to be invested in stock and the other half was withdrawable. How much do you think was withdrawn? Only 7 per cent. of the withdrawable half, or 967*l.* out of 13,700*l.* Well, that is only 3½ per cent. of the total. Last year it was double that, and the year before considerably more. At Vauxhall and Old Greenwich only 1 per cent. was withdrawn. . . . This withdrawable amount, if it is allowed to remain with the company, may be of inestimable use at some time of emergency or unexpected misfortune. If, however, it is withdrawn every year, of course there will be nothing when it is

* A number of the workmen's 'pass-books' in account with the company were handed in by Sir George Livesey in the course of his evidence before the Labour Commission in 1892. One, which appears to have been taken at random, is given in detail.

	£	s.	d.
1889. 'Nest-egg,' being 3 per cent. per annum on the man's wages, counting three years back	7	0	4
1889–90. Interest at 4 per cent.	0	5	7
1890. Bonus	3	18	0
,, Savings voluntarily added	9	0	0
1891. Bonus	3	18	0
,, Interest at 4 per cent.	0	12	4
	£24	14	3

most wanted. I am thankful to say the great majority of the South Metropolitan men—93 per cent.—have left this withdrawable money in the company's hands.'

The rule at first was that the men should be allowed to leave the withdrawable half of their bonus with the company at 4 per cent. interest. This was not philanthropy, but business, when the company's stocks stood at a figure which yielded about 4½ per cent. As gas stocks rose in value between 1894 and 1899, their yield per cent. was reduced to something below 4 per cent., and it then became necessary to reduce the interest allowed on the workmen's deposits. When this was done the reasons for it were explained to the men, who admitted the justice of the change and unanimously agreed to it. Not a single man withdrew his money because the rate of interest had been reduced.

The good understanding between employers and employed, of which this gives such convincing proof, had been greatly strengthened by the formation of a profit-sharing committee, consisting of workmen elected by ballot by their fellows, and an equal number of members nominated by the directors. All matters which might give rise to dispute, growing out of the profit-sharing scheme, are referred to this committee. Its usefulness is by no means confined to the averting of disputes. The members of the committee, as one of them has expressed it, 'walk about' among their fellow-workers and explain the profit-sharing scheme to them, and show them the advantages obtained by leaving the bonus with the company. Several of the workmen speakers at the Crystal Palace meeting already referred to spoke appreciatively of the courtesy with which they were invariably treated by their officers, of the value to the men of the extra quarter of an hour allowed for breakfast, and other evidences of consideration and kindliness. They evidently appreciated the good treatment they received and felt that it helped them to do their best. One man said:—

'When profit-sharing was first introduced our trade-unionist friends said it would not live . . . that it was not possible for capital and labour to work hand in hand and to get along together—they must be antagonistic. Events since then have proved the contrary. . . . Here we are all unionists. We are members of the Capital and Labour union. . . . The cheaper

the company can buy the coal, the cheaper we can get the carbonising done, the cheaper we can produce the gas, the better for all concerned. The consumer gets his gas cheaper, the shareholder has a larger dividend, and we—last, but not least—have a better bonus.'

The actual pecuniary advantage of the scheme to the workmen can be readily proved by a few figures. The 6863*l.* with which the men were credited in 1889 had grown in 1903 to a grand total of 224,764*l.* The larger part of this was held in the company's stock; the rest was the accumulation of the yearly accruing bonus on deposit and bearing interest. Between two and three thousand of the company's employés owned stock of more than 5*l.* and under 50*l.* in value; 321 held between 50*l.* and 100*l.*; 151 held between 100*l.* and 200*l.*; 40 held between 200*l.* and 300*l.*; 13 between 300*l.* and 400*l.*; 10 between 400*l.* and 500*l.*; and several held over 500*l.* All these were workmen only, the holdings of the officers and overseers not being included. Profit-sharing has thus developed into a complete system of copartnership. The whole scheme has worked admirably. As Sir George Livesey said before the Labour Commission:—

'It gave, in place of hostility and antagonism, peace and goodwill; in the place of doubt and mistrust, confidence; and in the place of sullen, discontented workmen, a body of cheerful, willing, capable workers with whom it was a pleasure to be associated.'

The latest development of copartnership at the South Metropolitan Gasworks has been the appointment of workmen as directors. This began in 1899. The workmen directors are elected by the workmen shareholders, and retire annually, but are eligible for re-election. The same men have been repeatedly re-elected, and have thoroughly earned the confidence of their fellow-workmen and of their fellow-directors. The fears which some of the board entertained with regard to this new departure have not been confirmed by experience. The knowledge gained as members of the governing body has never been betrayed or misused in any way; and it is obvious that to occupy such a position must have a practical educational effect of considerable importance. The double object of the copartnership scheme has never been

lost sight of—to give the men an interest in the company's prosperity, and also to give them the opportunity of becoming the owners of property.

The example of the South Metropolitan Gasworks Company has been followed, in all important respects, by the Crystal Palace District Gas Company; and this smaller and less wealthy body, which started co-partnership in 1894, had in nine years placed 20,000*l.* worth of its stock in the hands of its employés. The bonus in this company amounted in 1903 to 2000*l.*, one half of which was immediately withdrawable; but only 5*l.* 19*s.* was actually withdrawn, and this by two men who had been impoverished by illness, so that the withdrawal of the cash to their credit was entirely justified by the circumstances.

It will be noted that the whole cost to the South Metropolitan Gas Company of the profit-sharing or co-partnership scheme was the sum of 6863*l.*, credited to the men in 1889 as the 'nest-egg.' This was not very greatly in excess of one week's wages bill at that period; and a very insignificant item of expenditure in comparison with the cost of a strike. The annual bonus costs the company nothing, for it represents what has been saved by the additional efficiency of the labour employed.

The French copartnership scheme adopted at Guise (Aisne) resembles that adopted by the South Metropolitan Gasworks in little except its success. The fundamental aim is, indeed, in both cases the same—to make the workman a capitalist, to engage his intelligence and interest in making his labour as productive as possible; but the methods employed in attaining this end differ widely. In one respect, however, they have an affinity with one another. At the head of each was a man who combined trained business capacity of a high order with faith in the co-operative principle and enthusiasm enough to overcome difficulties attendant on its adoption. Wherever co-operation and copartnership have succeeded, experience shows that there must be 'a man at the wheel' who has something of the spirit of a missionary as well as of a pioneer, added to business capacity and training. M. Jean Baptiste André Godin, the founder of the great co-operative ironworks at Guise, had these qualifications

to a very remarkable degree. He was born in 1817 at Esquehéries in the department of Aisne in north-eastern France, the son of a village blacksmith. He began work at eleven years old at his father's forge, when he was so diminutive that he had to stand on a stool to reach the vice. When he was seventeen he started in company with a cousin, who was a smith like himself, to make the tour of France, working as they went. They learnt other things beyond their craft. The ideas of St Simon were in the air; and the problem how to improve the condition of the workmen was constantly before young Godin's mind. Later in life, writing of this period of his existence, he said:—

'For me, day by day, returned the hard labour which kept me in the workshop from five in the morning till eight at night. I saw, in all its nakedness, the destitution of the workman and his needs; and it was in the dejection this brought upon me that, in spite of my small confidence in my own ability, I said to myself, "If ever I lift myself above the condition of the workman, I will seek means to render his life happier and to lift labour from its degradation."'

In three years he returned home, a young man of twenty. The making of stoves was a part of his father's business which young Godin determined to develope. After another three years he set up on his own account, in no spirit of rivalry with his father, but in order not to involve his parents in his own possible disasters. The father showed his good will by giving him 4000 francs; and on this he married and began business. He was inventive but, unlike many inventors, practical and energetic. Success soon attended him. In 1840 he was employing thirty men, and removed to Guise, which was favourably situated, at the junction of two branches of the river Oise, for water carriage of goods and materials. He remained a constant student of communistic theories, and formed the opinion that they had failed in practice and were barren and unfruitful because they were based on hatred. Hatred, even hatred of what is evil, is not enough, he argued; nothing good grows out of hatred; it is love of good which creates and produces more good. In 1842 he read Fourier's book, 'Theory of Universal Unity,' and found there what he had been looking for all his life, a means of reconciling labour,

capital, and talent by copartnership or co-operation. The revolutionary year of 1848 followed; and he had hard work to avoid utter ruin. After losing a considerable sum in a communistic experiment in the United States, Godin determined, with the practical instinct which seldom failed him, that any further experiments should be made among his own workpeople, in his own works, under his own eye.

Having become a wealthy and prosperous man, he proceeded, from 1856 onwards, to build up one of the most complex and successful co-operative establishments in existence. His plan included not only the participation by the workmen in the profits of the business, but provided for all their wants and wishes from the cradle to the grave. He erected large and commodious buildings, such as we should call workmen's dwellings, known at Guise as *familistères*. No workman was compelled to live in these; and many men lived in the towns or in the surrounding villages; but the rooms in the *familistères* offered so many advantages that they were much sought after. The dwellings are let at a low rent, about 8*s*. a month for two rooms, they have ample air-space within, and are surrounded without by a charming park, kitchen and flower gardens, and recreation fields. They form, in fact, an early type of the 'Garden City.' The co-operative association at Guise not only provides dwellings for its members but excellent schools, a theatre, a library, a savings bank, a swimming bath, bath and wash-houses, shops for all kinds of necessaries, and a covered court for recreation, which is used on occasions as a ballroom.

The waste of infant life by improper feeding and other kinds of neglect induced M. Godin to institute a nursery and school for babies where infants are taken care of from the time they are a fortnight old. The mothers resume possession of their babies at night, and covered passages connect the nursery with the *familistères*. As M. Godin's business was an iron-foundry, it naturally afforded little or no employment for women. This defect was remedied by setting up a stocking factory; additional employment for women is also found in the shops and other institutions connected with the *familistères*. Women are eligible to become members of the committee of management, and take part in its proceedings on the same footing as men.

The main features of M. Godin's copartnership scheme rest on the association of labour, capital, and talent, to each of which a definite share in the profits of the industry is allotted. The first charges upon gross profits are to cover (1) depreciation of buildings, (2) votes to various mutual insurance funds, (3) expenses of education, (4) interest on workmen's shares. What remains is treated as net profits and is divided into four parts; one fourth is allotted to the brain-workers and three fourths are divided between labour and capital. Capital is considered to have earned 'wages,' and the wages of capital are reckoned at 5 per cent. Of the one fourth of the net profits allotted to ability, by no means the whole went to the managing director; the committee of management received, at Godin's own desire, a share four times larger than his own; and handsome sums were also paid to any one who brought useful inventions before the board. In the year 1880 a deed was drawn up to provide for the gradual transference by sale of the whole business (then valued at 180,000*l.*) to the associated workmen.

It was characteristic of Godin's practical common-sense that he knew he would only be courting failure if he handed over the control of a large and complicated business, exposed to severe competition, to a committee of workmen who had never received any training in commerce. The rules of the society were accordingly carefully framed to guard against this. The workmen were divided into four classes whose powers range from zero (representing men who come and go, the floating population of the workshop) to first-class members, who are alone entitled to attend the general meeting and to elect three members of the committee of management.

M. Godin died in January 1888, and left to the 'Society of the Familistère' all that part of his property which the French law gave him power to dispose of. As he had thought out everything, down to the smallest details, to promote the success of his beloved scheme, so his survivors found that he had not left them without his assistance in the choice of his epitaph. Turning over his papers, his executors found the following:—

'Come to this tomb when you have need to be reminded that I founded the "Familistère" for brotherly association and partnership. Remain united by the love of humanity. Pardon

the wrongs which others do to you. Hatred is the fruit of evil hearts; let it not enter among you. Let the remembrance of me be for you a bond of brotherly unity. Nothing is good or meritorious without the love of humanity. Prosperity will accompany you in proportion as concord shall reign among you. Be just towards all, and you will serve as an example.'

These words are now engraved upon his monument, which stands in the pleasure-gardens of the *Familistère*. It might be thought that a creation so intensely personal as that of M. Godin's would not long survive its founder. But M. Godin built on strong foundations; and the *Familistère* of Guise continues its originator's best monument.

M. Godin may have worn his heart upon his sleeve a little more than is the fashion on this side of the English Channel; but in a social and economic mission such as his, a heart, and a large one too, is a necessary part of the pioneer's outfit; and, so long as he has it, he may follow his own taste as to the way in which it is worn. Many readers will feel that he was disposed to govern too much, to leave too little play to individualism, to be too completely the benevolent despot. His schemes are certainly open to this criticism. Still the proof of the sterling sagacity of his industrial innovations is that his *Familistère* continues to grow and flourish, though many years have elapsed since the death of its originator; and Guise still remains a living proof of what can be done to raise the status of the working classes, and to foster a wholesome relationship between capital and labour.

The recent growth of co-operation in Ireland bears no resemblance to the examples we have given in England and France. The economic condition of Ireland, if the industrial corner of Ulster is excluded, differs altogether from the economic condition of England and France. Excluding Ulster, with its flourishing factories and shipyards, and the places where the manufacture of porter and whisky are carried on, Ireland is wholly agricultural; and the holdings are extremely small. Two hundred thousand Irish holdings, representing the homes of nearly a million persons, range from one to fifteen acres only in extent. These are often on the poorest land. It has been said that in Ireland three fifths of the

farms are on one fourth of the land. The tenants or owners of these small holdings are almost always without capital, and very often without skill, knowledge, or industry. Moreover, they are diligently instructed by most of their pastors and masters that all the ills from which they suffer are due not to themselves but others.

> 'How small of all that human hearts endure,
> That part which laws or kings can cause or cure,'

is the very last sentiment which would ever occur to an average Irishman. He thinks that kings and laws, governments and castles, have caused every ill from which he suffers, and therefore ought to be called upon immediately to cure them.

That this is an error, and that the regeneration of Ireland rests upon the efforts of the people themselves, is the text over and over again reiterated, with every variety of phrase and epigram, in Sir Horace Plunkett's interesting book, 'Ireland in the New Century.' As the utterance of an Irishman speaking to Irishmen, the book marks an epoch. The author tells his countrymen that the condition of Ireland is a disgrace to Irishmen, and is due mainly to their own failure to grasp their opportunities, and to defects in the national character—lack of moral courage, of initiative, independence, and self-reliance. The publication of such a book goes some way towards refuting the charge it makes. It must have required no little moral courage for an Irishman living in Ireland to pen it; and that the author is a thorough Irishman every page of the book proves. No one but an Irishman could have made a book on such a subject not only interesting but amusing. As specimens of the wit with which Sir Horace Plunkett enlivens his pages we may quote the following: 'Dying in the last ditch would often mean in practice perching on the first fence.' 'The assumption that the Irish are singularly good politicians seems to stand seriously in the way of their becoming so.' Speaking of landlords and tenants he says, 'Mr Gladstone found the land system intolerable to one party; he made it intolerable to the other.' Referring to the constant drain from Ireland of its most vigorous young men and women by emigration, he laments, 'We cannot fit people to stay without fitting them to go.'

When he turns to the noble army of critics he remarks, 'It is a peculiarity of destructive criticism that, unlike charity, it generally begins and ends abroad'; and he neatly expresses the despair we have all felt on being asked to join the endless succession of associations, societies, and 'movements where nothing but resolutions will be moved.'

Sparkling and witty as its pages are, 'Ireland in the New Century' never loses sight of its very serious aim and object—the regeneration of Ireland from within, the rousing in Irishmen of a sense of their own responsibility for the condition of Ireland. In this connexion the author quotes one of the queries of Bishop Berkeley: 'Whether it would not be more reasonable to mend our state than to complain of it; and how far this may be in our own power?' The seed sown by Sir Horace Plunkett has borne fruit in a somewhat unexpected quarter. The whole meaning of the brilliant political comedy, 'John Bull's other Island,' is the same as that of 'Ireland in the New Century,' namely, that Irishmen are responsible for the woes of Ireland; but, unlike Sir Horace Plunkett, Mr G. B. Shaw offers no remedy for the social and political *malaise* he so mercilessly exposes.

The industrial problem in England and France is how to awaken in workmen an interest in their work and a desire to make it productive; and the solution offered by Sir George Livesey, M. Godin, and other co-operative pioneers, is to make labourers into capitalists by converting them into partners in the business for which they work. The Irish problem is different; it is how to turn the acute Irish intellect into the channel of economic energy, how to persuade her people to seek their material well-being through making the most of the natural resources of their country, and last, but not least, how to utilise, for the development of production, that associative instinct which is so noticeable in Irishmen. In Ireland, as in England and France, capital and labour have to be brought together, but in Ireland it will be through providing for the small peasant tenant or owner the means of obtaining the use of capital for reproductive purposes. In politics we are only too familiar with the associative instincts of Irishmen. In constituencies hundreds or thousands vote as one man, according to

orders, for a candidate they may never have seen. In the United States the associative instinct of Irishmen has produced Tammany Hall and other notorious specimens of political tyranny and corruption. It was a stroke of genius to seize upon this associative instinct and turn it in a direction where it can only do good. Sir Horace Plunkett thus describes his propaganda :—

'The practical form which our work took was the launching upon Irish life of a movement of organised self-help, and the subsequent grafting upon this movement of a system of State aid to the agriculture and industries of the country. . . . The problem of mind and character with which we had to deal in Ireland presented this central and somewhat discouraging fact. In practical life the Irish had failed where the English had succeeded; and this was attributed to the lack of certain English qualities which have been undoubtedly essential to success in commerce and industry from the days of the industrial revolution until a comparatively recent date. It was the individualism of the English economic system during this period which made these qualities indispensable.

'The lack of these qualities in Irishmen of to-day may be admitted, and the cause of the deficiency has been adequately explained. But those who regard the Irish situation as industrially hopeless probably ignore the fact that there are other qualities, of great and growing importance under modern economic conditions, which can be developed in Irishmen and may form the basis of an industrial system. I refer to the range of qualities which come into play rather in association than in the individual, and to which the term "associative" is applied. So that, although much disparaging criticism of Irish character is based upon the survival in the Celt of the tribal instincts, it is gratifying to be able to show that, even from the practical English point of view, our preference for thinking and working in groups may not be altogether a *damnosa hereditas*.

'If, owing to our deficiency in the individualistic qualities of the English, we cannot at this stage hope to produce many types of the "economic man" of the economists, we think we see our way to provide, as a substitute, the economic association. If the association succeeds, and, by virtue of its financial success, becomes permanent, a great change will, in our opinion, be produced on the character of its members. The reflex action upon the individual mind of the habit of doing, in association with others, things which were formerly left

undone or badly done, may be relied upon to have a tonic effect upon the character of the individual. This is, I suppose, the secret of discipline, which, though apparently eliminating volition, seems in weak characters to strengthen the will' (pp. 165–7).

The translation of these general considerations into practical action took the form of inducing the small dairy-farmers of the south and west of Ireland to combine for the production of butter in large quantities and of uniform good quality. Sir Horace Plunkett began this work in 1889, aided by a small band of Irishmen, chief among whom was Lord Monteagle. Their first task was to prove, by causing it to be done, that Irishmen of opposite political parties could work together for the common good of their country. Their early struggles showed 'that no project which was theoretically sound need be rejected because everybody said it was impracticable. The work of the morrow largely consists of the impossible of to-day.'

The Irish creameries organised by Sir Horace Plunkett and his associates have been frequently described, but probably few in this country realise what very considerable proportions the business they represent has attained, or the importance of other phases of co-operative agriculture which have grown out of the success of the creameries, such as the establishment of 'Raiffeisen' banks, and of agricultural societies for supplying small farmers with good seeds, food-stuffs, manures, implements, etc., at the lowest possible prices, and for improving the breed of cattle, horses, and poultry. The nucleus of the whole movement was the creamery. Instead of each little farmer making his own little quantity of butter in his own way (frequently a very bad way) and being left to find his own market, the farmers in a given area are induced to combine, each sending all the milk he has for sale once or twice daily to a central creamery. The creamery is provided with separators and the best modern dairy appliances. Each farmer's supply of milk is at once measured, tested, and paid for in proportion to the quantity of cream it contains. The butter-milk and skim-milk are returned. The cream thus collected is converted into butter on the most approved methods; and, a regular supply of uniformly good quality being thus

obtained, access to the best markets is ensured. The voice of criticism is naturally loud and frequent, especially from those who have done nothing to improve the industrial position of their country; but nothing more serious against the system has been alleged than that the Irish farmer appreciates its pecuniary advantages only too well and sends milk to the creamery which he ought to keep for his own children and calves. This correlative disadvantage can be met in various ways. The parental instinct may in the long run be relied upon to prevent the absorption of milk by the creamery being carried to a point which is injurious to the children. In England farmers who use the separator are beginning to reinforce the poor quality of the separated milk which is left for the calves by an addition of cod-liver oil.

Denmark is always held up as an example of what can be done by co-operation to retrieve the fortunes of an agricultural community. A tiny country, with less than 2,500,000 inhabitants, she has, by means of co-operative production, increased her exports of butter to Great Britain from the value of 767,000*l.* in 1870 to 9,302,000*l.* in 1902; her export to us in the same year of meat, chiefly bacon, was worth 4,238,000*l.*, and that of eggs 1,366,000*l.* Denmark achieved this extraordinary result, passing from penury to plenty, without any special advantages of climate or situation, but through the initiative and industry of her people and their adoption of co-operative methods. Cannot Ireland do what Denmark has done? This was the question which Sir Horace Plunkett and his band of helpers continually pressed upon the Irish farmer. Their success may be judged by the fact that, beginning in 1889 with one creamery having fifty associated members, at the end of fourteen years' work they had established 360 creameries with a membership of more than 80,000. The sales of butter from the Irish co-operative creameries in 1903 reached the total value of 1,350,000*l.*

In Ireland almost every question is considered from a party point of view; and, as it was a fundamental principle of the co-operators to dissociate themselves entirely from party, they had special difficulties to contend with from extremists on both sides. Vehement Unionists in Dublin succeeded in driving Sir Horace

Plunkett from his seat in Parliament because he consented to work with Nationalists for the development of the natural resources of Ireland. Vehement Nationalists, on the other hand, described him as 'a monster in human form,' and adjured him 'to cease his hellish work.' In one place where he was seeking to establish a creamery, and had explained to a meeting that it had no connexion whatever with politics, a local orator arose and said that such a programme would never suit Rathkeale. 'Rathkeale,' he asserted, 'is a Nationalist town—Nationalist to the backbone; and every pound of butter made in this creamery must be made on Nationalist principles or it shan't be made at all.' The loss of his seat by the leader of the co-operative movement may perhaps have been helpful rather than the reverse to the movement he was initiating. It certainly served to illustrate one of his main principles—that his countrymen should seek the welfare of their country by their own efforts outside the sphere of politics and parties.

Out of the development of the creameries grew the establishment of the Raiffeisen credit banks and the federations or co-operative agency societies. The Raiffeisen banks, which have long worked so well in Italy, Germany, and other countries where small farming prevails, have made a very promising start in Ireland, where they already number nearly two hundred. Their object, as is well known, is to give the power of borrowing small sums for a specific productive purpose to the small farmer. A rich man can borrow on easy terms because he can give security for the repayment of the loan. A poor man cannot borrow, except on usurious interest, even for the most reproductive purpose, because he is not in a position to give security. But what he cannot give as an individual he can give as a member of a society. The Raiffeisen banks perform, as Sir Horace Plunkett points out, the apparent miracle of giving solvency to a community composed almost entirely of insolvent individuals. The paradox is explained by the fact that the members of an association forming a Raiffeisen bank are jointly and severally responsible for the debts incurred by every one of them. It may be thought that this is a dangerous principle, and that its dangers would not be minimised by the Irish temperament. In practice, how-

ever, it has been found that the obvious risks of the Raiffeisen system carry their own safeguard with them. If you are a member of a society which is jointly and severally responsible for the debts of its members, you are likely to be careful as to the character of those admitted to membership. Carefully thought-out rules have been framed with the object of protecting the society against loss. The member who desires to borrow has to satisfy the committee that he requires the loan for a definite productive purpose, and he has to produce two sureties, who guarantee to the committee that the loan shall be applied to the object specified. If this is to purchase anything insurable, it must be insured. The committee borrows at 4 or 5 per cent. and lends at 5 or 6; and the difference covers the cost of administration.

The Raiffeisen principle is plainly applicable only to a group of persons of approximately equal economic position. Unlimited liability would act injuriously if one member were so far above all the rest that, in the event of loss, the weight would practically fall on him alone. This condition is fulfilled over a large part of Ireland; and, as a matter of fact, since the establishment of these banks not one single shilling of loss has been incurred. One of the rules provides for the expulsion of a member who does not apply the money borrowed to the agreed productive purpose; but in no single instance has there been any necessity to put this rule in force. The borrower usually makes a very large profit out of these loans, so much so that they have received the name of 'the lucky money.' One collateral result of the influence of these banks deserves mention. The debt-laden Irish peasant farmer was formerly very anxious to conceal his indebtedness, but he is quite proud of being a borrower from the new banks, as the fact is a testimonial to honesty and industry.

Federations or co-operative agency societies, of which there are now considerably more than one hundred, are constantly being formed, the members of these federations being not individuals but societies. The federations aid the societies in the purchase and sale of all kinds of agricultural products and requirements, and thus enable the farmer to buy and sell to the best advantage. The federations have turned their attention to the improve-

ment of breeds, to the question of mutual assurance, to the opening of markets, to the important subject of packing. A Danish expert has been brought over to give the farmers instruction upon the grading, selecting, and packing of eggs for export. The federation obtains for its associated societies standard seeds, manures, feeding stuffs, coal, agricultural implements, and machinery. The great social and political importance of the co-operative movement in Irish agriculture is rendered all the more evident by the Land Act of 1903. This Act, which is bringing into existence a large class of peasant proprietors, would be destined to add yet one more to the long list of Irish legislative failures and disappointments unless it had been preceded and accompanied by a movement which arouses in the Irish peasant a sense of his own responsibility for his condition, and stimulates him to strive for economic independence by economic, not political, means. No mere alteration in land tenure can regenerate Ireland. The gift of the land for nothing would, in itself, be worthless if the temper and attitude of the Irish farmer should remain in the new century what it was in the greater part of the old. To awaken self-reliance, to strengthen character, to call out the qualities of enterprise and steady industry, are the aims of Sir Horace Plunkett's movement for co-operative agriculture. It has already achieved a considerable measure of success; and that still greater success awaits it in the future must be the hope of all who have ever tried to understand the Irish problem.

No one can have been much in Ireland or associated freely with Irishmen without noticing in their attitude of mind an expectation that they will be scorned and treated as inferiors by their English compatriots. They refer to themselves half in joke, but it is a joke with a sting in it, as 'mere Irish'; they admit only too readily that, with all their characteristic national gifts, they are the 'lame duck' in the imperial brood. They do not expect that other nations should admire or wish to learn from them. They seem lacking in what Mr George Meredith has called 'the vital prop of human pride.' A great deal of this feeling is wholly uncalled for; and the Englishman's supposed self-complacency in comparing himself with the Irishman is largely a figment of the

Irish imagination. But it is all to the good of the new movement in Irish agriculture that other countries, including the supercilious, or apparently supercilious, England, have manifested a desire to learn from Ireland. Enquirers have come from Germany, France, Canada, the United States, India, South Africa, Cyprus, and the West Indies, desirous of learning all they can of the new Irish method of dealing with the problems of rural life; and, last but not least, five county councils from the English side of the Channel have sent over deputations of farmers to study the progress of co-operative agriculture in Ireland and to consider how far similar methods may be applicable in England. The tables will be turned indeed if the example of Ireland is needed to prove to England that the road to economic well-being is to be found in adaptability to altered industrial conditions, in developing national resources, in cultivating self-reliance and moral courage, and not in political wire-pulling to secure a tariff which will shield the producer from obnoxious competition.

Since the birth of the movement of co-operative agriculture in Ireland there have been signs of a new birth in other matters outside the field of economics and industry. Landlords and tenants, Unionists and Nationalists, have met each other for the first time on a footing of friendly equality, intent on the pursuit of a common object. The Irish, even the Irish politician, may yet learn with Godin that hatred is a barren force, that it is love of good which creates and produces more good. To turn from the barren gospel of hatred to the fruitful gospel of love of good would in itself create a new Ireland in the new century.

The foregoing examples of the application of the principles of co-operation have been quoted with the full knowledge that they are only specimens out of a vast cloud of witnesses. They have been selected chiefly because, differing as they do so widely from each other, they illustrate the adaptability of co-operation to different industrial circumstances. Co-operation may not be applicable to every employment, but probably it is capable of being far more generally adopted than is as yet the case. The Hebden Bridge Fustian-cutting Association has had

between thirty and forty years of successful co-operative experience. Leclaire's great success in introducing the profit-sharing principle into his business as a house-painter is well known to every co-operator; and we hear of the principle of copartnership being introduced into the Carnegie Steel-works in the United States. The chief danger in the way of co-operation is that practical experiments in it may be initiated by enthusiasts without the knowledge of business which is necessary to commercial success. Enthusiasm must be mated with experience and business capacity. The chief need for the development of co-operation is men who possess the union of these qualities. It is not a little interesting to those who approach the problems of capital and labour from the outside to find a man of business experience like Sir Alfred Moseley saying :—

'Of course the true solution is profit-sharing in some shape or form, and it is towards this goal that both masters and men should turn their eyes. . . . Capital and Labour are partners, and they must work as such.'

One main difficulty in the way of putting into general operation such schemes as those which have been so successful at the South Metropolitan Gasworks and at Guise is that they require, especially in their initial stages, the control and guidance of exceptional men. Less perfectly devised schemes may have a greater chance of general adoption if they preserve more closely the existing organisation of the workshop, and require for their successful adoption no extraordinary qualities on the part of either employers or employed. It may be fairly claimed that such a plan of overcoming the antagonism of interest between labour and capital, and of rewarding labour in proportion to its degree of efficiency, has been found in what is known as the 'premium' system of paying wages. This system, which originated in the United States about 1887, has stood the test of practical experience, without the aid of exceptional circumstances, in a large number of engineering shops in various parts of England, Scotland, and the United States.

The premium system may be briefly described as follows. For a definite piece of work there is a definite time-allowance given to the workman, say 100 hours, at

8*d.* an hour, or 800*d.* = 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* If he saves any time on the number of hours allowed, a percentage, which varies in different cases, is added to his rate of wages per hour. Suppose that, in the example just given, instead of spending 100 hours at the job, the man finishes it in 75 hours. He has thus saved 25 per cent. of the time allowed. If it has been settled that the percentage of increase in wages shall equal the percentage of time saved, 25 per cent. is added to his rate of wages per hour; and he gets 10*d.* an hour instead of 8*d.* Both capital and labour gain. The workman gets 10*d.* an hour instead of 8*d.*, and the employer gets the particular piece of work done for 3*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* instead of 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* In another form of the system, the workman receives a bonus in addition to his ordinary wages equal in value to half the time saved. If, on the other hand, the job takes more than the 100 hours allowed, the workman still gets his 8*d.* per hour; so that he cannot receive less than his usual wages, as may happen in the case of piece-work. The result of the premium system is, generally speaking, a larger output in proportion to time, rent, rates and taxes, etc., and consequently a larger profit, or the possibility of selling more cheaply and evading competition.

But the benefits arising from the system are not exhausted by what has been said above. The workman sees that he benefits immediately and directly by doing his work well and quickly, and he puts new life and vigour into his task; he also sees that he will gain if he can suggest and introduce improvements in tools and in methods of manufacture. He becomes really interested in making his work as efficient as possible. In one engineering firm in which the premium system has been adopted, the employers organised a monthly meeting of foremen and of all heads of departments to discuss shop problems and the manner in which a proposed settlement of them would affect the different departments. It was at first imagined that this monthly meeting would mean a monthly wrangle, and the club was nicknamed the Friction Club; but it has been discovered in practice that the club has secured a proper discussion on suggested improvements and alterations in methods of work, and has formed a most helpful factor in the establishment. One of its results has been the establishment of a works

library containing technical books, magazines, and papers. This enables the heads of departments to keep themselves informed of what is being done or contemplated by others in a similar line of business.

In this firm the directors have allotted a sum of 4*l.* a month to be distributed in the form of prizes to workmen who bring forward suggestions calculated to abridge labour or add to efficiency in any way. The award is left in the hands of the Friction Club. The 4*l.* may be awarded in one sum or in any number of smaller sums, according to the judgment of the club. Any sum not awarded is carried to next month's prize-fund. The discussion on these suggested improvements is most educative. In the first five months during which the scheme has been in operation the suggestions made by workmen have numbered three, eleven, eight, eighteen, and twenty respectively. The adoption of many useful devices has resulted. The system makes a continuous appeal to the intelligence and interest of foremen and workmen alike; it keeps the workshops alive, and banishes lethargy and carelessness. Another valuable collateral result of the system is that it brings heads of departments and foremen into personal relationship with the most intelligent and capable of the workmen; so that, when promotion has to be made, they know who their best men are.

It will at once be obvious that the premium system requires as an indispensable accompaniment a careful method of inspection. The inducement to save time would otherwise lead to scamping. But in all the firms which have adopted the system it has been clearly explained that no premium will be paid until the finished work has been inspected and passed as satisfactory. The time allowed for each particular job is arrived at as the result of experience; it is important that this should not be reduced unless there is a radical change in the method of production; and an engagement is entered into to this effect.

Papers on the premium system have been read, both in London and Manchester, before the Institution of Mechanical Engineers. These papers describe in detail the various methods of applying it, and also dwell fully on the preliminary arrangements necessary to ensure its success. A large number of the leading engineering firms in Great

Britain and in the United States have adopted it; and, early in 1904, it was introduced into the engineering shops of his Majesty's dockyards. All who have had practical experience of its working are satisfied as to the excellence of its results. The workmen value it for the extra wages it brings them; the employers value it because it makes their machinery more efficient and reduces cost. Both classes value it because it improves the life and spirit of the workshop and introduces improved human relations between capitalist and workmen. The Federation of Engineering and Shipbuilding Trades Unions, however, at their meeting in May 1904, expressed doubts upon its desirability, and appointed a sub-committee to 'go more fully into the matter.' The report of this sub-committee, published in the autumn of 1904, condemns the plan. It 'recommends the societies represented on the Federation to do all in their power to prevent their members working under *any* premium bonus system.' It is the old story of the new trade-unionism, which, like the Gas Workers' Union in its fight with Sir George Livesey in 1889, objects to any system which makes a workman really keen to render his work as efficient as possible. Up to the present, however, no harm seems to have been done. The men like the premium system, which has increased their wages from 10 to 50 per cent., and are not disposed to give it up. Moreover, if the Federation of Engineering and Shipbuilding Trades Unions can see nothing whatever to recommend the premium system, an older and more experienced union, the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, takes a different view. It has not joined the Federation, but has indicated its sanction and approval of the premium system which the Federation denounces. It may therefore be hoped that wiser counsels will prevail, and that there will be no repetition of the unfortunate conflict of 1889.

Art IV.—THE MAKING OF THE UNITED STATES.

1. *The Cambridge Modern History.* Planned by the late Lord Acton; edited by A. W. Ward, G. W. Prothero, and Stanley Leathes. Vol. VII. (The United States.) Cambridge: University Press, 1903.
2. *The American Revolution: Part II.* By the Rt Hon. Sir George Otto Trevelyan, Bart. Two vols. London: Longmans, 1903.
3. *A History of the American People.* By Dr Woodrow Wilson, President of Princeton University. Five vols. New York and London: Harper, 1902.
4. *The True History of the American Revolution.* By Sydney G. Fisher. Philadelphia and London: Lippincott, 1902.
5. *Essays Historical and Literary.* By John Fiske. Two vols. New York and London: Macmillan, 1902.
6. *The Loyalists in the American Revolution.* By Claude H. Van Tyne. New York and London: Macmillan, 1902.
7. *Marins et Soldats français en Amérique pendant la Guerre de l'Indépendance.* Par le Vicomte de Noailles. Paris: Perrin, 1903.
8. *The Foundations of American Foreign Policy.* By Albert Bushnell Hart. New York and London: Macmillan, 1901.
9. *American Diplomatic Questions.* By John B. Henderson. New York and London: Macmillan, 1901.
10. *The True History of the Civil War.* By Guy Carleton Lee. Philadelphia and London: Lippincott, 1903.
11. *The Supreme Court of the United States.* By H. L. Carson. New York; Philadelphia, 1891.
12. *The Literature of American History: a Bibliographical Guide.* Edited for the American Library Association by J. N. Larned. Boston: Houghton and Mifflin, 1902. And other works.

THE rapidity with which the literature of American history has accumulated within a few years is remarkable; and more remarkable still is the change which has come over its tone. The Declaration of Independence

may still be read with acceptance and with applause, but its perfervid eloquence no longer arouses the enthusiasm which once marked every response to its invocation. A new school of writers has arisen whose labours display less of passion and more of thought than those of their predecessors, in whose ears the stormy sounds of revolution still lingered as they wrote.

Some time ago (July 1899) we presented to our readers an account of the state of society and politics in the American colonies in the eighteenth century. It was an attempt to make a fair and candid reply to those who, for a long time unchallenged, had been reviving in this country the old views of the extreme Whigs, whose encouragement gave substantial aid to the rebellious colonies, and whose political traditions were in danger of passing without protest into history. It was deemed all the more just to make that reply, since, on the other side of the ocean, American historians were casting aside many, if not most, of the theories which were being revived in what was once the mother-country. In the discharge of this task it was necessary to attack some popular traditions and to assail, with a due regard to the dignity of letters, some famous names. There was occasion to expose the alleged virtues of the austere Franklin and the Wordsworthian simplicity of Adams; to show how the patriots, in their private journals and letters, made accusations against each other of weaknesses which were only just short of crimes; to point out how insincere were the declarations that were made against any desire for independence; to exhibit the purely financial reasons which led some, and the personal resentments which impelled others, to precipitate themselves into rebellion; to throw light upon the social conditions then prevailing among a people who were held up to our admiration by British writers as exhibiting virtues superior to those of the people of the British isles; and, in general, to refute, once for all we might hope, the pet theory of partial historians, that the Americans would never have rebelled had they not been forced into rebellion by an obstinate King and an impracticable Parliament. Those who read the paper may recall the fact that most of the material used on that occasion was drawn from American sources.

The materials for the history of America have, in our day, grown beyond the compass of any man's power to assimilate. The 'Literature of American History,' edited by Professor Larned for the American Library Association, is a work of great industry and utility. More than forty experts were engaged in its preparation, and most if not all of them devoted their services gratuitously to this national undertaking. The original suggestion came from Mr George Iles, who is, we believe, a Canadian, or was long connected with business in the Dominion. His ideas were adopted with practical enthusiasm; and we have now in one volume, with a supplement, a complete bibliography of American history. It includes a full and detailed account, with comments indicating the critical value, of all the archives, documents, periodicals, publications of societies and clubs, speeches and collected works of public men, and all that has been published abroad or at home, concerning the United States, from the earliest period, and of all the separate states since their foundation.

It is with some degree of chagrin that we confess that in this country, where historical learning has for many ages been held in honour, and where public patronage and private liberality have not been wanting in national undertakings, we have no bibliography of British history comparable with this volume. For the early and Middle Ages we have, indeed, an admirable work; but it is by Professor Gross, an American. For our history since 1500 we have nothing that can make any pretence to perfection. Nor does Mr Larned's book stand alone; for such works as Professor Tyler's 'Literary History of the American Revolution,' and the bibliography compiled by Professors Hart and Channing, together with other bibliographies in popular works, contain a mass of useful information. American universities are cordially encouraging the production of such works, and publish freely large numbers of studies of particular epochs and events. There is also at the present time much activity in printing old state laws and other documents, as well as Federal correspondence. A library of American history is now a formidable thing. For a guide to it we are not likely for a long time to have anything better than Mr Larned's bibliography.

The first American historian who undertook the history of his country on an ambitious scale was George Bancroft. Born in 1800, while the echoes of the Revolution were still in the air, when the second President of the Republic was still in office, and when the discussions concerning the constitution were the common property of all who could read, Mr Bancroft was naturally exposed to the influence of the public passion, as he was in a position to acquire all the private information, of his day. The first volumes of his 'History of the United States' were published in 1834; the last volumes appeared in 1874. From its first appearance his work dominated, because it reflected, American public opinion. From his pages the general reader, the professional teacher, the writer for the press, drew their inspiration; and the opinions of vast multitudes of people have been in great measure moulded by his pen. Mr Bancroft was a scholar, a man of great industry; he filled public positions at home and abroad; he had that practical knowledge of public affairs which is as useful to a historian of political events as a knowledge of military details is, according to Gibbon, to a historian of a militant empire. But he was led captive by a wish to imitate the grand style of the eighteenth century historians; and he imitated it in its worst developments, so that the rhetoric of Patrick Henry, not the dignity of Gibbon, too often appears in his pages. He felt also that he had a mission—it was alleged that he said so—to impress the republican and revolutionary opinions at once of America and of France on the minds of American readers; to weaken the lingering remains of the respect which many Americans felt for the hierarchical traditions of their forefathers; and to establish a hatred of monarchy in general, and of British monarchy in particular, which should become permanent among his compatriots. That he succeeded in this mission, the character of most popular histories, and the general state of public opinion during many years, conclusively proves.

Richard Hildreth may be said to have been the first American historian, writing for Americans and publishing in the United States, who broke the tradition of unmitigated panegyric or abuse, and allowed critical reason to have its place in historical narrative. His first volumes were published in 1849, and brought the narrative down

to the organisation of the government under the Federal constitution of 1789. He frankly stated his contention.

'It is due to our fathers and ourselves, it is due to truth and philosophy, to present for once on the historic stage the founders of our American nation unbedaubed with patriotic rouge, wrapped up in no fine-spun cloaks of excuses and apology, with stilts, buskins, tinsel, or bedizenment, in their own proper persons, often rude, hard, narrow, superstitious, and mistaken, but always earnest, downright, manly, and sincere.'

To this rule he adhered; and in language not, indeed, eloquent, but generally readable and always sincere, he wrote the history of the American Revolution. His history has been at least once reprinted—a sufficient testimony to its merits, in view of the many opinions it contains unfavourable to popular notions about the struggle and of the men who took part in it.

Mr Albert Bushnell Hart, professor of history at Harvard University, is a follower of Hildreth rather than of Bancroft. He is the author of a little volume, which has gone through nine editions, entitled 'The Formation of the Union, 1750–1829,' in which he discusses, with a high degree of fairness, the events of the Revolution. He admits that the colonial legislatures were lax in their methods. They were indifferent to the sufferings of the frontiersmen from the Indian depredations, and were more intent on quarrelling with their governors about taxes than on schemes of defence. He also admits that the colonists systematically broke the Navigation Acts, and that they were ready to trade with England's enemies when they could find or make the opportunity. The Navigation Acts were allowed by all the colonists to be legal; and Franklin believed they were beneficial. They stimulated shipbuilding and the shipping interest in the colonies. Between 1772 and 1775 more than two thousand vessels were built in America. With regard to the Stamp Act, the proceeds of which were to be devoted to maintaining an army for defence against Indian attacks, Mr Hart admits that the alleged fear of the colonists that their liberties would be taken away was 'unreasonable,' and that the local means of defence, without such an army, were 'halting and insufficient.' Even Franklin and Otis were of opinion that the Stamp

Act would be obeyed. Concerning the 'Boston Massacre,' once so famous on anniversary occasions, and still prominent in popular compilations, Mr Hart concedes that 'it was caused by no invasion on the rights of Americans,' and that it has gone down to posterity 'under the undeserved title of the Boston Massacre.' He concedes also the fact that in no colony was there at the outset a majority for resistance to Great Britain; and that, when the majorities were formed, they silenced the loyal minorities by intimidation, ostracism, and violence.

'In looking back over this crisis,' he says, 'it is difficult to see that the colonists had suffered grievous oppression. The taxes had not taken 400,000*l.* out of their pockets in ten years. The armies had cost them nothing, and, except in Boston, had not interfered with the governments. The Acts of Trade were systematically evaded; and the battle of Lexington came just in time to relieve John Hancock from the necessity of appearing before the court to answer to a charge of smuggling.'

Mr Hart defends the Revolution on other and general grounds which need not be discussed, our purpose just now being with his admissions as to facts.

The name of John Fiske is better known than that of Professor Hart, because he was a more profuse writer and more popular in his methods. His posthumously published volume, entitled 'New France and New England,' contains some frank criticism and fearless admissions. Thus, in his account of the expedition to Fort Duquesne, at the head waters of the Ohio, in 1754, Fiske makes some remarks characterised by an indignant honesty. It is now well known that Pennsylvania, which was the province really interested, refused to aid an expedition intended to prevent the French from controlling the trade of the west and south; that even Virginia was so slow that the Governor, Dinwiddie, had to employ his own means to equip the small contingent of Virginians under Washington and Fry. The Governor was naturally incensed, and in a letter written at the time expressed himself freely concerning the dilatoriness of the legislature. On this the author makes the following suggestive comment:—

'When we read such letters as this, and realise that through the whole seventy years of struggle with New France the diffi-

culty was always the same, we surely cannot much wonder that the British Minister, at the beginning of Pontiac's war, should have deemed it necessary to resort to such a measure as the Stamp Act. Americans should not forget that while that measure was ill-considered, the evil which it was designed to relieve was most flagrant and dangerous.'

In his two volumes of essays, also posthumously published, Fiske embodies many of the prime postulates of his political and historical beliefs. In the lecture on 'The Last Royal Governor of Massachusetts' (Hutchinson), he sums up his principal conclusions regarding the origin and source of the Revolution. He is at times wonderfully frank about the revolutionists, as Macaulay was wonderfully frank about the Whigs; but, since the lectures were delivered to public and necessarily partial audiences, he falls easily into the applause-provoking popular theories as a corrective to his frankness, just as Macaulay made up for his momentary condemnation of the Whigs by still more vehement denunciation of the Tories. The work of Fiske has done some good in clearing the public mind of misconceptions. His style is not remarkable for elegance or strength; it is the familiar popular style of the essayist and the lecturer. But he had a conscience in his work which refused to sanction the poisoning of the wells of history. He did not join in unqualified panegyric of the revolutionary heroes. He could mention George III without profanity and Washington without a genuflection. So far the genius of history must bestow its approval. Had he lived to continue his work he would probably have deserved a large measure of applause. Scattered through his various historical works there are admissions which go to the root of almost every popular opinion and tradition in America. We have but summarised a few of them in order that we might have an opportunity for gratefully including him among those who have in recent years been depriving popular history of its mischievousness by taking away half its prejudice and half its bitterness.

In approaching the 'History of the American People,' by Professor Woodrow Wilson, the distinguished president of Princeton University, we do so with unqualified respect. He has given to the world admirable studies of the constitution, the politics and the history of his

country; and he has delivered his message—for a message it is—in a style of which any national literature might be proud, the style of a scholar as well as of 'a gentleman at ease, with moral breadth of temperament.' Our examination of his work must, for the sake of convenience, begin at the period when the first impulses of discontent with the colonial policy of the mother-country were making themselves felt in protestations. 'The main lines of trade,' he says, 'ran, after all, straight to the mother-country, and were protected, when there was need, by English fleets.' The Navigation Acts were aimed at the Dutch, not at the colonies. If the tobacco of Virginia could be sold only in England, Virginia had the English market for its own; no foreign tobacco could be imported, no native tobacco grown. 'It was no ruinous or unprofitable arrangement.' If manufactures of a certain kind were prohibited in the colonies, it made no great practical difference to the colonists. 'While there is land enough in America for our people,' said Franklin, 'there can be no manufactures to any amount or value.' If foreign shipping adventures were restricted by law, the colonists found a convenient way to plenty of such adventures, at the expense of Spanish traders and possessions, by practices which were contrary to all law. 'Governors winked at their coming and going, even allowed them to sell their Spanish prizes in English (i.e. colonial) ports.' The colonial legislatures had their own way, or took it freely, with regard to the payment of governors and judges, and 'spoke their minds with fearless freedom.' So much for the general attitude of the mother-country and the colonies. There was, so far, no material out of which a revolution could be made.

When Dr Wilson comes to deal with the great final conflict with France and England in America he omits, for want of space, details which materially affect the narrative. Thus, in dealing with the second, and warlike, expedition of Washington against Fort Duquesne in 1754, he ignores the facts that Washington's mission was not necessarily a warlike one, and that his instructions were to warn the French off, and only in case of refusal to use force; that Washington's building of the defences at Great Meadows was a feeble measure; that he refused the warning advice of his Indian ally; that war had not been

declared, and no state of war existed; that he, nevertheless, attacked Jumonville's party in the woods, where they had a perfect right to be, and where, as they alleged, they were on their way with a message to Washington; and that, when he was attacked and had to capitulate, he signed a document admitting the 'assassination' of Jumonville. Washington's excuse was that it was dark, that he trusted his interpreter (chosen by himself), and that he did not know French. In view of the extent to which French literature was read in Virginia at the time, the ignorance of a well-educated young Virginian of the highest rank seems hardly acceptable.

In discussing the subsequent expedition of Braddock, Dr Wilson adopts too readily the British bull-dog theory of Braddock's disposition. 'Braddock,' he says, 'would take no advice from provincials.' Braddock, as we have pointed out, was not ignorant of provincial doings. He was well aware of the utter failure of the previous expedition under purely colonial guidance; and in the preparations for his advance he had been hampered much by colonial obstinacy and greed. That he did not take colonial advice is hardly correct. It was by Washington's advice that he advanced with only part of his forces. It was through trusting to colonial promises that he had only a dozen Indians instead of some hundreds that he bargained for. It was by trusting to the scouting of Virginian cavalry that he was deceived.

Dr Wilson tells us that the attacking force consisted of 'Indians chiefly and Canadian provincials.' It is necessary to point out that, at the first volley of Braddock's artillery, the French-Canadian provincials fled; the attack was continued by Indians and by French regular troops now learned in the lore of the wilderness. Details like these can hardly be omitted without lessening the accuracy of the narrative; and the author omits them. They tend to diminish the value set upon colonial superiority; and it is time that this tradition were abandoned. For three years after the disaster to Braddock the provincials had things pretty much their own way; and their failure against French and Indians was general. It was not till Pitt sent Amherst and Wolfe that the victory over the French was complete; and, when the battle of the Plains of Abraham was fought, there was not a provincial by

the side of Wolfe to share in his victory. The author several times refers to the contemptuous tone of the British officers towards the colonial; but it is necessary to remind him of a fact which should have been familiar to him, that no British officer expressed such contempt for colonial officers and levies as did George Washington, not only in the early days of Braddock's expedition, but in the later days of the Revolution.

In dealing with so extensive a subject as the history of the United States in one volume—though a volume of goodly size—the 'Cambridge Modern History' affords a favourable example of that system of co-operation which commended itself to Lord Acton. The danger in a work of this kind is a conflict of ideas; this has been avoided by the exclusion of partisan theories, and the maintenance of a judicial impartiality which, while setting down nothing in malice, extenuates nothing that demands a measure of blame. It would be difficult to find a topic which has not been touched upon; and if the treatment of some is not as full as we could desire, we must remember the limitations of the scheme, and keep in view the endless volumes that a minute narrative would have required. For the purposes of British students this is the only volume which covers the whole history of the United States, written in view of all the latest information. Indeed we know of no single volume published in America which in the same space contains so satisfactory and so readable a narrative, or which faces the disputed points with so much courage and general accuracy. The scientific classification of the bibliography is unique in this country.

In the first chapter we have, what is not usual, a clear statement of the generally misunderstood relation of the Plymouth colony to the colony of Massachusetts Bay, which, though of later origin than Plymouth, eventually absorbed the earlier colony. The 'Pilgrim Fathers' of Plymouth arrived in 1620, and maintained a separate government for seventy years. They were, on the whole, fairly tolerant and loyal. From them many of the Loyalists of the Revolution were descended. The 'Puritan Fathers' settled in Massachusetts Bay in 1629. They were from the beginning intolerant and troublesome. From them the New England revolutionists generally

sprang. This distinction is not usually kept in mind. From the very beginning of the Massachusetts colony theological rancour, political persecution, and a disposition to revolt were obvious. So early as the time of Laud, as we find correctly narrated in this chapter, the colonists, in a fit of petulance with royal rule, 'appointed military commissioners and made provision for fortifying Dorchester, Charleston, and Castle Island, in Boston Bay.' Thus early was the spirit of revolution revealed.

It is perhaps not quite accurate to say, as we find stated in chapter ii, that 'each colony had a constitution modelled on that of the mother-country.' The colonial charters differed much from each other. They contained provisions varying with local circumstances and the degree of influence exercised by their agents in England. The one thing common among them was that their local laws were not to be inconsistent with the laws of England; otherwise they were controlled variously by royal and parliamentary authority, corporate power, or proprietary authority in England. The grievances which arose under these constitutions were, as we find here stated, many, especially in regard to taxation, paper money, and the restriction of trade; yet, as the author says, 'in estimating their justice we must not forget that the mother-country granted compensatory advantages.'

Again, there is a statement in chapter iv which seems to us not quite justified by the facts. With reference to the capture of Louisburg in 1745, we are told that 'this was the most brilliant military exploit ever performed by a British colony prior to the revolutionary war, and was the work of New England alone, and mainly of the colony of Massachusetts'; also that it was 'an enterprise undertaken and carried through by the American colonists, without the instigation, help, or leadership of the mother-country, other than such assistance as Warren's ships rendered in keeping the coast clear.' A close study of the facts will, however, show that it was a royal governor who undertook the plan; that the colonial legislature and general court of Massachusetts reported against it; that the legislature was of opinion that the only course was to ask the aid of the mother-country; that it was through the exertions, the violent exertions, of the Governor that the plan was

finally adopted by a very small majority; that all the colonies, except three, rejected it when they were appealed to, Massachusetts adopting it by one vote; that Great Britain was appealed to for permission to issue paper money on the occasion; that Rhode Island backed out before the expedition sailed; that the mother-country was asked for aid, and Clinton sent cannon from New York; that the colonists were repulsed five times by the French, who were short of food and mutinous; and lastly, that, but for the fleet of Warren, the whole expedition would have failed. In these circumstances it is hardly just to say that the expedition was carried out without the aid of the mother-country. This poor mother-country has some historical rights which we are bound to respect Besides, she paid all the expenses of the expedition.

The two expeditions led by Washington against Fort Duquesne—viz. that in which he was sent to give notice to the French to withdraw from lands in which Dinwiddie and Washington and his brother were interested; and the second expedition in force which ended in disaster at Fort Necessity—are described with fairness; though we may doubt if the expression 'a skirmish of vanguards,' as a description of the attack by Washington on Jumonville, is strictly accurate. We suspect that undue weight is given in chapter v to the idea that Chatham could have reconciled the colonists by any plans that he ever proposed, none of these being in any degree acceptable to the Americans. But there is justice in the remark that, 'if the ministry are to be blamed for want of foresight, the blame must be shared by almost every responsible politician of that day,' and, it might be added, by every system of colonial government.

Chapter vi, by Dr Bigelow, is an admirable condensation and narrative of the legal questions arising out of the revolutionary movement. The famous Writs of Assistance are discussed with skill and learning; but the fact remains that the court decided they were legal; and the argument against them, by Otis, proceeded on the untenable ground that Parliament had, in the matter of such writs, no authority over the colonies. It was not argument; it was repudiation. The writs were issued in virtue of a statute of Charles II; they were especially framed to aid revenue officers; they had been extended

to America by William III; they had been previously applied for and issued in the colony of Massachusetts without protest; the legality of them in England was admitted; the necessity for them in America was notorious. Otis himself had contentedly held an Admiralty office under an English statute, till he resigned it to argue against the Writs of Assistance; and the writs ran unopposed in the colonies for years after the Massachusetts decision. 'No American,' says the writer, 'attempted to define the bounds of the right of Great Britain; general theory was all that was urged.' General theory could be urged against any form of law or system of government then or now. It is the last resort of the law-breaker in every age, in every land.

The account of the growth of the nation and of its commercial and territorial expansion, and the effect of slavery on the public mind and interests, is admirably written by Professor McMaster, and gives no occasion for criticism. The chapter devoted to the origin and growth of State Rights is one of the clearest narratives we have encountered of a rather difficult subject. It is important because it leads the reader on the road to the great struggle of the Civil War. We could wish for more space to deal with the chapters by the late Mr Nicolay, the secretary and biographer of Lincoln, which relate to that great struggle. They betray, it is true, some lack of that impartiality which in general distinguishes the volume; they do insufficient justice to the Southern leaders; but, apart from this defect, the story of the Civil War is brilliantly and clearly told. Other wars of history have been waged regarding territorial rights, dynastic disputes, foreign policies, or international offences of grave character. This was a great war waged mainly on nice points of a written constitution, on their bearing on domestic institutions, and on their interpretation by courts. The position of the South is clearly stated by Dr Woodrow Wilson in chapter xiii:—

'Her statesmen had led in the era of the Revolution. The Union seemed largely of her making. Madison's had been the planning mind in its construction; Washington's mastery had established it; Jefferson had made it democratic in practice as in theory. For thirty-two out of the first forty years of the existence of the Union Virginian statesmen had occupied

the presidential office, and had guided, as well as presided over, affairs.'

It was natural enough that the long dominant power should behold with dismay the gradual extinction of its authority in Congress, and the probable abolition of the institution of slavery, which had now become, in its opinion, a necessity of state prosperity. When the Supreme Court, in the 'Dred Scott' case, decided that the constitution enjoined the protection, not the abolition, of slavery as a state right, it was also natural that the South should feel this to be a renewal of its power, as well as of its right, to rule. The condition of public opinion in general favoured the renewed ambition of the South in its maintenance of the State Rights theory:—

'No doubt the whole country had felt a certain critical coolness towards the constitution throughout the generation which framed and adopted it. Statesmen defended, praised, expounded, fortified it; courts diligently wove its provisions into the law of the land; success added prestige to the general government which it had set up; but the little commonwealths of the long sea-board, which had agreed to live under it, kept their old pride of separateness, thought of it at first rather as a serviceable arrangement than as an unalterable law, respected it but did not love it, and were ready enough to question it, asking once and again, as they had asked at first, whether it was really, after all, calculated to promote their interests. And this was the point of view which the South, more than any other part of the country, had kept, because she, more than any other part of the country, had remained unchanged.'

As a matter of fact, there was hardly a single state which had not, at some time previous to 1860, set up the doctrine of State Rights as against Federal authority, and had not approached the threshold of secession in maintenance of local privilege. The Southern leaders of opinion probably calculated too confidently on this general tendency towards the maintenance of State Rights. In the triumph before the Supreme Court, they ignored or underrated the other tendencies which nullified it. The growth of population in the north and west; the actual defeat of all attempts at secession; the entanglement of the Federal Government in foreign treaties necessary for

commercial purposes, and impossible without a Federal system; the increase in manufacturing activity demanding a protective tariff for its encouragement, which could be had only from the Federal power; the growth of the abolition sentiment even amongst those who were friendly to the South on other questions of politics; and the pride of nationality which had arisen rapidly since the war of 1812—these, among other things, contributed to form a body of opinion and a force in politics, as in war, against which the South was to struggle in vain. With the details of the struggle we are unable at this time to deal. They are clearly narrated, as are all the phases of the history of the United States, down to the close of the war with Spain, which leaves the nation face to face with questions on which constitutional law has again to be interpreted, happily, so far, without serious opposition or questionable results. The problems arising in the government of colonies and subject peoples form the theme of much of the history of America. The future holds a store of them for settlement. The experience of the past affords valuable aid to American statesmen.

But to return to an earlier period. Among the recent histories of the United States one, at least, embodies views which, till recently, would have exposed its author to social ostracism, or worse. It is entitled the 'True History of the American Revolution'; and the author, Mr Sydney Fisher, is to be complimented on his courage. 'Considering,' says Swift, 'that natural disposition in many men to lie, and in multitudes to believe, I have been perplexed what to do with that maxim, so frequent in everybody's mouth, that truth will at last prevail.' Truth in history, especially history which is mainly political, is not easy to attain. Mr Fisher's effort is commendable. That he has found a publisher and a public is one of the most satisfactory signs of the times. When a people is patient in listening to corrosive criticism of its national idols, there is a large hope for the decay of prejudice. The author treats the panegyrical labours of his predecessors in this field with some degree of disdain, and supplies freely those disagreeable facts so many of them have striven to conceal or have treated as trivial. 'I cannot see,' he says, 'any advantage in not

describing in their full meaning and force the smuggling, the buying of laws from the governors, and other irregular conduct in the colonies, which led England to try to remodel them as soon as the fear of the French in Canada was removed.' The hitherto popular historians have preferred to dwell rather on the iniquity of customs laws and Navigation Acts. This was naturally an easier road to public approbation. Mr Fisher tells his readers that 'the Revolution was a much more ugly and unpleasant affair than most of us imagine.' With regard to the Navigation Acts, he makes this practical comment:—

'The colonists never objected to these provisions, because most of them favored the colonists as much as they favored England. They built up and encouraged colonial shipping. The provisions relating to the coasting trade we ourselves adopted as soon as we became a nation; and we still confine our coasting trade to our own vessels. We also, in 1816 and afterwards, passed navigation acts somewhat similar in their provisions to these clauses of the English act which have been cited. There is no question that these and similar protective provisions assisted in building up the greatness and power of England and the prosperity of the colonies.'

Even Franklin admitted as much to Lord Chatham; but Franklin's protests, and not his admissions, have mainly entered into the national history. The author describes the various laws which enabled the colonies to have the sole open market in England for the special produce of each of them, and admits that colonies which had cost so much to defend, and were so carefully protected in their commercial interests, should have been prepared to make some return for their preservation and prosperity.

At this date, he contends, no government in the United States would tolerate for a day, in any of the states or any part of its subject dominions, the conduct which, in the case of the old colonies, is called patriotism. 'The patriot colonists,' he says, 'when aroused, were lawless, and, while clamouring for independence, violated in a most shocking manner the rights of personal liberty and property.' The destruction of the tea in Boston harbour is so generally described in patriotic terms in school histories that no school-children would see that it was 'a lawless violation of the rights of private property and

an open defiance of governmental authority. "No taxation without representation," he says, 'was never a part of the British constitution, and is not even now'; and the taxation of the colonies was not a new idea, but had been submitted to in many instances for a century without protest. The distinction between external and internal taxation he declares absurd; the colonists saw this and shifted their ground. He gives an appalling description of the persecutions suffered by the Loyalists for ten years previous to 1776, and points out that the shocking practices of those days have made an indelible impression on the public mind, and have been the origin and source of that lynch-law which has been so discreditably conspicuous in modern times.

'One of the first results of the revolutionary movement was the rise of the ignorant classes into power and the steady deterioration in the character and manners of public men. Cobblers and mechanics became captains and colonels, or got important positions in State governments. The Congress seemed to become narrow-minded, factious, and contemptible.'

We have additional testimony on this point in the description given by Adams of his colleagues in Congress, and in the account which Jay gave of the men in the second Congress. With a daring frankness the author says:—

'If the Loyalists could come back from the grave they would probably say that their fears and prophecies had been fulfilled in the most extraordinary manner—sometimes literally, in most cases substantially. There is no question that the Revolution was followed by a great deal of bad government, political corruption, sectional strife, coarseness in manners, hostility to the arts and refinements of life, assassination, lynch-law, and other things which horrified Englishmen and afforded the stock material for the ridicule of such writers as Dickens and Mrs Montagu.'

What Mr Fisher says, in brief, of the persecutions suffered by the Loyalists, Mr Van Tyne repeats at length in a volume wholly devoted to the subject. The literature on this phase of the Revolution has been of slow growth, but has now assumed considerable proportions. Sabine's work is well known. Dr Ryerson's two volumes on the 'Loyalists of America and their Times' are a

valuable compilation made with great care and accuracy. Mr M. C. Tyler has contributed a valuable study to the 'American Historical Review.' Mr Lecky has given some space to the subject. The various histories of Canada naturally discuss the fortunes and sufferings of those who formed so large a part of the population, and whose descendants are among the most prominent and loyal citizens in every part of the country. Mr Van Tyne, in a cold and cautious tone, describes in detail the proceedings against the Loyalists in all the colonies during the revolutionary period. From being the great majority of the educated, the wealthy, the enterprising, the influential, the refined and respected members of every community, the Loyalists became in a few years the ruined, robbed, persecuted, and hated minority. The narrative of the means by which this change was effected shows us how little we have known of the inner history of the Revolution. Every form of inimical ingenuity was exerted against them. Private intimidation, public persecution, secret conspiracy, robbery of houses, denunciation by handbills and secret communications, tarring and feathering, and, as time went on, penal laws and systematic confiscation, were all utilised to break their spirits, paralyse their power, and drive them from their homes and their country. All the terrors which were afterwards so common regarding 'aristocrats' in France, save the universal terror of death—and death itself was inflicted in known, as well as in multitudes of unrecorded, cases—were common experiences among men whose sole crime was a refusal to join in rebellion.

Mr Van Tyne's summary of their sufferings is significant, and may best be given in his own words:—

'They had been threatened, boycotted, plundered; committees had summoned them to examinations from which they had escaped, perhaps, with a recantation and a reprimand, or, more likely, they had been ostracised or paroled and compelled to find a surety, willing to forfeit some extravagant amount if they committed any breach of Whig law. Then apprehensive neighbors denounced them or drew up petitions to have them removed, and gave the authorities no rest until they were disarmed. They had been obliged to accept at par the depreciated money, and had stood in terror of the law of the maximum (i.e. as to maximum prices which were safely

advanced on Tories though not on Whigs). Finally, a test act had demanded of them an oath which they could not take; and refusal had brought upon them fines, disabilities, special taxation, and even whipping and imprisonment. Where the partizan struggle was hottest, the persecutors had already resorted to proscription, outlawry, and confiscation.'

Naturally there was some resentment and resistance. That the Tories should join the British forces, should form committees of assistance, should form themselves here and there into companies of militia or into bodies of light horse, was a result very natural in the circumstances. Tarleton and his legion did splendid service in the field. The names of Johnson and his 'Loyal Greens,' Butler and his 'Tory Rangers,' McDonald and his 'Caroline Volunteers,' are familiar in the history of the time. Had the Loyalists been encouraged, organised, supplied and recognised by the military authorities, as the colonists in general were organised and supplied and recognised by the Government in the war against the French, they might have succeeded. The revolutionists naturally resented their activity and made special efforts, with success, to exterminate them. We shall never know the bitterness of the contests, in obscure fields and forests, in places remote from the chief fields of war, which were waged between small bodies of exasperated men, nor the murders and cruelties which were perpetrated, probably by both sides. The Tories suffered most, for they were finally almost annihilated.

Mr Van Tyne allows us to see with unusual and surprising clearness the favour with which Washington looked on the persecution of the Tories. When Dorchester heights were fortified and Boston became untenable, Washington wrote:—

'The last trump could not have struck the Tories with greater consternation. One or two have done what a great number ought to have done long ago—committed suicide. . . . By all accounts there never existed a more miserable set of beings than these wretched creatures now are.'

They were, as he must have known, among the very best people, the flower of the population, now reduced to beggary in many cases. In 1775 he had ordered the

seizure of all unfriendly government officers who were in the vicinity of the seat of war. Mr Van Tyne says :—

'To the Governor of Rhode Island he addressed the rhetorical question, whether it would not be "prudent to seize on those Tories who have been, are, and that we know will be, active against us. Why should persons who are preying on the vitals of the country be suffered to stalk at large whilst we know that they will do us every mischief in their power?"'

He repeatedly complained of the 'diabolical and insidious arts' of the Loyalists. He advocated their peremptory disarmament. He approved of all the severest laws against them, and advised all the colonies to follow the example of Connecticut. He issued orders for the seizure of the Tories on Long Island and in New York, in order to 'root out or secure such abominable pests of society.' He approved of the Confiscation Acts, and thought the times demanded such severity; and in time all loyalist property was confiscated and sold for the benefit of the state. It need hardly be added that much, if not most, of the proceeds remained in the hands of the speculators and peculators.

If Mr Van Tyne is cool in his manner of stating facts, Sir George Trevelyan cannot be accused of frigidity or hesitation in his continued defence of the old Whig theory of the Revolution. In his later as in his earlier volumes he is brilliantly incorrigible; and criticism, however conclusive, seems only to make him more defiant. He still clings to the theory of Franklin's sincerity, still denounces the King, still ignores the unpatriotic character of much of the opposition which ministers experienced in England, and still refuses to give weight to all the laws, charters, constitutions, and customs by which colonial obedience had for more than a century been guided. His political philosophy is peculiar. He entertains with light-hearted complacency the curious opinion that in times of crisis it is the business of a ministry to be always guided by the Opposition. 'It may well be doubted,' he says, 'whether it is the function of history to find apologies for men who, over and over again, at a very great crisis, adopted a wrong course in defiance of the opinion strongly held and fearlessly urged by many among the best and most far-seeing of their own contemporaries.' It is

difficult to treat an argument of this kind seriously. Precisely the same argument might be used against the ministry which refused to adopt a policy of disintegration in regard to Ireland, or that which more recently declined to make a humiliating and disastrous submission to the Boers. The public men who advocated Home Rule, the public men who denounced the war which was waged in South Africa, held their opinions strongly and urged them fearlessly, and looked on themselves as the best and most far-seeing of their contemporaries. But history will write them as quite another kind of statesmen. History must eventually do the like for those who, in the American struggle, as in the revolutionary period which followed in Europe, were invariably on the side of the enemies of their country.

All the problems of the American War, we are told, 'were problems demanding nothing beyond good sense and good feeling for their right solution.' This is political philosophy in caricature. The same might be said, and said as vaguely and vainly, about any war that has ever been waged. If good sense and good feeling are to be the sole solution of international difficulties, where are we to find the tribunal to define and administer them? Of what use are treaties and conventions, charters, laws, customs, and traditional powers, if in the end they are to make way for so vague a substitute as 'good sense and good feeling'; and if good sense and good feeling are only to be found among those who are, at the time of crisis, the opponents of a government? To put the matter to a practical test in the case of the American Revolution, what sort of good sense and good feeling prevailed among the friends of the Revolution in England? Not one of them advocated a policy which would have been acceptable in America. They were all of opinion that Boston should be called upon to make reparation for the destruction of the tea; but the Americans scouted the idea. Chatham, who was their chief mouthpiece, was almost violent in declaring that England had power to bind their trade externally; but they were determined that should not be. He had told them in 1759 that, after the war with France was over, he would propose measures for taxing them in their own defence; but they were determined to pay no taxes. He denounced their smuggling; but they were

determined on the practice. He emphatically declared the dependence of the colonies on the Crown and Parliament; but they were ready to fight to get rid of it. He demanded the grant of a revenue to the King; but they were unwilling to make it. And all his demands for conciliation were based on the condition that a congress should assemble to accept his proposals. If these things exhibit in any degree that good sense and good feeling to which Sir George Trevelyan refers, we can but say that the Americans were not prepared to recognise them by that name.

In his two last volumes Sir George Trevelyan, it is true, shows some disposition to admit the existence of those reprehensible qualities among many of the fathers of the Revolution to which we called attention on a previous occasion, and which the later school of American historians frankly admit. But his comment on these admissions is: 'All this may be valuable history. It may all be worth telling. It is quite in place as an explanation of the sentiments excited in the British Parliament by the transactions in America; but as an argument for or against the wisdom of the British policy it is of no account at all.' We may insist, however, that it is of great account against a historian who calls Franklin an 'austere' patriot, finds in John Adams the materials for a sonnet by Wordsworth, and has based on their 'austerity' and 'rugged' virtues an unfair attack upon public men in England. Still, in a case of this kind, we suppose, half an apology is better than no truth.

That a well-grounded fear for the safety of English liberty at home animated those who encouraged the colonists to rebellion in America is a point which Sir George Trevelyan labours to impress on his readers. An appeal to liberty is always a first and favourite resort of the disaffected. It is much easier to talk about rights than about duties; and the just insistence upon law and order is easily mistranslated into tyranny. History is full of such subterfuges. But English liberty was in little danger. Sir George Trevelyan himself points out with great particularity how the Lords and Commons, the pamphleteers, the press and petitioners, were free and active in expressing their hostility to the war and in condemning the King and his ministers. Parliamentary

government was far too well established in England to justify any fear that the maintenance of the King's authority in America would jeopardise political freedom at home. The real danger was that the successful revolt of the colonists against the Crown, the Parliament, and the laws alike of the kingdom and the colonies, would weaken the law-abiding character of the people at large. We know how that revolt affected the fortunes of France. If its evil effects were not felt seriously in England, in spite of efforts made to popularise revolutionary principles by 'Friends of the People' and similar bodies, it was because the nation was soon preoccupied by the international struggle, which revealed in their true colours the nature and tendency of revolutionary doctrines.

The relation of France to the revolutionary contest in America is suggested and discussed in the volume by the Vicomte de Noailles. It can hardly be considered a very valuable contribution to our knowledge of the time, but it contains details which are interesting concerning the admirals and generals of the French auxiliary forces. The author was probably induced to compile the volume by the fact that an ancestor served with distinction on the American side, and was thanked by Congress. He does for his memory what Lord Mahon did for the Stanhopes of the eighteenth century; he discusses the merits of his hero with no undue praise, and is fully justified by facts in bringing forward for recognition and remembrance an honourable name. The interest of France in the Revolution was not unnatural. After the loss of Quebec, French public men—Choiseul and Turgot, for instance—recognised, or at least hoped, that the colonies of England, relieved from the pressure of the French in Canada, would soon begin to grow restive under the rule of Great Britain.

Signs had not been wanting that the colonies had ambitions inconsistent with prolonged subjection. In 1767 the Duc de Choiseul had sent Baron de Kalb on a mission to inspect the defences of the French coast. Thence he was sent to Holland, where his duty was to report all that could be learned concerning America and the state of public feeling there. Finally, he was ordered to America in 1768. He arrived there after a tempestuous passage ending in shipwreck, the details of which are

given with much vividness by the Vicomte de Noailles. Kalb's reports were not, on the whole, very encouraging. He did not find, he said, a very mutinous disposition. The British commanders were acting with great forbearance and discretion. He was unable to advise that France would find it to her advantage to make any attack on England in America. On his return he was coldly treated, but persisted in presenting reports of the gradual growth of revolutionary feeling. In the end he was rewarded by promotion, and his expenses were paid; but in the meantime his patron fell from power. In 1777 he returned to America with La Fayette; was made a major-general; served in the South with distinction under Gates; and was mortally wounded at Camden in 1780. When Louis XVI succeeded to the throne in 1774, and Vergennes was minister, another secret agent was sent to America in the person of M. de Bonvouloir. Affairs had in the meantime altered their aspect; and the hopes of the French court in the success of the colonies were revived.

The author discusses in detail the proceedings of Admiral d'Estaing, Admiral Count de Guichen, General Rochambeau, and Admiral Count de Grasse. A general review of the proceedings of the French navy and army during the short period they were engaged in the contest does not afford, on the whole, much ground for national rejoicing. D'Estaing's campaign was not successful. He failed at Newport in 1778, again disastrously at Savannah in 1779, and withdrew to France. His end was unfortunate; he was guillotined in April 1794 by an ungrateful Republic. Rochambeau was at first unsuccessful. He was blockaded in Narragansett Bay in 1780; and nearly a year elapsed before he was able to accomplish anything with the forces at his disposal. His officers reported that all the best people were 'Tories,' and that the conduct of the others was objectionable. They overcharged their French allies for supplies, while the allies were supplying the patriots with powder. When De Grasse arrived in 1781 at Yorktown, in advance of the British fleet, Rochambeau and his troops were able to take an effective part in the siege of the last British stronghold; and Lord Cornwallis was obliged to surrender. This was the one signal service rendered by the French. Aid had

been given in secret supplies of money and arms; and the treaty of alliance of 1778 had been diplomatically valuable; but it was the timely arrival of De Grasse at Yorktown which rendered the alliance of practical and supreme value. It put an end to the efforts of Great Britain to retain her colonies. It is somewhat melancholy to recall the fact that De Grasse, in spite of his brilliant exploit in America, fell from favour after his defeat by Rodney in 1782, and died in 1788 still under the cloud of royal disfavour.

> 'The painful warrior famousëd for fight
> After a thousand victories, once foiled,
> Is from the book of honour razëd quite
> And all the rest forgot for which he toiled.'

When the struggle for independence was over, and the last gun had been fired; when the British troops had departed from the shores of America, and the rebellion had become a revolution; the people of the United States found themselves face to face with problems in the settlement of which they had small experience to aid them, and as to which history offered them little instruction. They had been inspired, during the contest with the royal authority, by ideas and enthusiasms derived from the Puritan period in England; but now the Puritan precedent failed them. The statesmen of the Commonwealth had begun by the capture and control of the parliamentary machinery, with all that this implied of power over the army, the magistracy, the public law, and the public treasury. Their courts sat; their laws were obeyed; the municipal organisation of the country continued unbroken in their charge; the foreign and colonial policy of the nation was continuous, and in a great measure unchanged; and, when the King's authority ended with his death, the successors of his power entered on an executive, legislative, and administrative system which required little alteration to fit it to their purposes.

In the United States everything was different. During the struggle the insurgents were under no legal or constitutional authority. The army was but half subordinate. The taxes were scantily and reluctantly paid. Congress was an experimental body, with no power of

compulsion. There was practically no general law, and no central judicature. The state organisation was imperfect. The Federation was a mere agreement of public men for a common purpose. The generals were jealous of each other and resentful towards Congress, while Congress was suspicious of the generals and doubtful of its own policy and purposes.

Thus, when the struggle with England was over, the troubles of the young state began. The ideas of the people had to be educated to the new conditions of republicanism. A body of public law had to be provided, a new constitution framed, a new system of courts established, a new theory of international relations evolved. A practical scheme of finance had to be immediately adopted. This was imperative, for the treasury was bankrupt. Congress had vainly recommended to the states the raising of revenue for the national needs. Rhode Island refused to raise anything. Pennsylvania paid about a tenth. South Carolina was the only state that paid in full. 'As for the other states,' wrote Treasurer Morris, in August 1783, 'I pray leave to avoid any further comments on the balances of their accounts.' Six years of weakness, confusion, distress, and discontent were to follow before the constitution of the nation was established and order evolved out of chaos. How the constitution was framed; how order was evolved and a revenue raised; how law was imposed and obeyed; how the powers of the Federation and the states were defined; how the new Republic entered on its astounding career of material prosperity—all this is a story which has been narrated by native historians with much panegyric and many appeals to national pride.

One of the first things requisite was to regulate the foreign relations of the United States. Treaties were necessary for securing a place in the commonwealth of nations, and for the safe conduct of commerce. Professor Hart, in the volume which we have mentioned at the head of this paper, gives us, in his accurate and painstaking manner, an interesting account of American diplomacy during the early period. In 1775 the Committee of Foreign Affairs was established, and wrote its first instructions to foreign agents. In 1776 a regular embassy was commissioned for France, which, however,

had not yet regularly recognised the Republic; and commissioners were sent to Austria, Spain, Prussia, and Tuscany. In 1778 France entered into treaties of alliance and commerce, thus enabling the Americans to succeed in a struggle which was threatening to end in disaster. Prussia held aloof, though Frederick had watched the contest with a cynical belief in the success of the Americans. Russia refused in 1780 to receive Dana, the American envoy. Holland recognised the new nationality in 1782, and in 1783 sent a minister to the States. In 1783 Sweden and Prussia, simultaneously with the general treaty of peace, engaged in commercial treaties.

It was not out of any special love for the Republic that the nations of Europe thus entered into engagements, but from the desire of commercial advantages. When the commercial advantage did not arise, and it was seen that trade was going to England, all of them, as Mr Hart says, 'felt disappointed and sore.' England was still in a doubtful mood, and for the present would grant no privileges in home ports. 'It is obvious,' said Adams in England, 'that all the powers in Europe will be continuously manœuvring with us to work us into their real or imaginary balances of power.' Facts justified the comment. In 1793 the French minister in America outraged public feeling by trying to make the United States the base of operations against Great Britain, and he was dismissed. In 1794 Mr Jay's treaty with Great Britain, which caused so much trouble to Washington, but was so necessary and so advantageous to the United States, was negotiated. The entry of the United States into the foreign affairs of the world was made in 1800 by the declaration of war on its former ally France, and in 1802 by the expedition against the Barbary pirates, to whose exactions and outrages Europe had so long submitted. In 1803 Louisiana was acquired by purchase from Napoleon; and the territory was now rounded off, at least on the south-east and south, into the magnificent dimensions which have been in due time so marvellously occupied and developed.

Meantime the pressing need of the country was for a revision of its constitution. The confederation of states was not a federal union. The first Continental Congress assembled in 1774 at Philadelphia. It formed an associa-

tion for non-importation, and formulated a Bill of Rights, which consisted of a series of plainly disputable assertions, which, later, entered into the Declaration of Independence. It had, of course, no legal status, either in British or American law. The second Congress assembled in Philadelphia in May 1775. It was a more business-like institution, and, though without any legal status, it proceeded to enter into diplomatic correspondence, to control the Indians, to regulate the Post Office, to arrange boundaries, to govern trade, to prohibit slavery, to raise money, to impose taxes to an extent that England had never dreamed of doing, and finally, in 1776, to declare independence. This Congress lasted till 1781, when the Articles of Confederation were drawn up.

From 1781 to 1788 Congress had at least such legal powers as the revolutionary states could confer on it; and, though it was never an efficient nor a respected body, it was at least the 'pivot on which the Revolution moved.' But it had no coercive power; it was, as Judge Cooley says, in his 'Principles of Constitutional Law,' 'one in promising, and thirteen when performance was due, until it became at last difficult to enlist sufficient interest in its proceedings to keep up the forms of government through the meetings of Congress and of the Executive Committee.' In 1787 this ineffective body passed a resolution recommending a convention at Philadelphia to revise the articles and provide a new Federal constitution. The constitution of 1789 was the result. Perhaps the fullest and clearest account yet given of the debates in which that polity was forged is to be found in a chapter contributed by Professor Bigelow to the 'Cambridge Modern History.' Containing, as it does, a view of all the chief proposals and amendments, with the reasons that actuated the convention in accepting or rejecting them, it forms a document of great value to all students of Federal methods and principles.

Of all forms of government a written constitution is the most difficult to work. It is liable to be challenged, to be misunderstood, to be misrepresented. As it necessarily contains the authority, and the procedure, for its own alteration, the alteration is sure to come about. Naturally containing provisions that bear variously with varying conditions, it is sure to excite hostility at some

point. Formed as it is by political compromise, political causes in time demand new compromises. The constitution of the United States was destined to run the usual course. Adopted with variations from the state constitutions of 1776, which were themselves adopted from the old compromise charters and constitutions of the colonial period, the new instrument contained many vague terms and the germs of future dissensions. Some public men agitated privately for the adoption of a monarchical form. Washington had been sounded as to his acceptance of a crown. When these reactionary possibilities were removed from the field of practical politics, there was still the constitution to be interpreted; for much had been left vague for fear of dissension and rejection. There were those who adopted the theory of a strict, literal interpretation, making for State Rights. There were those who adopted a theory of loose construction, making for the increase of Federal power. Hence arose party terminology. The Federals naturally prevailed for long over the Republicans, owing to the necessity for organising the Federal machinery. Rhode Island and North Carolina had to be gently coerced into the Federal system by making them subject to customs duties as foreign states. When they yielded, they did so with an avowed understanding that they submitted in the free exercise of their powers as sovereign states. Had this been a correct theory there would have been no federation. The agreement to unite was coercive in itself; and circumstances exercised a general coercive power. But here at the very beginning was a little rift within the lute. The dangerous theory of these two states was destined to become the dangerous theory of the secessionists in 1860.

In Washington's first cabinet the seeds of dissension were sown. Hamilton and his school were with Washington for Federation; Jefferson and his school were for strict construction and state sovereignty. The Federal idea was new; but for the authority of Washington its fate would have been uncertain. The state-sovereignty idea was familiar; and the popularity of Jefferson made him dangerous to Washington, against whom he was always conspiring. Washington's proclamation of neutrality in the revolutionary war of 1793

was distasteful to Jefferson, who was indoctrinated with French ideas. He and his school were denounced as Democrats, i.e. Democratic-Republicans; and the title remains to this day. The Federalists passed alien and sedition laws, as in England; and these were bitterly denounced by the democratic element. The first judges being Federalists, these laws were made operative. When, in 1800–1801, the Jeffersonian Republicans obtained power, they adopted state sovereignty as the note of their politics. They procured alterations in state constitutions to give the states more power. The theory began to develope its mischievous tendencies. The Tariff Act of 1832, which was a political as well as an economic measure—i.e. intended to make internal trade depend on Federal legislation—was rejected by South Carolina, which called a convention and threatened to secede. The President called a congress, sent a naval force to Charleston, and threatened war. A compromise was adopted; Nullification was withdrawn; and the tariff was lowered. But here was the germ of the great Civil War.

As an introduction to the study and understanding of the constitution as it exists, the ingenious and able work on the 'Evolution of the Constitution of the United States,' by Mr Sydney Fisher, is a most instructive volume. Starting with the statement of Mr Gladstone, that 'the American constitution is the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man,' Mr Fisher proceeds, with great patience and profuse detail, to show that this is a false conception of the origin and growth of the constitution. His contention is that the American constitution was not made, but that, like the British constitution, it simply grew, in great part, out of ancient practice, long experience, and local necessities. His argument goes shrewdly to the root of many of the complaints of the colonies, that they were hampered by the mother-country's restrictions. He shows—though not for that purpose—that all the original charters and forms of government in the various colonies were framed (when framed in England) by the aid of colonial agents, or with the aid and consent of those who, as trading companies, as proprietors, or as governors of the new colonies, were specially interested in having as much local freedom as possible; and they

had it. The charter of Connecticut, for example, granted by Charles II, was so admirable and convenient that the state lived under it till 1818. The charters of Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, 'may be said to have been drafted by American influence, the result of American experience; and they were not the mere theorising of Crown officers, or of the persons who had never lived in America.' The author tries to show that, instead of being copied from English or Dutch models, the early constitutions were purely American, prepared by Americans, full of American experience, and careful of American needs. If, therefore, they produced irritation, it is natural and logical to contend that the cause must be sought in America, not in England. The old constitution of Pennsylvania was purely American. 'There was no royal influence affecting the making of this constitution. No officer of the Crown was present or had a right to be present. Both Penn and his people were standing on the soil of Pennsylvania.' The institutions of the colony were 'largely what the colonists themselves had desired and suggested.' As to the Massachusetts charter of 1691, given after the suspension of 1684, 'the people appear to have had some voice in shaping it, for they had their agents in England.' The claim for a purely American origin is certainly strong. But, as we have said, it strikes at the root of the *bona fides* of American complaints of the oppressive character of English rule under such constitutions.

Mr Fisher goes on to develope his argument by showing that when, in 1776, all the new states were forced to adapt their governments to revolutionary conditions, they generally retained the old constitutions, adding some new and progressive amendments, but in some cases going back to the very earliest period in a reactionary manner. He makes out this case with great detail and in an unanswerable fashion. The one colony that made serious changes was Pennsylvania, where Franklin's influence prevailed, and where the lowest class had sway; and Mr Fisher tells us that this constitution proved entirely unsuccessful. Georgia went back deliberately to the old colonial system. The Massachusetts constitution copied the old form, but it was temporarily rejected. It is in these state constitutions, themselves the product

of American experience under the old colonial system, and not in any fancied source in England or France or Holland, that the details of the American constitution of 1789 are to be found. Thus the provision regarding the adjournment of the two Houses is taken from the constitution of New Hampshire; the title of 'President' is taken from South Carolina; the opening paragraph of the Declaration of Independence is taken from Virginia; the title of the 'Senate' from the same source; the power to lay 'embargoes' was taken from Delaware; the language regarding a 'well-regulated militia' is from Maryland; the provisions regarding the modified veto-power of the President are taken from New York; the method of impeachment is from South Carolina.

This strengthens Mr Fisher's argument on the doctrinal development of the American constitution. When he examines, point by point, the provisions of the constitution of 1789 as compared with the constitutional practice and theory of England, his argument is equally strong. When he uses the same experimental form of reasoning on the Dutch-origin argument, he is without any fear of successful reply. He has, we may concede, established his claim that American political institutions grew gradually out of the old colonial relation without much conscious effort at imitating English or other forms. He minimises, indeed, the share which English kings, ministers, and lawyers had in suggesting, framing, and consenting to those old charters, and the share which the old trading corporations had in dictating details. But we are content to allow him to enjoy to the full the benefit of his ingenious contention, since it enables us to put forward with confidence the comment that, if the institutions did not work well for freedom and peace, the fault must be found in the men who worked them.

The limit of State Rights, in other words, the theory of the Union, was the great issue at stake in 1861. In his 'True History of the Civil War,' Mr Guy Carleton Lee clearly and impartially draws out in detail the rise and progress of the dissensions which led to the irrepressible conflict. The theory of state sovereignty was only one element in the mischief that was brewing. What made it active and dangerous was the question of slavery. In early colonial times slavery had been an

accepted institution all over the colonies, north and south; and this condition of things lasted long. If economic conditions rendered slavery needless in the north, economic conditions—the growth of rice and cotton, and the invention of machinery—made slavery more profitable as well as popular in the south. The maintenance of slavery became soon a political question of pressing importance in the south. The tide of immigration pouring into the north gave increased political power. The purchase of Louisiana in 1803 added largely to the slave-holding territory. In 1820 the admission of Missouri as a slave-holding state was balanced by the addition of Maine as a free state; and from this time states were added equally, one on each side, by general consent. But from this date the country was divided into two nations, the slave-holding and the free states; and they drifted apart hopelessly.

About 1833 the anti-slavery campaign was begun. It never ceased till Lincoln issued his proclamation in the midst of the war, by virtue, not of his civil, but of his military power. In 1845 Texas was admitted as a slave-state under Polk. Then followed the Mexican war, and immense additions of territory. Slavery was not permitted by Mexican law, as it had been in Louisiana. If slavery were not permitted in the new territories, the power of the South—which up to this time had been dominant—would be weakened or destroyed. In 1849 the question was settled, if settlement it can be called. California came in as a free state; but Texas was enlarged and two territories were created (Utah and New Mexico), with the slavery question unsolved; and a fugitive slave-law was conceded. From 1850 the drift was rapid. The slave-states and the slave-owners became organised, like the revolutionists of the early period. The division among the people was remarkable. Slavery divided all the churches, except the Episcopalian and the Roman Catholic. It divided the educated world, as the southern planters no longer sent their sons to northern universities. It divided every class of society. Party names began to be obliterated; the Federalists became Free-soilers; the Democratic-Republicans, simply Democrats. All the elements of conflict were ripening.

The South now began a change of policy. Having

had hitherto all the power in their hands, electing the presidents, selecting the ministers, and dictating laws, the slave-states were simply on the defensive. Under the influence of Mr Calhoun and others they now undertook to be aggressive, thereby hastening the conflict. They began to demand protection for slavery as a state necessity, against the obvious increase of anti-slavery influence and opinion. This was a mistake, since the demand for abolition was really not a strong political plank in the northern platform. Then followed the most sensational event of the decade. The Supreme Court, which had generally maintained the Federal theory of the constitution, decided, after an elaborate argument in the case of 'Dred Scott,' in 1857, that Congress was bound to protect and not to prohibit slavery in the slave-holding states. This decision was received with horror in the north. It stimulated the abolitionists and concentrated their efforts on a change of the law. On the other hand, it showed that the slave-owners were within their legal rights, and confirmed the southern representatives in their aggressive policy.

The great controlling force in favour of Federal policy was not Congress, in which the South generally ruled, but the Supreme Court of the United States, which, from the beginning, had consistently and relentlessly interpreted the constitution in favour of the Federal power In Mr Carson's bulky but valuable volume we are afforded, in the lives of the chief justices and judges, and in his summaries of the decisions given by the court, a clear idea of the growth of the body of law in favour of the Federal power over the state laws and constitutions. Chief Justice Marshall, *clarum et venerabile nomen*, was the dominant intellectual force in the court during a long lifetime. His decisions as to the power of the Supreme Court to declare null and void any act of the states which was inconsistent with the constitution; his upholding of the paramount authority of treaties; his declaration that the constitution and laws of the United States were supreme notwithstanding anything in a state law, and a whole host of similar decisions, made such a body of positive law in favour of Federal power that there was no legal or constitutional way of avoiding their authority. But they had the effect of embittering

the state feeling as to state sovereignty, and of enabling parties in the states to agitate for the control of the state machinery. Mr Carson summarises forcibly this body of judicial decisions as follows:—

'He and his associates had considered jointly many of the most important powers of Congress; they had established and sustained the supremacy of the United States, their right as a creditor to priority of payment, their right to institute and protect an incorporated bank, to lay a general and indefinite embargo, to levy taxes, to pre-empt Indian lands, to control the state militia, to promote internal improvements, to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the states, to establish a uniform rule of naturalisation and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcy. They had dealt with a mass of implied powers incidental to the express powers of Congress; they had enforced the constitutional restrictions upon the powers of the states; they had stricken down pretentious efforts to emit bills of credit, to pass *ex post facto* laws, to control or impede the exercise of Federal powers, to impair the obligations of contracts, to tax national agencies, to exercise power over ceded territory, to cripple commerce, and to defy the lawful decrees of the Federal courts. They had faced the frowns of Jefferson and Jackson, and conquered both by invincible logic. They had subjected the ministerial officers of the executive department to the control of the judiciary, and had shivered into atoms the pretensions of Congress to override the Constitution. They had defied the jurisdiction of the Federal courts, both original and appellate, and had sustained against the most stubborn resistance of sovereign states the right of the supreme tribunal to supervise the decrees of state courts when denying a right conferred by the Constitution.'

Against such a body of legal decision as that, it seemed impossible to suppose that any mere force of popular opinion could prevail to the point of rebellion.

Nevertheless in 1860 the streams of tendency which made for Civil War began to unite and swell into a great torrent. When the Democratic party met to nominate a candidate for the presidency they split into three factions, each of which nominated separate aspirants for office. The Republicans met at Chicago. Lincoln was nominated on a platform of anti-slavery in the new territories, and was elected President. The

southern states had been watching for the event, which they took to mean their political extinction. They probably overestimated the significance of it; but with a high degree of passion, in the forms of due deliberation, they proceeded to exercise what they conceived to be their right to secede. The Federals denied the claim, and called it rebellion. The war was fought to decide which were right. The two words, 'secession' and 'rebellion,' are still in use among those who wish to make a distinction between a legal and a treasonable proceeding. It is not necessary for us to enter upon a discussion of the difference between them. Time has, in effect, settled the question. Those who called it rebellion have been generous to those who rebelled. Those who called it secession have submitted to the Federal idea. The question will no longer serve a political purpose.

It is unlikely that the future will ever witness such another outbreak of separatist passion as that which occurred in 1860. Apart from the war which crushed, the constitutional amendments which smothered, and the decisions of the Supreme Court which condemned, that movement, there has grown up in the states themselves a public opinion which renders an appeal to State Rights for any mischievous purpose almost an impossibility. The facility with which amendments may be made in the state constitutions has been exemplified in a remarkable way during the last ten years. Between 1895 and 1903 284 constitutional amendments have been proposed in the various states; and of these 168 have been adopted. The cause of this amending activity is to be sought for in the distrust with which the people regard the state legislatures. The sessions of these bodies have been in many states limited to one in two years; and it has been arranged in Alabama to have a session only once every four years. The tendency to special legislation, to extravagant appropriations, and to submission to the power of corporations and the rule of the 'Boss,' has become so great as to alarm the public. The veto-power of the governors has been strengthened, not only as regards laws, but as regards appropriations. The rise of Grover Cleveland to popularity was largely due to his vigorous exercise of the veto-power in New York; and his exercise of that power as President, especially over

extravagant pension Bills, won him much support. The President has not now the power to veto an item in an appropriation Bill; he must veto the whole Bill or sign it as a whole. The state governors have more power in all but three states, Ohio, North Carolina, and Rhode Island. In 1861–5 the governors saved the Union: they may yet save the public revenues and public morality.

How, out of a situation so desperate and gloomy, rose the tremendous war-power which enabled the United States to subdue the South, preserve the Union, free the slaves, reconstruct the Federation, conciliate the disaffected, and resume once more the burden of the 'too vast orb of its fate,' with an ease which has won the admiration of the world, it is not in our power at present to narrate. The work has been accomplished; and the reunited nation has entered more and more deeply into the affairs of the world at large, by its commercial enterprise, its industrial activity, its recent acquisition of territory in what were once the dominions of Spain. We have shown how the older history has come to be written in terms of a loftier impartiality and good will. We have indicated how the history of its own Civil War has been written with less than the old bitterness. We may confidently assume that its future progress, and the history of that progress when written, will show the United States, in spite of the materialism which to some observers appears so dominant in its existing polity, to be one of the greatest forces of civilisation that the world has ever seen.

Art. V.—POULTRY-KEEPING AS A BUSINESS.

1. *Our Poultry.* By Harrison Weir. Two vols. London: Hutchinson, 1904.
2. *The New Book of Poultry.* By Lewis Wright. London: Cassell, 1902.
3. *Poultry for the Table and Market versus Fancy Fowls.* By W. B. Tegetmeier. London: Cox, 1898.
4. *Poultry-keeping as an Industry for Farmers and Cottagers.* By E. Brown, Secretary of the National Poultry Organisation Society. London: Arnold, 1904.
5. *Poultry Management on a Farm: an Account of Three Year's Work, with Practical Results and Balance-sheets.* By Walter Palmer, M.P. London: Constable, 1902.
6. *Poultry-keeping on Farms and Small Holdings.* By Sir Walter Gilbey. London: Vinton, 1904.
7. *Paying Poultry.* London, May 1902.
8. *Utility Poultry Club Year-book and Register.* Edited by B. W. Horne, 49 Gloucester Gardens, Hyde Park, W. 1904.

THERE is no subject upon which more nonsense has been talked and written than poultry-keeping. Public men in their speeches and public bodies and responsible journals in their equally well-meant attempts to encourage an 'infant industry' have united to prove it true once more that a little learning is a dangerous thing. Undoubtedly, what may be called the great poultry-farm myth owes its origin largely to the impressions made by the printed word. Even the books quoted at the head of this article are not all entirely guiltless of the offence of suggesting that there is money in methods of poultry-keeping which, as a matter of fact, are absolutely impracticable. The inexperienced cannot understand why, if six hens at the bottom of a kitchen-garden yield a profit, six hundred on an establishment wholly devoted to them should not produce a hundred times as much money. It seems incredible that half a dozen birds may answer admirably and six hundred prove ruinous.

The management of poultry looks simple enough. The rations needed are well known and scientifically calculated in cheap books; the necessary houses are supplied by a number of respectable firms; the methods of

hatching, rearing, fattening, and preparing for market can be learnt; and the stock is small in size, conveniently handled, comes quickly to maturity, and soon reproduces itself. If the cost of feeding a fowl need be no more than 1½*d.* a week, and she may lay in a year two hundred eggs—some of which within twelve months will be turned into 'layers,' 'prime chickens,' 'fat capons,' or 'pedigree cockerels'—how can a poultry-farm fail?

Money, it is argued, is being made out of poultry by cottagers and farmers' wives who know nothing of scientific methods, and still believe that eggs set on a Sunday or after sundown will not hatch, that ducks' eggs want an occasional floating in a pail of water in order to incubate properly, and that day-old chicks, if they are to survive, must be given a peppercorn apiece and have the horn on the tip of their beaks pulled off. If this be so, then surely success must wait on educated people who have taken a poultry course under one of the County Council technical education schemes or at an agricultural college, and are acquainted to some extent with Transatlantic methods, especially when they are ready to give all their attention to the business, on land exclusively devoted to poultry, and possess all the incubators, brooding-houses, hatching-boxes, recording-nests, green bone-cutters, corn-kibbling mills, patent cookers, and other paraphernalia of a 'poultry plant.'

When, in answer to this, it is positively declared—as we are able to declare—that poultry-farms do not pay, the invariable rejoinder is that there are hosts of them in existence, that they are to be seen in almost every parish, and that the 'immense business' done by the great American poultry-farms is well known. If there is no money in poultry-keeping, it is asked indignantly, how can all the manufacturers of poultry requisites get a living? how do the poultry papers keep going? and where do the countless advertisers of sittings of eggs and stock-birds obtain the means to carry on their business? What, again, makes possible the organisation of the six or seven hundred poultry-shows which are held in this country in a year—there were between eight and nine thousand birds exhibited at the Alexandra and Crystal Palace shows in November last—and how do the numerous clubs devoted to the interests of various

breeds of poultry continue to exist? Lastly, comes the point that even Cabinet ministers have laboured before rural and London audiences. Surely the fact that Great Britain annually imports nearly 7,000,000*l.* worth of eggs —a large proportion from the other end of Europe, from Canada, and from Morocco and Egypt—to say nothing of 1,200,000*l.* worth of dead poultry, shows that there is an opening for people in this country who have the advantage of producing eggs on the spot.

That there is a future before poultry-keeping in this country we thoroughly believe. The production of eggs and table-poultry, like that of honey, can be immensely extended. But this is possible on certain lines only. Happily the facts of the matter are being increasingly appreciated by the agricultural press and by poultry-keepers themselves. Nevertheless the ignorance that still prevails is lamentably great. The losses which are being made in poultry-farming ventures are so pitiful—some 9000*l.* of savings have lately been dissipated within a short period by men known to the present writer—and the patronage of poultry-keeping by agricultural shows is so largely bestowed in the wrong way, that it is worth while to set out, for the benefit of those in a position to advise would-be poultry-farmers or agriculturists desirous of giving more attention to egg and table-bird production, what are the conditions in which poultry is alone capable of yielding a satisfactory financial return.

As a class, the most profitable hens in this country are the half-dozen kept by a cottager who has at his door a common or field where he is at liberty to let the birds run. The poultry are in robust health and pick up much of their own living; what food is given them consists chiefly of house scraps and garden waste, supplemented sometimes by gleanings. The individual performances of the birds as layers are well known; the best can be bred from; the house in which the poultry roost is a small, roughly-contrived structure on which the owner probably did not spend more than half a crown in cash; and the manure is put to good use in the garden. However little the man or his wife may get for eggs, and for the brood or two of chickens which they raise in a year, there must be a profit.

The next most profitable hens we know of are, first, the half-dozen birds in a reasonably large pen at the bottom of a suburban kitchen-garden, which, again, are under close observation, are largely fed, but not overfed, on house scraps and garden waste, and produce manure of great value for vegetable and fruit-growing; secondly, the poultry kept by a farmer which subsist on what they can pick up in the fields, supplemented by cheap 'off' or 'tail' corn and soft food made of meal ground on the premises or bought under the favourable conditions in which a farmer is able to make such purchases. Rent, labour, straw, carriage of eggs and poultry to the station, and incidentals cost nothing; and the manure is utilised. The amount of revenue which these farm hens will bring in depends on the way in which they have been selected, the time which an interested member of the farmer's family gives to them, the skill brought to their management, the nature of the husbandry on the holding, and the egg and poultry prices ruling in the district. Obviously a farm near Brighton or Bournemouth would do better than one in the Fens.

The least profitable poultry in this country—if, indeed, they are profitable at all—are the birds on what is popularly understood by a poultry-farm. When novices speak of a poultry-farm they usually have in mind a grass field, most of which is divided up into wire-netting pens in which a large quantity of poultry is kept. The owner is supposed by townsmen—but not by his friends or neighbouring farmers, both of whom know better—to make a living by selling eggs, stock-birds, and dead table-poultry. However much one poultry-farm may differ from another in magnitude—in some the acreage is large enough for the birds to be put out in 'colony' houses instead of in pens—there are, in the case of a large number of them, certain common features. The birds are practically hand-fed; that is to say, they are not sufficiently at liberty to gather seeds, insects, and a variety of green-stuff; and all their food, except a little grass, and even their grit, have to be bought. The keeping of such hens involves heavy expenditure, not only on labour and rent, but on wire-netting, scratching-sheds, shelters, straw, carriage, advertising, correspondence, etc., while the return from manure is largely lost, for the grass

of the pens is stimulated to a degree far beyond what is necessary, and there is little or no profitable return from the droppings in the houses.

'But,' says many a would-be poultry-farmer, 'I am content to give my labour.' All the other items of expenditure, however, still confront him; and they are all items in respect of which his neighbour, the farmer's wife, who is his competitor in the market for eggs and table-poultry, and perhaps for stock-birds, has an advantage over him. So far as we know, no trustworthy balance-sheet of a poultry-farm of this class, however heavily capitalised, however written up and photographed, has ever shown profitable working in its fifth, fourth, or even third year.

It may be suggested that the existence of the poultry-farms which are advertising in the poultry press and exhibiting at the shows tends to prove that poultry-farming pays, and that, as a matter of fact, some poultry-farms do pay. We believe that a careful analysis of a list of these establishments would show, in the first place, that the proportion of them which has been in existence for five years, under the same management, is surprisingly small—very much smaller, that is, than would-be poultry-farmers or most poultry-keepers think is the case. One has only to compare the advertisements in an old number of 'Poultry' with those in a recent issue, or to have noted the names of exhibitors at the shows for several years, to realise how poultry-farms and poultry-farmers come and go.

In the second place, a close examination will show that of those few farms which pass the test of five years under the same management, the larger number are not what the general public understands by poultry-farms. Some establishments merely constitute a department of work on an ordinary farm. The farm is called a poultry-farm, though it would be equally correct, somewhat on the same principle, to describe a grocer's shop as a candle-shop. The fact that the shopkeeper keeps the best candles, and manages the purchase, the keeping, and the sale of them on commercial and scientific lines, does not alter the fact that the shop is a grocer's shop. Similarly, the poultry belonging to the enterprises we speak of are living on ordinary farms, not on poultry-farms. In Berk-

shire people, no doubt, speak of the up-to-date poultry-farm of Mr Walter Palmer, M.P., for it possesses incubators, brooding-houses, chicken-cramming arrangements, etc.; but, as will be seen from the title of Mr Palmer's book, he writes, sensibly and correctly, not of poultry-farming, but of 'Poultry Management on a Farm.' Mr Palmer has a poultry manager, as many landowners have; but, in the same way, he no doubt possesses a dairy manager, a stock manager, and a general farm manager, only they are not called by such grand names.

Another form of poultry-farm is that which has the advantage of being run in connexion with an agricultural college, or a county council instruction scheme. It has facilities for disposing of sittings of eggs and stock-birds at favourable rates; the supervision is already paid for; the students provide some of the labour; and there is no need for the work to show a profit. There are also philanthropic organisations which have poultry-farms. In these cases there is much kitchen refuse for food, and also unlimited unpaid labour, while supporters of the institution take, at remunerative prices, a large part of the eggs and poultry which are not consumed on the premises. In other cases the poultry-farm is in the hands of men or women who live with relatives who are farmers, and keep their birds on farm-land on exceedingly favourable conditions. Food is obtained at cost price—in many cases practically for nothing; and incidentals like carriage to and from the station are never debited, while no difficulty is experienced in getting the loan of farm labour.

Sometimes a poultry-farm is an adjunct of an egg-merchant's or higgler's business, or of a manufactory of poultry appliances. There is always a profit in the middleman's work between producer and consumer, while the timber-merchants and carpenters who launch out as makers of poultry-houses and incubators, and have pens of poultry for producing sittings and stock-birds for sale to their customers, are also on sure ground. Another class belongs to poultry-show judges and lecturers, who have many opportunities of introducing business, with profitable results, before returning home after their platform addresses. These gentlemen earn money, too, by buying fowls on commission and taking pupils. Or, again, there is the farm which is managed on genteel

lines by ladies who, owing to their social connexions, are able to dispose of eggs and dead poultry (produced and purchased) at quite exceptional rates; and the farm where milk, fruit, and honey are as carefully attended to by the owner as eggs or table-birds. 'One hand washes the other.' Finally, there are not a few poultry-farms belonging to persons who are content to have a pleasant house in the country and a field or two of their own, who regard their birds as an interesting distraction, and keep no real accounts. As the poultry is debited with neither rent nor labour it may in such circumstances cause no great loss.

The 'New Book of Poultry' naïvely advises the poultry-farmer to 'find products of some kind which shall find purchasers at more than market rates.' For example:—

'Eggs or stock from really proved layers . . . can be sold with advertising and management; and, if the birds are true to points, they will be worth still more. . . . During recent years quite a demand has grown up for newly-hatched chickens sent off within twenty-four or thirty-six hours of being hatched in incubators . . . with no further risk or cost of food or liability.'

We venture to think however, that the remunerative trade in day-old chicks has almost reached the limits of profitable expansion. As for the eggs or stock, we wish we had space to analyse the pages of advertisements of such goods from ingenuous and struggling poultry-farmers in three weekly papers now before us, and to discuss their chances of effecting business. Poultry-farmers who are endeavouring to make a living by selling eggs or stock to one another are like those islanders of whom it was fabled that they tried to gain a livelihood by taking in each other's washing.

To understand how it is that a few people who are not farmers or cottagers, or the favourably-situated persons whose methods have been outlined above, contrive to make money out of poultry-keeping, and how it is that other folk, who are equally anxious to make it, cannot hope to obtain success without some of their advantages, it is necessary to recall what has happened since the new breeds of poultry began to be introduced into this

country. The owners of these birds, like the owners of the new breeds of goats which are now being kept in England, began to hold exhibitions. Unfortunately, they placed a value on fidelity to type rather than on utility. The birds thought worthy of prizes were those which, in their feathering, in the size of their combs, in the tint of their beaks and their toes, and so forth, most nearly approximated to what was regarded as the ideal standard of their breeds; and the ideal standards were constantly changing. The result was that what was bred for by poultry-keepers was 'perfection in markings.' These are, of course, wholly surface matters, and have nothing whatever to do with laying powers and edible qualities. But handsome was as handsome seemed. Fine feathers made fine birds. What might have been expected happened. Prizes were won by birds which were indifferent layers; from them more prize-winners were bred, often by deplorable interbreeding of related birds; and no one ever enquired if the successful birds were good layers or really useful poultry.

With the rise of this new hobby and the passion for perfection in feathering, 'the fancy,' which found poultry-keeping on its lines profitable, began to invent new breeds. Three quarters of the breeds of poultry now in existence are deliberately invented varieties. The inventor of the black Orpington called into being buff Orpingtons, white Orpingtons, and spangled or Jubilee Orpingtons. Among other varieties there are now brown, white, black, buff, cuckoo, duckwing, and pile Leghorns; silver (that is speckled), buff, buff-laced, partridge, silver-pencilled, blue-laced, and white Wyandottes; and so on. At the last dairy show from fifty to sixty breeds were represented.

There could be no objection to this fancy poultry-breeding as a recreation. It furnished and continues to furnish thousands of working men and suburban and country residents with a harmless hobby; but, when the public was invited to believe that these show strains provided the best poultry for the farmer and the cottager, immense damage was done to the interests of poultry and poultry-keeping in this country. One constantly finds farmers and others who keep poultry for use so impressed by the pretensions of prize-winning strains as to buy ornamental cockerels at a guinea apiece under the

impression that such birds will improve the profitable qualities of their stock.

It should be noted that the shows have almost ruined some exceedingly useful old breeds of fowls. The Langshan, the layer of an egg of a deeper brown than any other variety, was a plump, cobby bird when first brought from China. It is now, through being bred to the arbitrary standard of 'the fancy,' so long in the leg that it finds the show-cages almost too small for it. The old English game-fowl, compact, enormously strong, and laden with breast and leg meat, has degenerated, in the modern show game-bird, into a weedy, long-necked spindle-shanks, with the head and beak of a pigeon. The Brahma and Cochin, which once were relatively clean-legged and useful birds, are now unprofitable creatures, covered from head to toe with an embarrassing mass of feathers that makes existence a misery for them outside a show-pen. The earlobes of the Spanish have been actually doubled in size, and the fine laying powers of the breed extinguished in the process; the valuable, lively, barefaced Houdan has had its top-knot of feathers so increased that the creature has become a piteous object, hardly able to see; while the comb of the Minorca now lies over one side of its head to such a degree that cradles have been invented to sustain it. It is needless to say that, in the breeding for feathers solely, stamina has been as much lost sight of as useful qualities. These show-birds, which are neither layers nor good eating, would probably die if left out for a winter's night in the open.

As not a few people will pay for an article of luxury what they would grudge for an article of necessity, this breeding of show-birds has been, as already indicated, not a little profitable to many who have given attention to it. The acrimony of the controversies carried on in the exhibition poultry press, the wilful maiming of prize-winners at shows by envious exhibitors, and the 'faking' of plumage and other tricks frequently brought to light by the judges, give some hint of the commercial interests at stake. Breeding for the shows is not, however, poultry-farming. Many of the most successful exhibitors have never had more accommodation for their birds than that available in the back-yard or back-garden of a house within the five-mile radius rented at 25*l.* or 35*l.* a year;

nor is much more room requisite. These show-breeders ordinarily specialise in a single breed; and the number of birds they keep is necessarily limited. Few of them live on what they make out of their poultry. The birds are merely the hobby, occasionally the paying hobby, of their leisure hours.

But what the poultry-farmer wants is to make his poultry-farm keep him. The difficulties he would meet with in taking up show-birds are obviously considerable. He would have to begin with the best stock, from a show point of view; and such birds are as costly as they are delicate. Of the minutiæ of breeding, of the management of poultry in health and disease—and the ailments of the show-bird are legion—and of the mysteries of preparing stock for show, he is probably ignorant. He would have to spend much money in sending to and attending shows; and the competition of more experienced exhibitors would in most cases prevent any profitable return. By the time our novice was winning his 'second Caterham, third Great Missenden, reserve Nelson'—we quote from advertisements of hopeful vendors of stock-birds in a poultry paper—he would probably begin to doubt, like Sam Weller's charity boy when he got to the end of the alphabet, whether it had really been worth while going through so much to learn so little. Moreover, we are inclined to think that exhibition poultry-keeping has seen its most profitable days. As the keeping of useful poultry makes headway, the artificial and economically unsound branch of the business must fall behind.

Just as there are some few breeders of show-poultry who have followed the hobby for many years, and have made money by it, so there are two or three, and only two or three old hands at poultry-keeping who have succeeded in keeping poultry-farms pure and simple with considerable profit to themselves. We have in mind a widely-respected enthusiast who, starting business about the time when the reaction against show-poultry first began to be felt, bred and sold at a reasonable price birds which, while true to type, were also robust and of a good laying stock. His pens, each a quarter of an acre in extent, are on grass land, and are mown for hay every year. That he is one of the moving spirits of the Utility Poultry Club, has offered a prize for the best

cross-bred layers, and has consistently refused to exhibit or to judge at shows, furnishes a key to the ideas which have inspired him in his enterprise. But even this poultry-farmer sells incubators and takes pupils. So far as we know, the only other successful poultry-farmers, not being also general farmers, whose operations date so far back, have derived at least part of their income from breeding specimens for shows, from exhibiting and judging, from the manufacture and sale of poultry requisites, or from pupils.

If, in making his calculations, the would-be poultry-farmer would only realise that many thousand head of poultry are kept as much for pleasure as for profit, that many thousands more certainly do not pay a dividend on their egg-laying, that poultry-keeping with many people is more of a habit than an industry, and that a large proportion of the dead fowls received at Smithfield every day are of so poor a quality that they cannot be disposed of at a profit to the consigners, he would be saved not a little trouble and loss.

Since the merits of utility poultry have come so much to the fore, not a few poultry-breeders have taken to advertising 'utility with exhibition type,' and similar absurdities concerning their stock. It need hardly be said that it is possible to breed for show-points or for utility-points, but not for both together. The best bird from the point of view of utility is the bird which lays the most eggs, or will produce, when killed, the largest slices off the breast. Between such merits—which have nothing whatever to do with the tints of feathers or of toes—and those club standard points which are held to constitute what is called perfection, a gulf is fixed.

The charge that the keeper of useful poultry wants to turn his fowls into mongrels is nonsense. He recognises that some new breeds and certain old ones, like some surviving strains of the old English game, Langshan, and the present Kent or Sussex fowl—which, until 'the fancy' took it in hand in 1903, had come down to us almost unchanged since the Roman occupation—have such points of excellence that it is eminently desirable that they should be kept pure. It is surely excusable, however, if he should smile at the ardour in the cause of purity exhibited by men who have been directly or

indirectly responsible for the manufacture, by unlimited crossing and mongrelising, of some of the absolutely useless new 'varieties.'

So long as the laying powers of different hens could be estimated only by the rough and ready test that good layers are usually close-feathered, active, intelligent-looking birds, the last to roost and the first to hop down in the morning, there was no trustworthy body of evidence to oppose to the pretensions of 'the fancy' that laying went along with type. By the invention of the trap register or recording-nest, however, every egg can be credited to the hen which laid it. How much a company of hens, believed by their experienced owners to be of equal laying powers, really differ from one another in their rate of egg-production and their commercial value, may be seen by the fact that of 236 pullets tested at an experimental station for a year, five laid from 200 to 208 eggs, while three laid but 36, 37, and 38 respectively. Winter-laying competitions, conducted in England every year by the Utility Poultry Club, prove unmistakably that egg-producing power may be increased by breeding from good layers mated to male birds sprung from a good laying strain. At the first two sixteen-weeks competitions (1897–8 and 1898–9) the winning pens produced an average of only 157 eggs. At the last two competitions (1902–3 and 1903–4) the average was 259 eggs. The club is careful to state that the object of the competitions is not to pick out the best breed of poultry for laying, but the best laying strains irrespective of breed. The correctness of its attitude is illustrated by the fact that only one breed has furnished the winning pen more than once.

Although the high price of winter eggs is alluring to the poultry-keeper, he is no longer bound to take the low prices which prevail in summer for eggs laid at that time of the year. Millions of eggs produced at a season when they would sell at 20 and 22 a shilling are now preserved in water-glass (silicate of soda) until Christmas time. Immense quantities of low-priced eggs, as of low-priced table-poultry, are also kept by merchants in cold storage till the dear time of the year comes round. It is plain that, by avoiding sales at unremunerative prices, no less than by keeping stock bred from good layers and so

frequently tested as to maintain a high laying average, there are increasing opportunities of making poultry-keeping pay. The testing is clearly important, for a good layer costs no more to keep than a bad one. It is true that egg-preservation is likely in many cases to lead to summer eggs being palmed off in winter as fresh; but that is a risk which the consumer can only learn to avoid by experience.

It hardly needs to be said that well-managed poultry on an ordinary farm will pay well. The 'New Book of Poultry' gives the names and addresses of a number of farmers in one district in the Midlands who are able to report, after many years' experience, that farm poultry, properly handled, bring in a satisfactory return. Every country resident, however, knows agriculturists who say that poultry do not pay. This is because their birds are in-bred, of the wrong types, and of bad laying strains, and are managed on no system, or on an unintelligent one. Birds in large numbers collected about the farm-yard are a nuisance, and are rarely profitable. Farm poultry should be spread over all the area of the holding, in small flocks of a score or two dozen, kept in strong, easily moved, well ventilated, draught-tight, broad-wheeled houses. It is requisite that pains shall be taken to obtain as high a laying average as possible by breeding only from a small company of selected layers; that they shall be hatched at the right time for laying in the late summer, autumn, and winter, when eggs are dearest; and that they shall be of varieties which produce the largest number of eggs or the best table-birds, or combine both advantages, according to the nature of the local demand.

In Kent and Sussex the farmers undoubtedly find that poultry-keeping pays. The south-eastern producer has the great advantage, however, of being served by higglers with capital, who at regular intervals call at the farms and purchase eggs and live birds at a reasonable price. Nevertheless, even in Sussex, things do not wear quite the rosy tints reflected in the poultry-books. In less favoured districts, such as Essex, where the higglers are but a feeble folk, concerned chiefly in the buying up of old hens at cheap rates, to be sold alive in the East-end to the Jews, farmers' wives obtain less

satisfactory results by dealing direct with shopkeepers, private customers, and London factors.

The development of poultry-keeping on farms largely depends on agriculturists recognising that the successful management of poultry, like that of sheep, dairy-cattle, horses, and arable land, calls for knowledge and experience. The farmer has the great advantage of being able to provide much of the food at small expense. Potatoes, swedes, mangolds, and clover play a larger part in the profitable feeding of poultry than is generally understood. The farmer has also constantly small quantities of second-rate or injured grain which can be advantageously utilised, and sometimes, perhaps, dead stock that can be boiled up to supply the animal food which poultry need if they are to do their best, while many incidentals of poultry-keeping cost him nothing that he need take account of. The manure deposited during the day-time on the fields, if the houses are frequently shifted, will also balance any rent that could be fairly charged against poultry, for it is unquestionable that, on arable and grass land alike, hens in reasonable numbers do nothing but good. The manure from the poultry-houses is also profitable. Each bird will drop in the night-time from a quarter to half a hundred-weight in a year; and this manure is valued by the consulting chemist of the Royal Agricultural Society at 2*l.* a ton. Every year, too, enough grain is left on the stubbles to maintain the birds in perfect health and condition for two months. If the farmer keeps pure breeds, and obtains a local reputation as a producer of eggs in the season of the year when they are scarce, he will probably experience little difficulty in selling a fair number of stock-birds; while some eggs, which would otherwise not be worth more than a penny apiece, may fetch from 3*s.* 6*d.* to 5*s.* a dozen for sittings.

By using incubators and a brooding-house, or by buying broody hens and providing shelter for their chickens when hatched, he can, if found desirable, develope the early chicken or duckling trade, which is usually profitable if the birds are properly fatted and trussed and despatched to a good market. This, however, obviously depends, as we have said, not only on the locality, but also on knowledge and experience. Such knowledge may be obtained by sending a son or daughter to a

teaching centre, preferably a farm where poultry have been profitably kept for five years, or an agricultural college course on really practical lines. When the young man or young woman comes home, no large schemes should be indulged in. Mr Palmer, in his third year, valued his houses and appliances at 350*l.*, and his stock at almost the same amount. These are large figures; and, when items in accounts reach such sums, it is easy to get beyond profitable working and to deceive oneself as to the true character of the trading. In the case of Mr Palmer's balance-sheet we are struck by the fact that, of the 229*l.* put down for food, only 44*l.* worth was produced on the farm.

On farms where a doubt is expressed as to the ability of poultry to pay really well, it will usually be found that no attempt was made to produce a first-rate article either in eggs or table-birds. The day when profitable prices could be obtained from Smithfield or Leadenhall Market for second-class stuff has gone with the development of the continental railway service and the establishment of fast and cheap steamship lines. There were imported into this country from abroad, in the year 1903, 2,369,868,000 eggs, and 1,203,086*l.* worth of table-poultry. In other words, most of the eggs and poultry in the shops are foreign; and they are generally satisfactory articles at the price. Not a few housewives who imagine that their poulterers supply them with English birds, are undoubtedly furnished with Russian or other foreign or colonial poultry, not occasionally, but regularly. Nor is it easy to see that John Bull has any just cause of complaint, for this excellent food could not be produced here at the price he is willing to pay for it. There is, however, an opportunity for the British poultry-keeper. To send second-rate produce to market is only to reduce the price of foreign second-rate stuff and his own. But with the geographical advantage which he possesses, and which the foreigner is unable to take from him, he can, if so minded, furnish the market with the best quality of eggs and table-poultry, and make a profit.

An egg is no longer a 'new-laid' egg when more than three days old. It is impossible—though some farmers refuse to believe it—to hoodwink the trade on this subject. The size of the air-space in an egg, as discerned

when it is held before a strong light—the test is called candling—is an infallible criterion of age. Now, owing to the distance that foreign eggs have to travel, they cannot be on sale in the grocers' shops before they are roughly about the following ages:—

French (Calais) . . .	3 days.	Styrian . .	12 or 13 days.
Danish . . .	4 or 6 ,,	Hungarian . .	14 or 20 ,,
Italian . . .	7 or 8 ,,	Russian . .	28 to 40 ,,

Nevertheless the highest priced eggs in the London wholesale market have been on some occasions not English, but French eggs. What is the reason? It is that English eggs, purporting to be of the same age as these best-quality French eggs, are not equally trustworthy, and that the supply is small and irregular.

'I can recall the names of several firms' (says Mr Newport, an egg merchant, in 'Paying Poultry') 'who used to work genuine English eggs, but now do not do so. I will guarantee that if I went into the stores of the ten largest brokers in London I should not find an egg of English origin. Why? The answer is, "Unreliable." People think that all foreign eggs are in a state of incipient rottenness, and that, no matter how old an English egg may be, foreigners are worse. That is decidedly not so. It has got to be quite a large trade to send the best quality foreign eggs out of London to be unpacked, repacked, and returned to London as new-laid. Could this be done if the foreign eggs were rotten?'

As to the small and irregular supplies of English eggs,

'Is there any man' (asks Mr Newport) 'who would undertake to book me a supply, all the year round, of ten thousand genuine English new-laids per week? And yet I could tomorrow morning order ten times ten thousand in each of the following—French, Austrian, Styrian, Russian, Hungarian, Galician, Danish, Italian, and Moroccan; and they would be delivered the following day.'

There is not an egg-broker doing the best class of trade who would not welcome supplies of really genuine English new-laids, especially if the producers of them would club together—as the National Poultry Organisation Society with its depôts is trying to get them to do—so as to be in a position to despatch the goods in as large consignments as possible. There is hardly likely to be

any limit to the demand for years to come. It should be unnecessary to mention that eggs must be clean. Farm eggs are not always clean; and, as egg-shell is porous, a soiled egg is a tainted egg, whatever shopmen may pretend to the contrary. Another requirement of the wholesale trade is that the eggs shall be graded as to size, as foreign eggs are.

At present the number of English farms which set themselves to supply such a simply-obtained article as the new-laid, or not more than three-days-old egg, is regrettably small. As a rule the eggs are collected by a farm lad or labourer, who may put into his basket any find of eggs of uncertain age produced by a hen that has laid away, as well as eggs in the ordinary nests to which hens desirous of sitting may have had access. Now the composition of an egg changes so rapidly under incubation that, when it has been sat on for only twelve hours, the change may be detected by the naked eye on the egg being broken open. The eggs when collected may be kept a week, or—in the hope of prices rising—a fortnight, or even three weeks before being marketed. The result is that thousands of farmers never get from their grocers or the wholesale trade, at the dearest time of year, more than a shilling for eight, while in the summer they have to accept a shilling for a score and sometimes two dozen. And the eggs are certainly not worth more.

What is possible in the production of the best eggs is also possible in the production of the best table-poultry. The best French table-poultry is excellent; but, as the dairy show and the Smithfield show exhibits prove, and the leading West-end poulterers agree in acknowledging, the best English poultry has no cause to fear comparison with it. But the production of the very best table-poultry, reared for fattening and killing at the proper season, and then properly fattened, properly starved, properly killed, properly trussed, properly cooled, and properly packed—all this needs careful learning and planning. Farmers' sons and daughters inclined to make a special study of poultry matters would do well to restrict themselves to producing a small quantity of the best eggs and the best poultry, instead of dreaming of vast schemes and spending large sums on 'poultry-plants.' This alone, as Mr Pickwick said of politics, 'comprises by itself a

difficult study of no inconsiderable magnitude.' Incubators may come in time, and permanent brooding-houses may follow them; but if they are to lead to the production of something less than the very best table-bird and the very best brown egg—as large enterprises have a way of doing, if some American experience goes for anything—they cannot bring with them the financial results which those who invest in them are apt to expect.

The future of poultry-keeping in this country is to the intelligent farmer's intelligent daughter. There may be cases, as at Mr Palmer's farm, where it is profitable to devote the services of a man and a lad to poultry; but the average farmer, hampered as he is by the lack of fluid capital, will not readily contemplate the sinking of 350*l.* in apparatus and as much in stock. He will also be disposed to wait for the balance-sheet of more experiments, and of experiments extending over more than three years, made by tenant-farmers as well as by rich landowners, before he sees his way completely to resigning one of his sons to 'the hens.'

We have used the American phrase 'poultry-plants'; and a word on these enterprises is necessary. There is undoubtedly a great deal of misconception as to the average degree of success which has attended the operations of these establishments in the States. Our public has heard a great deal about the successes, but very little of the failures; and that there have been many big failures cannot be gainsaid. Some of the success which has been attained is due, no doubt, to the immense demand in America for 'broilers,' i.e. fowls sold so small that they could not be marketed in this country. There is also in the States a climate which enables the farmer, not only to crowd his stock indoors, to a degree which would have disastrous results in our milder temperature, but also to feed it heavily on cheap maize, which is regarded here as too fattening, and as creating yellow flesh, appreciated in the States but objectionable in English eyes. It should be added that many of the American 'poultry-plants' which succeed are obviously departments of considerable grain-farms. Without going the length of saying that it is impossible to repeat in this country, over a reasonable period, any of the successes which are said to have been attained by large poultry-plants

in America, it must be plainly stated that such imitative ventures as are being made in this country are experiments only. American experience helps us little, for it has been gained under other conditions. In any case a large capital would be necessary, with perfect knowledge of utility poultry-keeping, and uncommon organising and business ability. Whatever plausible and confident young men from the States may be able to do in committing English capitalists, with little knowledge of profitable poultry-keeping or of the trade in eggs and poultry, to big poultry-plant schemes, these are not enterprises which landowners or landowners' sons, farmers, townsmen turned countrymen with a limited capital, or ladies who have been through a poultry course at Studley Castle or Swanley College, should dream of emulating.

A great deal has been said about the wonders that may be wrought by flocks of two-hundred-egg hens; and we have no intention of suggesting that the limit of profitable egg-production under scientific management has been reached; but it should be remembered that, when all is said and done, hens are only birds and not crates of eggs, and that the leading poultry journal in the States has expressly stated that two-hundred-egg stock is by no means so common or so easily come by in America as is commonly supposed here. The tendency of the owners of big poultry-plants is rather to be content with fair average laying. Thus, as we have argued, it would seem that an English farmer who will keep his stock well in hand, and aim rather at quality than quantity, is likely to do better than another who should involve himself in the maintenance of an immense head of stock which is less good than it might be.

The idea that a big duckling 'ranch' might be profitable here, if chickens did not answer, has caught the fancy of some would-be poultry-farmers; and the well-known docility of the duckling, no less than the ease and speed with which it may be brought to a marketable age, makes the suggestion attractive. But any considerable degree of success depends upon factors the importance of which it is only too easy to underrate. These are, *inter alia*, the large capital, the perfect skill, and the business ability required, and the necessity of getting for the incubators—what it has been found by

experience to be very difficult indeed to get—large quantities of eggs, either by purchase or from flocks of stock-ducks, at regular intervals and of a reasonable degree of fertility. We have unquestionable evidence that the figures which have been given by prominent poultry authorities as to the success of one duck establishment in England are quite inaccurate; and we have never seen any data which incline us to think that the keeping of flocks of ducks is likely to prove more profitable as a single industry than the keeping of hundreds of hens on a poultry-farm.

We have written as we have done under a sense of some responsibility. The ordinary daily paper has not space to deal with the large, complicated, and highly technical subject of poultry-keeping as it needs to be dealt with; and writers in the poultry and agricultural press, however honest, cannot always pretend to occupy an impartial position. Further, not a few of the advertised poultry courses, however excellent they may be in some respects, unquestionably inspire the eager pupils, directly or indirectly, with inflated and unpractical ideas. If we turn from college to poultry-farm courses, there is undoubted evidence that premium-farming is not the least profitable feature of many poultry-farmers' enterprises. If we seem to express ourselves with some severity, it is difficult to see what other manner of writing can properly be adopted when hardly a week passes without the production of sad stories of money lost and hopes of a modest, out-of-door life in the country dashed by poultry ventures which no genuine expert could have countenanced, but for which so-called experts were unmistakably answerable? And this, too, at a time when the change in agricultural conditions and a 'back-to-the-land' movement, which touches the imagination and conscience of more than one class of society, excite a hope that intelligent poultry-keeping may have a large part to play in the development of rural industry and the invigorating of country life.

'HOME-COUNTIES.'

Art. VI.—THE TUDORS AND THE NAVY.

1. *The Principall Navigations, Voyages, and Discoveries of the English Nation.* By Richard Hakluyt. New edition, in twelve volumes. In progress. Glasgow: Maclehose, 1903-4.
2. *The Naval Tracts of Sir William Monson.* Vols I and II. Edited for the Navy Records Society by M. Oppenheim. London, 1902–3.
3. *A History of the Administration of the Royal Navy,* 1509–1660. By M. Oppenheim. London: Lane, 1896.
4. *Drake and the Tudor Navy.* By Julian S. Corbett. London: Longmans, 1897.
5. *The Successors of Drake.* By Julian S. Corbett. London: Longmans, 1900.

And other works.

IF there is in the history of England any one feature by which it is distinguished from the history of any other great European country, it is that—civil wars, of course, excluded—the great battles of her history have, almost without exception, been fought on foreign soil. This is not perhaps to be attributed merely to the aggressive tendencies of the nation, nor to the habitual meekness and defencelessness of its neighbours. It is the direct consequence of the geographical fact that Great Britain is an island, and that the international relations of the country, in modern times at any rate, have been those of a distinctively maritime state. Yet, though one might have expected that this aspect of our history would have attracted attention merely because it is peculiar to England, it has been not a little neglected and overlooked by historical students. Except those who have taken naval affairs as their special province, there are but few writers who have adequately appreciated this side of our history; and one might read many a history of England without discovering the paramount importance of the navy to England, or learning what an influence it has had, not only in the age of Nelson and the age of Drake, but at all other times, during at least the four last centuries, in shaping the destinies of this country.

But if our naval history is not as familiar as it ought

to be, it is not for want of facilities for its study. The list at the head of this article is some indication of the excellent work which has been done and is being done on a portion of the great field of naval history, other quarters of which have not been neglected. The works published by the Navy Records Society deserve special mention. In the ten years of its existence the Society has made itself absolutely indispensable, and has done most admirable service; not only has it published and made accessible materials of great value and interest, but by the fact of its existence it supplies a stimulus to the study of naval history. The volumes it has issued, now nearly thirty in number, cover a great variety of subjects. Some of them, as for example Mr Leyland's volumes on the 'Blockade of Brest,' and Admiral Sturges Jackson's on the 'Great Sea-fights, 1794–1805,' deal with topics of the greatest tactical importance; others, like the 'Journal of Rear-Admiral James,' a diary touching the less important sides of the American War, are interesting as illustrating the more ordinary work of the navy. It is much to be hoped that the Society will receive such an increase of public support as may enable it to enlarge its present somewhat restricted output. Meanwhile, one cannot quit the subject of naval history and the Navy Records Society without mentioning the name of its indefatigable secretary, Professor Laughton, who has had a considerable share in making the Society a success, and has done good service in the cause of naval history for many years. The naval biographies in the 'Dictionary of National Biography,' which amount to over a volume of that great work, are almost without exception from his pen, and constitute one of the most remarkable and successful features of the Dictionary. Students of naval history owe him no small debt of gratitude.

The complaint that the English nation is, as a whole, ignorant of and indifferent to that branch of its history which is so specially its own, is, we are afraid, anything but a novelty. If we go back three hundred years to the 'Epistle Dedicatorie to Sir Francis Walsingham,' which Hakluyt prefixed to his great collection, we find much the same story. In that dedication Hakluyt relates how, 'not seeing any man to have care to recommend to the

world the industrious labours and painefull travels of our countrymen,' he 'determined to undertake the burden of that worke' himself 'for stopping the mouthes of the reprochers.' Love of his country and love for the science of 'cosmographie' were the motives which impelled him to bestow on this work 'so many yeres, so much traveile and cost,' in order to 'preserve from the greedy and devouring jawes of oblivion certaine memorable exploits of late yeeres by our English nation atchieved.'* There is something exceedingly graphic about his account of how he, a Westminster schoolboy visiting his cousin in the Middle Temple, was first introduced to the 'delights and wonders' of cosmography, and how he thereupon formed the resolution, which afterwards, when a student of Christ Church, he found time to put into execution, 'to prosecute that knowledge and kinde of literature, the doores whereof were so happily opened before me.'

The work in which Hakluyt has embodied the result of his researches is a veritable English epic of the sea, and one of the most fascinating records of our history. The publication of an adequate modern edition, such as that now being produced by Messrs Maclehose, is very welcome. Indeed it is high time that 'The Principall Navigations' were made more accessible to book-buyers and readers than it has hitherto been. The two old editions of 1589 and 1598–1600 are exceedingly rare, and neither of the so-called 'modern editions' (1809 and 1884) is at all satisfactory; so that one is very glad to have one which is in every respect worthy of so notable a work. Eleven of the twelve volumes of which the new edition will consist have already appeared. They are copiously furnished with illustrations, maps, and charts of great interest. The volume still to be published will contain an introduction on the life and works of Hakluyt by Professor Walter Raleigh, who may be trusted to do the 'Preacher' and his book full justice. The volumes are handsome, well-printed, and light. There are hardly any notes; and we, for our part, do not miss them. Hakluyt should be read in the arm-chair, not at the study-table.

Froude described the 'Principall Navigations' as 'an

* Cf. preface to the second edition, 1598.

invaluable treasure of material for the history of geography, discovery and colonisation.' But it is even more remarkable as evidence of the spirit of the times. It would not be too much to say that its main interest lies not so much in the material collected, some of which a critical examination would certainly discredit as historical evidence, but in the fact that such a collection should have been made. Hakluyt's great work is characteristic of the way in which the age of discovery had widened men's eyes and minds to a new geography, and to the new ideas which could not fail to follow upon revelations so sweeping as those involved in the discoveries of Columbus and his contemporaries. His zeal for knowledge, and his desire to see justice done to the exploits of his countrymen, are typical of that movement towards expansion which was the keynote to 'the spacious times of Great Elizabeth.' It was a movement with many sides; and its influence may be traced in the writings as well as in the exploits of the day. It inspired in different ways Drake and Shakespeare, Spenser and Essex; and it makes Raleigh, man of action and man of letters at once, in some ways the most typical of the Elizabethans. That there was a sordid as well as a romantic side to the movement and to the period is not to be denied. Much of the glamour which in the popular conception invests the Court of Elizabeth must be swept away on a closer acquaintance with the intrigues and quarrels, which were not confined to the Court only, but exercised a baneful influence over the navy and the public service. Nor were the heroes of the Elizabethan age by any means the demigods of chivalry that fancy paints them; they were very human, and very susceptible to base as well as to noble motives. But, taken as a whole and compared with other periods, the age is one in which the better elements outweigh the inferior; and popular feeling is substantially right in picturing Elizabeth's reign as one of the great periods of English history.

To students of naval history the Tudor period is of special importance since with it the distinctively maritime character becomes more strongly marked, becomes indeed more than ever before the characteristic feature

of the country's history. While the majority of historians agree in regarding the accession of the Tudors as the dividing line between the medieval and the modern ages, it is not a little surprising that, among the many and various arguments by which the choice is justified, this great maritime development should be so seldom put forward. Yet when Henry VII 'dared to be insular' and set aside the idea of reviving the traditional struggle for the French dominions his predecessors had lost, he took a step of supreme importance to England. He went far towards committing the country to a career of maritime greatness and giving a naval bias to our history.

One may attribute to the Tudor period the establishment of the definitely maritime character of English history without ignoring or undervaluing the importance of the naval side of medieval England. English kings had possessed ships, had fought naval battles, and had practised, even if they had not preached, the employment of 'sea-power' long before the seventh Henry began that systematic development of the naval strength of the nation which has gone on ever since. But there is one feature which differentiates the naval development of the Tudors from the efforts of previous rulers, and thereby fixes its character; it possessed that element of continuity and permanence which had been lacking to their spasmodic endeavours. Henry's measures differed but little from those of his predecessors. The breach with the past is hardly perceptible, certainly not in his reign. Neither for him nor for his son can it be claimed that they created an altogether new force, or that the development of the maritime side of English national life was due solely to their initiative and would not have come without them. 'The Debate between the Heralds of England and France,' written probably between 1450 and 1471, affords proof of the steady growth of the English merchant marine even at a time when the war-navy hardly existed. In it the English herald claims that England is 'more richly and amply provided at sea with fine and powerful ships than any other nation in Christendom, so that they are kings of the sea, since none can resist them.' English commerce had had its ups and downs in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; but on the whole its tendencies had been progressive. Ships

were growing larger, more seaworthy, more capable of keeping the sea continuously. The art of navigation was developing. Voyages were growing longer, seamen more skilful and adventurous. Indications were not wanting that England's future was to be upon the seas. . . .

This maritime bias was of course the result of geographical and economic conditions which had been operative for some time, rather than of any conscious efforts on the part of the rulers of the country; but the work and the glory of the Tudor sovereigns was to recognise, guide, and materially assist this development. Their best claim to be regarded as the founders of the Royal Navy lies in the fact that to them we owe the establishment, as an essential part of the administrative machinery of the kingdom, of that germ from which the modern Board of Admiralty has been developed. From Henry VII's reign dates the continuous, systematic care for the naval strength of the kingdom which differentiates his age, on the naval side, from that of monarchs who, like Edward III and Henry V, may have put forward greater strength at sea, but who failed to secure permanence or continuity. That Henry V thoroughly appreciated the importance of sea-power is not to be denied. Politically and strategically alike he was fully alive to it, and he used his fleet in support of his invasions of France with a fuller perception of its potentialities than ever Napoleon's naval strategy displayed. Still his premature death deprived him of the honour of being the true founder of the British Navy. In March 1423 the Council of Regency gave instructions for the sale of the late king's ships, and entrusted the naval defence of the realm to certain private persons, who contracted to provide a fixed number of ships and men to discharge the duty of policing the seas. Thus the strong fleet which Henry V had built up, and which he had used to such good purpose, ceased to exist. In face of such a breach of continuity it is impossible to date the distinctively naval era in our history from the reign of Henry V.

The absence of continuity between the navy of Henry V and that of the Tudors is, however, not the sole justification for taking the Tudor period as the true beginning of the maritime phase in England's career. A permanent navy, much more a properly organised

naval administration, can only exist in a state somewhat far advanced on the paths of political development; and it is one of the characteristics of the Tudor period that it saw a vast increase in the functions and activity of the executive government. The breakdown of the old feudal machinery of government thrust the task of governing the country upon the Crown and the institutions through which the monarch worked. The strong shoulders of the Tudors were able to bear the burden and to thrive under it. England had had strong rulers before the Tudors, but now for the first time she possessed a strong and a centralised administrative machinery on something like modern lines. Obsolete institutions and methods gave place to new. A national system replaced a local. The creation of a naval department by the establishment of the Navy Board in 1546 was only part and parcel of the general trend of events, but it marks an important date in our history.* Since that day there have been periods of depression and of expansion in naval affairs, hot fits and cold fits; at times the navy has suffered from neglect or ill-advised retrenchment; at other times so-called 'naval scares' have caused wild excitement and lavish if not always judicious expenditure; but the navy has never ceased to exist.

Moreover, the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century saw not only those great discoveries which entirely changed the face of the then known world, but also not less important if less generally known changes in naval architecture and in the nature of the sailing-ship. These changes Mr Corbett has lucidly described in the brilliant introductory chapter to his 'Drake and the Tudor Navy.' Until the science of shipbuilding had reached the point at which it could produce a vessel capable not merely of ocean-going but of ocean-keeping, maritime development and transoceanic exploration were hampered by serious physical limitations. To develope such a vessel out of the craft which ruled the Mediterranean—the galley, the oared 'long ship'—was impossible. Vessels which relied upon human labour for their means of propulsion could not be very large. The seaworthiness, habitability,

* Cf. Oppenheim, 'Administration of the Royal Navy,' pp. 85, 86.

and storage capacity needed to enable a vessel to undertake distant voyages or to keep the sea for long periods could only be gained by increasing the size; but, in the galley, every such increase necessitated a corresponding increase in the crew, already disproportionately large. Thus the Mediterranean Powers who put their trust in the galley were confined to the seas in which the galley could live; and it was not till the nations which bordered on the Atlantic evolved an ocean-keeping vessel out of the 'round ship' that the secret of the unknown West could be made the common property of Europe. So too it was impossible to exert systematically the influence of sea-power before the ocean-keeping warship, the practical embodiment of sea-power, had come into existence. The command of the sea could only be exercised by vessels capable of maintaining their position at sea continuously. St Vincent and Cornwallis could not have held Brest in the iron grip of their unceasing watchfulness had their ships been galleys unable to ride out an Atlantic storm. Indeed, perhaps the most remarkable feature of Blake's blockades of Lisbon and of Cadiz is that he maintained them with ships whose sea-keeping capacities were still in a somewhat rudimentary stage of development.

The establishment of Henry VIII's reputation as a naval organiser is one of the most notable features of Mr Oppenheim's 'History of the Administration of the Royal Navy,' a work which bristles with statistics somewhat alarming to the less pertinacious reader, but contains, nevertheless, some excellent reading and an extraordinary amount of valuable information. Mr Oppenheim has no difficulty in showing that in respect of naval administration, at any rate, Henry's reputation must stand high. Taking advantage of the national bias towards maritime expansion which his father's wise policy had fostered and encouraged, he built up, on the comparatively modest foundations his father had laid, both the fleet and the administration which stood England in such good stead in the days of Elizabeth's struggle with Spain. Much of the credit which has, somewhat undeservedly, been given to Elizabeth, belongs by right to her father. His achievements in this department have perhaps attracted less than their due share of

attention, because adequate opportunities for the use of the weapon he had forged were denied to him. Nevertheless his fleet was not without influence on the foreign relations of the country in the reign of its constructor; and Charles V's desire to secure possession of the one efficient ocean-going navy in Europe prompted in some measure the marriage of Philip to the eldest daughter of Henry VIII. Still it was Elizabeth's war with Spain which first afforded an opportunity for the use of Henry's fleet on a systematic and continuous scale. For it should not be forgotten that 'in number, in organisation, and in armament, Henry fashioned the navy with which Elizabeth fought Spain.'* The 'Admiralty department, which enabled Elizabeth to send fleets to sea with a quickness and efficiency far greater than that of her unwieldy antagonist,' was Henry's creation. 'If Drake was able to go to the coast of Spain and to the West Indies, it was because Henry had organised the system, the dockyards, and the magazines,' which rendered it possible to carry on systematic operations afar off.

Moreover, Henry was largely responsible for another, perhaps an even greater, revolution in naval affairs. Mr Corbett has conclusively shown how great a change in naval tactics was that which the English introduced in the course of the sixteenth century. The warship, hitherto a mere floating fortress, a vehicle for the transport of soldiers, the platform on which hand-to-hand land-battles were fought at sea, became itself the tactical unit, 'a mobile gun-carriage,' relying entirely on the fire-power of its armament. The English tactics of relying on the missile action of their artillery at long range and thereby avoiding the close-quarter fighting, in which Spanish numbers were bound to tell, were determined by the capacities of their vessels and by the character of the armament they carried. In both these respects—the development of a handy, mobile, seaworthy vessel out of the old 'round ship,' and a sweeping revolution in armaments—a radical change had been brought about, for which Henry himself deserves at any rate some share of credit. For the multitude of pieces devoid of penetrative

* Cf. Oppenheim's introduction to Monson's 'Naval Tracts' (Navy Records Society), i, 5.

power, and more akin to the musket than to the cannon, which all warships had till then carried, Henry substituted heavy pieces ranging from the 'cannon' of 60 pounds and the 'demi-cannon' of 30, to the 18-pounder 'culverin' and 9-pounder 'demi-culverin.' These guns, effective at a range at which the lighter weapons they displaced were quite useless, were capable of deciding the result of an action by destroying the hostile fleet.

A new era in naval tactics was thus opened. Indeed it would hardly be an exaggeration to say that the change was as momentous as the revolution in armaments which the last century has seen. To all intents and purposes, the guns with which Henry armed his men-of-war were the guns with which Nelson won Trafalgar. The fate of the Spanish Armada illustrates very clearly the results of the revolution. Spain, dominated by the traditions of the galley and its tactics, made no attempt to follow the English in their change of armament, but continued to put her trust in boarding and in the superiority of her soldiers at close quarters. Indeed the Spaniards held the cannon to be 'but an ignoble arm, well enough for the beginning of the fray, and to pass the time till the moment of engaging hand to hand.'* The utter inability of the Armada to inflict anything like serious damage on Howard's fleet is to be partly attributed to the superior mobility and handiness of the English ships, which enabled them to choose how and on what conditions action should be joined; but the overwhelming superiority of the English guns and gunnery had a predominant share in bringing about the result.

Those who have, without due knowledge of the facts, credited Elizabeth with the creation of the navy with which the Armada was met and conquered, will receive rather a shock if they study the works of Mr Corbett and Mr Oppenheim. It is impossible here to go into the details of the ships built by Elizabeth and by her father; but, when one finds that at the death of Henry VIII the navy included twenty-eight ships of 100 tons and upwards, that being the standard which may be taken as denoting the effective fighting unit of 1547, it is surprising to find

* Cf. Duro, 'Armada Invencible,' i, 77.

that in 1603 the vessels of this class numbered only twenty-nine.* In thirty-seven years Henry, in one way and another, added eighty-five vessels to the navy; Elizabeth, in a reign longer by eight years, added ten less, even when all prizes, small craft of every kind, and even rebuilt ships, are included. The more closely the nature of the vessels built and the circumstances in which they were constructed are investigated, the more impossible it becomes to resist Mr Oppenheim's conclusion that 'the queen never realised the potency of a fleet in foreign politics.' Had Elizabeth ever grasped the elements of the problem of national defence and offence for an island state; had she even dimly realised that it was her fleet which was the true guarantee for the security and independence of her kingdom, that it and it alone lent weight to the diplomatic adroitness by which she set so much store; had she ever understood that in war decisive results can only be obtained by those who are prepared to employ adequate force, the naval accounts would surely tell a different story than that of occasional bursts of energetic construction breaking the monotony of languor and neglect. No doubt money was always scanty in Elizabeth's exchequer; but, if Mary could allot 12,000*l.* a year to the navy,† it was not necessary for Elizabeth to reduce her usual expenditure on the fleet to half that sum. Of a systematic preparation of naval strength, of the steady increase of the fleet by a well thought-out scheme of shipbuilding, in order that in a crisis the national defences might not be found wanting, there is not a trace in the queen's policy. If in 1585, when the unofficially encouraged privateering gave place to official operations, the national resources were better fitted for a war than they had been in 1558, the sole credit which the queen deserves—though this, as Sir John Seeley has shown, is no small one—is that her shifty and kaleidoscopic diplomacy had given her subjects time to prepare by putting off the moment of decision.

In 1558 England was not ready to fight Spain for the freedom of the Indies and for the Protestant religion; and Elizabeth saw this clearly. Her great service was

* It is worth mentioning that during the reign of Elizabeth only two navy ships were lost to the enemy.

† Monson's Tracts (N.R.S.), i, 8,

that she gave the country time to make up its mind that the Indies were worth a contest, and that the Protestant religion was the creed for Englishmen. Time was needed for the decision; and in 1558 a policy of delay, of evading a premature decision, of subterfuges like disowning Drake when to acknowledge him would have been inconvenient, was the right policy. But delay was only a means, not an end in itself; and Elizabeth, even if she had originally appreciated the true reason for seeking to gain time, had quite lost sight of it by 1585. In her mind mere delay for its own sake had usurped the position of the end. She quite failed to see that the contest could not go on being put off indefinitely, that Philip had at last perceived that he could not conquer the Netherlands save on English soil, and that therefore further delay in taking decisive action would be perilous and not beneficial. Time had been gained; the country had come to its decision and was ready to act upon it; but irresolution had taken too firm a hold on Elizabeth, and she lagged behind. She could not grasp the fact that the altered circumstances called for new and more vigorous methods. So it came about that the war with Spain, which might have been brought to a glorious and successful issue by three or four vigorous campaigns, lingered on until its lame and impotent conclusion in 1604.

We cannot here review again the campaign of 1588 by the light of the two volumes on the Armada, edited by Professor Laughton, with which the Navy Records Society opened its career. Mr Corbett's spirited account of that campaign in 'Drake and the Tudor Navy,' and Mr Oppenheim's copious and illuminating annotation of Monson's narrative, show that the queen must bear the main share of responsibility for the failure to complete the destruction so well begun by Howard and Drake off Gravelines. Her overweening confidence in her own diplomatic skill played into the hands of Parma and Philip; her inability to grasp the strategical issues went near to fatally wrecking her admirals' plan of campaign; and her misplaced and untimely economy was the main cause of the deficiencies in victuals and in ammunition.*

* Mr Corbett and Mr Oppenheim disagree with Professor Laughton, who, in his introduction to the Armada papers, extenuates the queen's shortcomings in this respect.

The questions to be examined here are those connected with the later stages of the war, which, coming between the point where Froude stops and that at which Gardiner begins, form one of the periods in our history which are least known to the average reader. Mr Corbett, in the closing chapters of 'Drake and the Tudor Navy,' and in his equally brilliant and fascinating volume on the 'Successors of Drake,' has explored this unknown country to good purpose; and Mr Oppenheim's edition of Monson's Tracts is a not less valuable contribution to the study of it. This edition is a remarkable piece of work. The general introduction gives a good account of the author and his works; the introduction to Book I of the Tracts is in itself an interesting and suggestive survey of the period; and each section of Monson's narrative is subjected to a comprehensive and critical commentary. The only criticism that may be urged is that the author is rather overpowered by the commentator, and that the volumes are a little out of keeping with the rest of the publications of the Navy Records Society, whose editors have, as a rule, given less of themselves and more of their authors. But Mr Oppenheim gives good reasons for the copiousness of his commentary; and its interest is such as to justify the course he has chosen.

The Elizabethan struggle with Spain may be viewed from two aspects, as a defensive war and as a contest for the West Indies and America. As a defensive struggle it was, we know, entirely successful. Whatever one's opinion as to its success from another point of view, no one can deny that England kept 'her faith, her dynasty, and her territory inviolate; and the enemy that once had threatened all three so gravely could never again of her own strength lift a finger against them.' The Armada may be regarded—as Mr Corbett tells us its conquerors regarded it—as the first effort of the ocean-going navy of Spain; we may consider it, with Mr Oppenheim, the end of Spain's naval greatness; in any case it was a striking and expensive failure, and showed that, until Philip possessed a fleet capable of contending on equal terms with Elizabeth's for the command of the sea, the invasion of England by Parma and his army was impracticable. But it would be a very one-sided view which looked at the war merely on its defensive side. In

war no defence can be efficient or final which does not include a counter-offensive.

It is, or perhaps should be, a platitude that the best defence is that which inflicts so much damage on one's enemy that he is left without the power of renewing his attack. The defeat of the Armada was a negative victory. The Spanish effort failed in 1588; but, except in so far as her losses in men, ships, and equipment diminished the resources of Spain, the repulse of the Armada of 1588 did not preclude the possibility of the renewal of the attempt in another year by another fleet. A satisfactory peace could only be procured by successes of a more positive kind, by following up the repulse of the Armada so effectually and prosecuting the war so vigorously that Spain's power to trouble England should be destroyed. That such a policy would have been more effective than Elizabeth's plan of 'doing all things by halves,' as Raleigh described it, is obvious enough to those who can study the war as a whole and can trace its effects on the subsequent fortunes of the combatants. But it must not be supposed that it is only Mr Corbett and Mr Oppenheim who have seen clearly that the policy—to call it 'strategy' were an abuse of words—of Elizabeth was not only ineffective but wasteful, and the antithesis of true economy. Her admirals saw the truth, only to preach it in vain to her unheeding ears; and the blame of the failure to follow up the success of 1588—for failure it must be pronounced when the chances of the situation are examined—lies only at her door. The lesson of the years between 1589 and 1603 is not that it was out of the power of England to win a decisive success over Spain, not that the policy Drake advocated of striking direct at Spain and utilising the disaffection of Portugal was unsound and bound to fail, nor that the alternative policy urged by Hawkins, of striking at Spain through the 'flotas'—the annual fleets which brought the treasures of the New World to replenish Philip's depleted exchequer—might not equally and perhaps more cheaply have achieved the end in view. It is simply the old lesson that, whatever line of action is adopted, it should not be discarded until it has had a fair trial; and that, as a rule, an indifferent plan well executed is far more likely to achieve success than a better plan carried out in a slovenly manner and

with insufficient forces. Elizabeth failed because she approached strategical questions from a false standpoint, because she thought it more important to keep down expenses than to obtain a return for her outlay, and therefore subordinated the questions which should have been first, of the strategical objects to be sought and the best means of attaining them, to the secondary question —undoubtedly important, but nevertheless secondary— of cutting down expenditure. Hence she adopted first one plan and then another, only to shrink from the logical consequences directly it appeared that their execution on an adequate scale would prove 'chargeable.'

Thus, in 1589, Drake's 'Counter-Armada' was tried. If regard is had to what the Armada achieved, it was by no means unsuccessful; at any rate it was a striking demonstration of Spain's incapacity and helplessness. Still, financially—and this was the aspect in which Elizabeth manifested most interest—it was far from paying its way; the loss of life it involved was very heavy; and the hopes which had been founded on the expected co-operation of the Portuguese were not realised. The expedition, therefore, returned without achieving its principal object. But, failure though it was, even Mr Oppenheim, who criticises the commanders severely and endorses William Fenner's verdict that the voyage was 'a miserable action,' calls it 'a failure and not a defeat, a failure due not to Spanish skill or prowess, but to English faults and deficiencies'; and he points out that, 'whatever the mistakes of Norreys and Drake, they shrink into insignificance beside the initial blunders of Elizabeth.' Mr Corbett, less disposed to throw the blame on the commanders, is even more severe on the queen. It is clear that the expedition was originally planned on the considerable scale required, and that the force eventually sent was only a fraction of that contemplated by its promoters, although no corresponding reduction was made in the tasks assigned to it. Further, the commanders were not given a free hand: they were hampered by instructions which display all Elizabeth's habitual lack of strategical insight, and are obscure and confusing beyond even the average of her orders. Monson's conclusion that 'the

action was overthrown before their setting out from home,' is not to be easily set aside.

To some extent the cause of the failure may be said to have been beyond Elizabeth's power to control. The reason why England could not properly follow up her defensive successes, when she in her turn undertook the counter-offensive, was that her military organisation was quite unfitted for the task of completing the work which the navy had begun but which it could not hope to finish. Mr Corbett utters no paradox when he lays down the axiom that 'the true importance of maritime power is its influence on military operations.' The sphere of action of fleets is limited by insurmountable physical conditions; and unless an army is ready to take up the work of the fleet where those physical limitations intervene, no final, no vital, no decisive blow can be struck. In the case of an insular power, a navy can ward off attacks and prevent invasions, but it cannot unaided achieve more than negative results. The moral is one which some extreme advocates of the so-called 'Blue-water school' would do well to take into consideration. The army and the navy need each other to perform those portions of their joint task of national defence which they cannot separately undertake. Few conclusions are more forcibly impressed on one by a study of the Elizabethan war against Spain; and it is interesting to learn from Mr Corbett that Essex had to some extent grasped this most important truth. Mr Corbett takes a more favourable view of Essex than is taken by Mr Oppenheim, or, indeed, by most writers on the period; but, even if ambition had some share in Essex's anxiety to see the military organisation of the country put on an efficient footing—with himself, no doubt, at its head—he deserves the credit of having seen the weak spot in England's armour which had escaped the notice of most of his contemporaries. The most competent living historian of our army * considers that Elizabeth missed a great opportunity. She might have reformed the military institutions of the country, brought them into line with the great advance then being made on the Continent, and called the army into existence without the political

* The Hon. J. W. Fortescue in his 'History of the British Army,' i, 130.

prejudice against it associated with its establishment by Charles II. However this may be, England remained without an efficient military organisation throughout Elizabeth's reign; and it was mainly from that cause that her counter-offensive against Spain failed.

In like manner, the real reason why the alternative policy—that of striking at Spain through the flotas—produced unsatisfactory results was that it was never given a fair trial. Mr Oppenheim makes a great deal of this policy, and he has devoted an interesting appendix to the Plate fleets, dealing with their routes, their composition, the regulations affecting their sailing, and similar matters. He would seem to be a strong adherent of what he calls 'the Flota policy,' and his severest censure is showered on Elizabeth for neglecting the chance of striking Spain through this the most vulnerable point in all Philip's unwieldy empire. But we must admit that we find Mr Oppenheim's arguments on this point somewhat hard to reconcile with one another. At one time* he points out how essential the flotas were to Spain, and how vital a blow would have been struck at Philip's power had the control of the flota track passed into English hands. The treasure which the flota carried he describes as

'the base on which rested Spanish political dominion and capacity for conquest. . . . Spain's pretensions to world power were supported entirely by it, for without the treasure imports . . . Spain's own resources would not have sufficed to hold the empire together. . . . Therefore the flota track had to be as essentially Spanish territory as the environs of Madrid, and its closure by a hostile force would be . . . equivalent to a blockade of the mother-country and the colonies, and the disbandment of the armies, which could not be kept on foot without the gold and silver brought over.'

Accordingly, when he writes that 'a victorious English fleet, controlling the flota communications, struck at the heart of the whole empire,' it is no misrepresentation to claim him as an advocate of this policy. Yet when, a few pages farther on,† he discusses Drake's proposal to occupy Havana for the very purpose of obtaining control of the flota track, he condemns the occupation of

* Monson's Tracts, I, 27. † Ib. I, 34, 35.

an important point on the track because it would have 'roused all the energies of the empire' and 'challenged Philip to a life-and-death struggle.' But an English fleet controlling the flota communications would surely have had the same effect, and would no less have brought to the threatened spot all the strength of which Philip could dispose.

In Mr Oppenheim's objections to the occupation of a place in the West Indies* there is much force. With the fate of the garrison of Havre before one's eyes, it is easy to picture how a force endeavouring to hold Puerto Rico or Cartagena, or even one of the Azores, would have fared for reliefs, reinforcements, and supplies, with Elizabeth controlling the outgoings from the exchequer. This really condemns Elizabeth and her execution of any strategy rather than proves the plan, as a plan, apart from its execution, to have been defective and unpromising. We fail to see how an English fleet could securely control the flota communications unless it had previously defeated the supreme effort to which the attack on so vital a point would, on Mr Oppenheim's own showing, have aroused all Philip's energies. Surely Mr Oppenheim admits as much when he qualifies the fleet as 'victorious'? Indeed we cannot understand where the plan of cutting the flota communications by a military occupation—which presupposes naval support and co-operation—of Havana or of Angra in the Azores differs from that of doing so with a fleet using one of the less important because less convenient islands as a temporary base. The only argument that suggests itself is that, if money had had to be found to equip the military portion of the expedition, it would probably have been provided at the expense of the naval element, in which case the latter might have been so stinted as to be too weak to defeat the Spaniards and secure the control of the flota route. This is no doubt possible, with Elizabeth in control of the purse-strings; but, when one is arguing about what in theory should have been done, one may fairly set aside the conditions which in fact prevented the adoption of a sound strategy. Had Elizabeth been able to appreciate and adopt a consistent system of attacking Spain, she would probably have

* Monson's Tracts, I, 36.

been able to see the wisdom and prudence of adequate expenditure.

In fact, Mr Oppenheim has not been quite consistent either in his argument or in the view he takes of the power of Spain. The general trend of his argument is to condemn Elizabeth for her half-and-half policy, for her failure to make a sufficiently vigorous effort, for letting the war drag on indecisively. Yet, when condemning the policy of territorial attack or of occupying a strategic point on the flota route, he speaks as if a life-and-death struggle with Philip were something beyond the power of England to undertake, something she ought to have avoided. At times Mr Oppenheim seems to think Spain the colossus she was to Elizabeth and to many of Elizabeth's contemporaries; at other times he has eyes for nothing but the feet of clay on which the image rested so insecurely. If Spain was really as weak and as exhausted as Mr Oppenheim would generally have us believe, the effort to recapture Havana or Angra would probably have brought her to the end of her resources long before the strain of the occupation had brought Elizabeth to bankruptcy or England to revolt.

Of these alternative lines of policy Elizabeth, on the whole, preferred that of attacking the flotas. Its chief recommendations in her eyes were that it was cheaper, less risky, and, if successful, more immediately lucrative. The tangible gold and silver which the flotas carried had as great an attraction for Elizabeth as for the greediest privateersman among her subjects. But not even her desire to see the wealth of the Indies brought home to Plymouth could induce her to make the sustained and systematic efforts which alone could ensure the capture of the coveted prize. She sent out inadequate forces and trusted to good fortune to do the rest. There would have been no need for Lord Thomas Howard to leave the 'Revenge' to its fate if the fifteen 'capital ships'* which spent 1591 'keeping Chatham Church' in idleness had been in commission, as they should have been, and at the Azores. Leveson met a flota in 1602 only to find his meagre squadron so weak that he could not risk an

* Men-of-war of 300 tons and over, the standard fighting ships in the latter part of Elizabeth's reign.

action. The policy of purely naval attack may or may not have been the best that could be devised. The story of the famous 'Islands voyage' of 1597 rather suggests that even a really strong squadron would have been more efficient had it had with it enough troops to capture the batteries which protected the harbours in which the flota found safety from Essex and Raleigh. Still it is clear that the error lay not in the policy, nor with the commanders, who, on the whole, did fairly well with the forces at their disposal, but at the door of those who settled the strength of the force.

Such parsimony not unnaturally tends to defeat its own ends; and Elizabeth, who never seems to have realised that a lavish and timely outlay would be economical in the long run, must before her death have spent several times the sum which might have sufficed to secure decisive success. The heavy and, for the most part, futile expenditure on the West Indian expedition of 1594–95, on the Cadiz expedition of 1596, on the Islands voyage, and on the mobilisation of 1599, might have been averted if she had turned to proper account the repulse of the Armada. Her failure to strike hard enough in 1589, her neglect to do anything in 1590 which can be dignified with the name of 'striking,' gave Spain a much-needed breathing-space, time in which to recuperate, to fortify the West Indian and Atlantic harbours, and to build up a navy. It was from this new war-navy of Spain that Lord Thomas Howard had to fly so ignominiously from Flores in the Azores; it was partly because the West Indian ports had been fortified and prepared against attack that the last great venture of Drake and Hawkins proved so disappointing a failure;* and, if the work begun in 1588 had been properly finished, Philip would never have been able to throw troops and munitions into disaffected Ireland in 1601, much less to contemplate renewing the invasion of England as he did in 1597 and 1599.

Mr Corbett has perhaps somewhat overcoloured his estimate of the strength of Spain in the later stages of the war; and, in his anxiety to show the erroneousness

* We cannot agree with Mr Oppenheim's view as to the fortification of these ports. He seems to hold that their fortification invited attack, and consequently made them sources of danger.

of the ordinary view of that part of the struggle, he is a little inclined to exaggerate England's lack of success. For example, if the Cadiz expedition of 1596 does to some extent deserve his verdict that, 'of all the queen's efforts against Spain, none went further to justify the old reproach that all she did was rather to waken than to weaken her enemy,' that statement is a little one-sided; and to call the expedition 'an irretrievable miscarriage' goes much too far. It was a crippling blow to Philip's reviving power as well as to his prestige, a demonstration of his helplessness as well as of English want of discipline and organisation. So also he rather exaggerates the dangers involved in the growth of the Spanish naval power. The performances of the collections of ships got together by the Adelantado in 1597 and 1599—they hardly deserve the name of fleets—disclose a want of seamanship and a general inefficiency comparable to that of the Armada, if, indeed, they did not surpass the dolorous record of 1588. The intention must not be mistaken for the performance. Spanish fleets have a way of looking more formidable when they are not in sight.

Still it was no fault of Elizabeth's if the Spanish navy was not capable of inflicting serious injury on England. She had given it every encouragement in her power by neglecting to destroy its nascent endeavours; and she had the less excuse for her failure to understand how to use the great weapon her father had bequeathed to her, inasmuch as the right path was continually being pointed out. But she never grasped the full capacities of the force at her disposal, never knew her own strength and her adversary's weakness, never realised, as Drake and Walsingham and Essex realised, that Spain's apparent greatness really rested on unstable foundations. Mr Corbett has urged on her behalf* that her refusal to adopt a more active and vigorous policy was really advantageous, since the time was hardly ripe for the expansion for which so many were anxious, and to which Elizabeth and the ministers she trusted were the chief obstacles. It may have been well that the movement towards expansion was delayed and therefore compelled to wait and gather strength; possibly an effort at colonisation would

* Cf. 'Successors of Drake,' chapter xvi.

have been premature, and England would have gathered the fruits of the overthrow of Spain only to lose them to France or to the Dutch. Certainly Elizabeth's only effective answer to those who, like Mr Corbett, believe that Drake's 'Counter-Armada' policy was the right course, is that the effort to fight Spain on land or through Portugal would have been too much for the resources of England, that England was not ready and not rich enough to support a professional army like those growing up on the Continent. There is much to be said for this view; but it may be pointed out that, so far as expenditure is concerned, much of the 4,000,000*l.* which from first to last Elizabeth spent on her military expeditions might have been saved had it been more systematically and appositely expended, if the dictates of strategy had been considered in planning the scale of the expeditions, and if a proper organisation, such as Essex advocated, had existed to prepare and administer them according to the scientific methods of the day. England had plenty of good soldiers and capable officers; what was needed was more method in making use of them.

Still, if the resources of England were not yet sufficient for the simultaneous waging of war by land and sea, and if the time for expansion had not yet arrived, so that Elizabeth's irresolution and parsimony were blessings in disguise, that hardly makes her irresolution meritorious. Elizabeth was less far-sighted than the strategists who sought in vain to induce her to adopt a logical and systematic scheme of operations. Her refusal to make the efforts her 'men of war' urged upon her was not based on any principle—at least there is no indication that she understood what far-reaching effects would follow from her habit of never following a consecutive or consistent policy—it was the fruit of a dislike for decided measures and of a reluctance to spend money. She cannot claim our gratitude for having acted as a check on too adventurous statesmen and warriors, because that was not the object she had before her. She might as well share the credit for what her 'men of war' achieved in spite of her misguided strategy and uneconomically parsimonious administration. No one can reckon to his credit both the results which he aimed at and achieved, and the consequences which followed from his actions without

his having aimed at them. The German Emperor has not yet designed a statue to the true regenerator of modern Prussia, Napoleon I.

With the death of Elizabeth one reaches a period which, 'at first sight,' seems almost more 'barren of importance and significance' than any other in our naval history. One of the first acts of James I was to bring to a close the war with Spain. The peace was far from being popular with the seamen, who saw all that they had fought for given up, and a lucrative employment brought to a close. But the peace proved lasting; and, with the exception of the disastrous expeditions to Cadiz and Rochelle in 1627 and 1628, the navy and its affairs were relegated to the oblivion which is too often their lot, until the thunder of Tromp's guns off Dover ushered in the great struggle with the Dutch. But the period is not really as barren as it seems. Mr Corbett has shown that in it are to be found the first steps, tentative, indeed, and half forgotten, of that establishment of England's naval power as a permanent factor in the Mediterranean which he has so brilliantly and convincingly described in his latest volumes;* and the chapters that Mr Oppenheim has devoted to the reigns of James I and his unhappy heir are of great interest and value.

One legacy the Elizabethan age left to the Stewarts, which even they did not fail to appreciate. James and his son understood far better than Elizabeth the importance of sea-power to England; they knew that the measure of the strength and efficiency of their fleets was the measure of their means of influencing the affairs of Europe; and they fully believed themselves to be doing their duty by the navy, and to be keeping up its strength. It is perhaps the most striking proof of their unfitness to govern England that, notwithstanding this, the naval history of their reigns should be such a melancholy record of failures and scandals, of lax administration, inefficiency, and dishonesty. The pride which James took in his fleet and in his claim to be 'Sovereign of the Seas' did not prevent the navy from falling into so bad a condition through the maladministration of Sir Robert Mansell, the un-

* 'England in the Mediterranean,' London: Longmans, Green & Co, 1904.

worthy and incompetent adherent of the Earl of Nottingham, that there would soon have been no navy to reform but for the energy and zeal of Cranfield and Coke and their colleagues on the commission appointed by Buckingham's influence in 1618 to examine into the state of the fleet. A study of the record of administrative incapacity and disorders which were so glaringly illustrated by the fiascoes at Cadiz and Rochelle will bring home to Mr Oppenheim's readers the real meaning of Stewart government by prerogative when judged by the test of facts.

Charles I undoubtedly spent on the fleet the funds raised by the ship-money writs; and, 'allowing for his narrow intelligence and vacillating temperament,' he 'showed more persistence and continuity of design in the government of the navy than in any other of his regal duties'; but his good intentions could no more suffice to secure efficiency than the 'oration' from the royal lips, which James had considered a sufficient punishment for offenders found guilty of peculation, could effectually check corruption and malversation. Charles was heavily punished for his neglect to enforce honest and efficient administration. It is one of the ironies of history that the fleet for which he had done, according to his lights, so much should have been largely instrumental in bringing about his downfall. The result of the adherence of the fleet to the side of the Parliament is an aspect of the Civil War which has hardly received adequate attention. It was of enormous importance and would well repay a careful examination. Mr Oppenheim's few remarks on the subject point out how dearly Charles paid for his neglect of the just claims of the seamen.

'On sea as on land his misdeeds followed him home. In the days of his power he had been deaf to the appeals of men who perished that he might attempt to be great. In 1642 the sailors were deaf to his commands.'

In a subsequent article we hope to carry on the story of the British navy through the Protectorate and the Restoration to the capture of Gibraltar and the establishment of our position as a Mediterranean Power.

Art. VII.—CANON AINGER.

1. *Charles Lamb.* By Alfred Ainger. (English Men of Letters Series.) London: Macmillan, 1882.
2. *The Letters of Charles Lamb.* Edited, with introduction and notes, by Alfred Ainger. Two vols. London: Macmillan, 1888.
3. *The Poems of Thomas Hood.* Edited by Alfred Ainger. Two vols. London: Macmillan, 1897.
4. *Humorous Poems by Thomas Hood.* With a preface by Alfred Ainger. London: Macmillan, 1893.
5. *Crabbe.* By Alfred Ainger. (English Men of Letters Series.) London: Macmillan, 1903.
6. *The Gospel and Human Life.* Sermons by Alfred Ainger. London: Macmillan, 1904.

AN old friend of Canon Ainger's once observed that he needed at least fifty biographers—one for each of his different moods. The speaker might have added that each mood, far from being a transitory expression of temperament, flashed upon us one more facet of his many-sided, many-cornered nature. He was mercurial, atmospheric, compact of subtle essences and intangible sympathies, which bound him with intricate threads. No man showed more of the weather of the soul than he did—interesting weather, rich in fitful gleams, in shifting lights and shadows, which provided new aspects at every turn; yet the longer one watched the more one realised that, however changeful the light, the outlook it illumined remained the same—large, noble, serene. If it were possible to gather into one room all the many people who knew him, the humble and the illustrious, his old friends and his recent acquaintance, it would probably be found that most of them would differ in their accounts of what he was, but that all would agree in one thing—an impression of ordered goodness, quiet and profound, and of great spiritual distinction.

This was indeed the basis of his being, that his gifts and his humours, his brilliant and delicate wit, his fastidious taste, his sensitiveness and his impatience were alike inexorably submitted to his lofty religious standard. That standard was never betrayed for a moment by any sally of his wit, however sudden—a fact which was a

moral victory in a nature so spontaneous and so mobile. And it was precisely the union of steady moral intensity with elfin quickness which made the fascination of his personality. To those who knew him his mouth expressed this blending of elements as truly as if it had been a fine and flexible instrument responding to an invisible touch. Firm it was and whimsical, whether closed in meditation, or open—the under-lip protruding—to dart forth some winged quip, or half shut while he listened to music, as if he were inhaling the beauty that he loved. It was the mouth of an actor, the mouth of a sober student, the mouth of a self-controlled man. It distracted the painters to whom he sat and caused the failure of nearly all his portraits. 'The mouth is not at all like,' complained a friend to whom he showed a picture recently completed. 'No,' replied he, 'the poor artist was only seeking the bubble reputation at the Canon's mouth'; and better artists than this one might have sought long and sought in vain.

Alfred Ainger came of a French Huguenot family, and had something of a Frenchman's secret of being serious without being solemn, for the moral gift of which we have spoken never led him into moralising, even though it underlay all that he thought and felt—his habits, his literary criticism, his acting, his very wit.

'In the hands of a Hood' (he writes, and the saying applies equally to himself), 'the pun becomes an element in his fancy, his humour, his ethical teaching, even his pathos. As ordinarily experienced, the pun is the irreconcilable enemy of these things. It could not dwell with them in one house. Hood saw, and was the first to show that the pun might become even their handmaid, and in this confidence dared to use it often in his serious poems, when he was conveying some moral truth or expressing some profound human emotion. . . . He never hesitated to make the pun minister to higher ends, and vindicate its right to a share in quickening men's best sympathies.'

This reference to the moral side of life and art, this acute moral perception, was an essential part of his character. It helps to explain much that might otherwise bewilder. To the world at large it seemed surprising that Canon Ainger, the wit, the artist, the man of letters,

the man of the world, should ever have entered the ministry; and most people would probably have solved the problem by supposing that his choice of a profession was a decision of early days, adhered to afterwards rather from fidelity than from fervour. But the truth was the reverse. He was a minister before all else; this was his ideal, kept intact until the end of his life; and the real cause for surprise lay in his manner of filling all those other parts which so delighted society. He had fleeting and very youthful visions of the stage and the law, speedily dissolved by delicate health and other considerations; but early in his Cambridge days Frederick Denison Maurice took possession of his soul, and the undergraduate resolved that the Church was the one place for him—a decision as fresh and as true to him on the last day of his ministry as on the first.

Perhaps this attitude of his was partly due to the fact that the faith of the Church of England came to him as an emotion, for he was brought up in a Unitarian atmosphere and had been taken to a Unitarian Church—the Unitarian Church of the forties—which left his expansive nature unsatisfied; and it was not till he went to school in London that he attended Anglican services. They seemed to him a revelation of the beauty, the warmth, the spiritual discipline he craved for; and upon the personal nature of the Christian revelation, upon the personal tie with Christ as the means of realising God and living by His laws, the whole of his religion was based. He had found his spiritual refuge in a good day, in a day of fresh inspiration and vitality in the Church, when men woke up to the deadness of things and determined to give live force to old forms—a day in which Maurice, Robertson, Kingsley were there to lead and to interpret. Once having reached his haven, he stayed there. To one who believed implicitly that the strength and the proof of religion lay in the heart, not in the head —that thus, through the feelings, it levelled the simple and the subtle—there seemed no reason for intellectual doubts or for the shadow of change.

His unchangeableness, at once his strength and his limitation, was not confined to his religion, but was equally true of all the rest of him. Probably nobody ever changed so little from the day that he was seventeen

onwards. Nay, we should rather say seven, for there is a letter from him at that age to a little playmate, 'Jocky,' which shows all the essential tastes that he still kept sixty years after.

'I should like you to come and see me very much, for I have got a very nice studio to take all my friends in when we want to have a little private conversation. I have got a statue and some very fine oil-paintings in it, and a reading-desk and a pair of globes. . . . I have just finished writing a book, which I have called "Rambles in Wales"; it has 14 pages in it. You shall read it when you come here. I have got a delightful book called the "Rejected Addresses." I have read it through a great many times. I think you would like it too.'

The last sentence was characteristic of him at every age. The 'I think you would like it too' always distinguished him from the abstract student. Whenever he enjoyed a book he wanted to communicate it to others, confident that it would bring them the same happiness it brought to him. And yet he was a scholar of letters, demanding due space and solitude, though he changed with quicksilver speed according to his mood—now from scholar into actor, now from actor into dreamer, and again from dreamer into Ariel, or some Shakespearean spirit of 'music in the air.' From his childhood he was music-haunted. Sometimes he would sing, sometimes he would whistle; and his schoolmates, who called him the 'Whistling Boy,' gathered round his slight form as he mounted a table to whistle to them. Those who in recent years heard him whistle Schubert's songs knew that he had not lost this sweet-toned power, and they could the more easily realise his description of himself as a country curate, cheering his long tramps by making the muddy lanes resound to the melodies of his well-beloved composer.

This unity of his from first to last bound all the years together and equalised the different ages for him, lending him sedateness when he was young and keeping him young to the end. Perhaps this staid conservative habit helped to make him such a devotee of association, of habits, of known friends and known surroundings, content to live without travel or stir; evoked in him too the 'moderate Tory,' so surprising to find side by side with

the fantastic artist. For it may with truth be said that a mind less modern than his would be difficult to meet. He paid little heed to modern ideas, not because he wanted to avoid them, but because he did not care for them. His limitations, no doubt, had their drawbacks; but they lent him that fine literary flavour which linked him on to old traditions and enriched him with a few racy prejudices that strengthened, even when they narrowed, his literary vision. His conservatism was a matter of temperament rather than belief; and from politics he always kept aloof. 'I see,' he wrote when he was nineteen, 'that —— is a moderate Tory; and unless a man is to be of no party, which is impossible, I suppose he had better be that than anything.' This statement, remarkable at a time of life when nearly everybody is a Radical, equally expressed his view at any moment of his career. Much the same, his old friends aver, might be said of his looks as of his character.

'The face never altered' (writes one of them), 'nor the gait, nor the circular swing out of the left arm, nor the tossing back of the lock that would fall forward, nor the quick, bird-like turn of the head. Time had no power over the steady blue eyes, nor on their glint of merriment, heralding the expressive twitch of the mouth as it delivered some sportful jest or caustic comment.'

The fact was that his appearance could hardly change because his presence was almost, as it were, incorporeal. Round his cradle he had heard 'the horns of elfland faintly blowing'; and his body seemed but the frail and fanciful sheath pierced by his flashing spirit. In his youth it appeared hardly to count. He writes to a friend in Cambridge days to disclaim his need of a whole bed to himself.

'In the course of my chequered career I have slept at different times under a sofa, in an arm-chair, before the turf fire in a Highland cottage. Once while reading in my bedroom I fell asleep over the back of the bed and was found the next morning hanging in that position like fine things airing. . . . I think' (he writes elsewhere in his first term) 'you would have smiled to see me this morning in chapel in a white surplice which the whole university wears on Sundays and saints' days, and gives one the appearance of an angel just got out of bed.'

That description held good of himself in the later days at the Temple.

His looks helped his genius for acting; indeed they seemed to be created by it. There was apparently no moment of his life when he did not act. He was at school with the sons of Charles Dickens, and from boyhood onwards took part in the plays written by Dickens, and acted by him and his children, together with a choice company of colleagues, every year at Tavistock House. It was Alfred Ainger's performance that on one of these occasions caused Thackeray to fall off his chair with inextinguishable laughter; for the quality of his impersonations was unlike anything else. They, doubtless, bore the stamp of Dickens—of Alfred Wigan too, and Compton, and Robson, each one of whom he delighted to study. Reading Elia upon Munden and the gallant grace of Dicky Suet reminds one of the swift, indelible charm, of the pith and the kindliness of Ainger's comedy. Above all, the clear-cut form which was the distinction of his art united him to the older tradition. But he was not the result of that, or of any other tradition; he was, first and foremost, himself. His acting, like his wit, like his writing, was—if such an expression be allowable—a masterpiece of creative criticism. It was both text and comment. His looks and his gestures became those of the character he was playing, even when he stood up in a drawing-room in his ordinary clerical coat; but, while his mind seemed absorbed in that of the person in question, it continued to flash lucidly upon you his own private judgment of that person—to mock, to pity, or to love him. He might be the deaf old sexton, formerly acted by Dickens in his 'Mrs Nightingale's Diary,' an ancient creature, only semi-conscious, already more than half of the earth; or the rambling old lady in the same play, lost in the mazes of her own verbal promiscuousness, into whom the sexton changed in a flash; or Monsieur Tourbillon, the French master, in 'To Parents and Guardians'; or the victim of the old Scotch lady who would not die, in his favourite poem, 'The Annuity';* or Falstaff, or an infinitely freakish, infinitely sad fool in

* From George Outram's 'Lyrics, Legal and Miscellaneous,' a book from which he especially liked reading.

Shakespeare. Or else he would transform himself into something observed in daily life—a pathetic monkey nestling against an organ-grinder for warmth, a donkey enjoying his freedom, a parrot drawing a cork, or, in old Cambridge days, into a fellow undergraduate who was wont to drop his books while he looked up at the clock in Trinity Hall—a performance which used to set his college in a roar, the subject of his imitation among the rest. In all such renderings it was the graceful malice, the controlled exuberance, the fancy based on reality that charmed the ear and mind.

His readings of Shakespeare began while he was still at King's College, London, and continued for more than half a century.

'It was in "Twelfth Night"' (writes one who heard those first readings) 'that he showed the full fervour of his interpretation. Sir Andrew Aguecheek was after no one except Shakespeare, out of whose pages he sprang alive. . . . What admirable fooling it was! What a wealth of suggestion! Your mind's eye saw the loose-hung, limp, shambling figure. You noted the almost pathetic attempts at repartee; the haunting suspicion that they missed fire; the feeble rallying to the attitude of what was almost, but not quite, conceit; the occasional gleams of self-knowledge, all unavailing for guidance or encouragement, leaving only the power to depress that weakly body and flickering mind—all this, and all the so much more in the "foolish Knight," lived and moved before you, stirring you to laughter—and to pity. For in all A. A.'s renderings there was (once more to pervert the trite quotation) that "touch of nature" that "makes the whole world kin." The images presented to your mental view were all from "gentle Shakespeare" cut, as an engraver copies from an artist. Stephano might be brutal, but he was loyal to the "poor monster." Dr Caius might be fussy and tiresome, but you felt he was an alien, whose learning and common-sense were not discerned by his Windsor neighbours through his broken English, though the ridicule of his wooing might be borne with for the sake of a substantial jointure. . . . This sympathy he allowed to put him at some disadvantage in Jacques, whose inherent rascality he appreciated but did not fully express. He wrote a paper justifying his view of the character.'

As time went on, such readings, both in public and in private, became more frequent. The happy parishioners

of the remote village in Staffordshire where he was curate for a while constantly enjoyed them, for it was one of the means of spiritual education that he, as their pastor, believed in. No less enviable were the inmates of the Collegiate School at Sheffield, where, after his curacy, he acted for almost three years as assistant-master. His exertions were not without a strain upon himself.

'I ought to apologise' (he writes to a lady) 'for running away in such haste the other evening; but I was "colded" and tired; and, moreover, the reaction on my spirits after reading tragedy is so peculiar that I am wholly dazed and unfit for society. For the time being, the fictitious life is immeasurably more real to me than the living life around me.'

This was written not long after he obtained the Readership at the Temple—a post which he got straight from the Sheffield school on the merits of his beautiful reading. In later life the strain increased, and he liked to have music—the suggestive Schumann for choice—played to him to put him in the mood for his impersonations. But excitement always carried him through and lent him marvellous vitality.

In all such matters of creative criticism, in the quality and sensitiveness of his originality, he was born of the Charles Lamb race and belonged by nature to Lamb's Thursday evenings. And he was lucky enough to be set in the right framework for his character. From the moment that he gained the Readership, the Temple claimed him for her own—not alone 'her polished corners' within, but her outer courts; the Benchers' Hall, the legal purlieus that he loved (for the law never ceased to fascinate him, and he delighted in the talk of lawyers), the many unexpected corners, Goldsmith's tomb near the church, all the urban calm of the place, with the roaring traffic of the Strand at a stone's throw. The Temple is still one of the few places left for habits to grow up in; and Canon Ainger was made for habits. Here every one knew him and he knew every one: the old porter, for whom he so often took sandwiches, pretending that he wanted them himself; the vergers, the plumbers on the church roof, the German bandsmen whom he tried to persuade to play Schubert, the newsboy from whom he regularly bought his evening paper, and who, when

the Master died, exclaimed that he had 'lost his best friend'; the blind beggar near the Embankment, whom he could not pass without an alms, and who never failed to know that he was there because of his voice. These accustomed charities made a network which grew stronger during the thirty-eight years of his connexion with the Temple. There were other actions too, little deeds of fidelity which he performed wherever he might be; the 'Times' sent every day for thirty years to his friend in the country, fastened up by himself with the same thud at the same moment after luncheon, as he stamped its cover upon the floor; the papers and the letters—and the bank-notes—despatched with unfailing punctuality to those left behind by life—invalids, governesses, the humble, the depressed; or the letters, written with such enjoyment to an old friend every Christmas eve, from 1873 to the last one of his life—a collection of all his good stories of the twelvemonth, which he was careful to post with his own hand. These may be small things, but they made the happiness of many.

His wit no less than his figure suited well with his setting and with the Benchers, whose table he so often cheered. Many of his *bons-mots* have become current coin, like the 'no flowers, by request'—his comment upon the style of the 'Dictionary of National Biography,' made at the dinner in its honour. Many others were born of the moment, of the fortuitous collision of words; and their aptness when applied gave them an exhilarating power too ephemeral for reproduction. The charm that he lent them was often a personal one, dependent on the dart of his eye, the gesture of his hands, as he uttered them. On one occasion at a dinner-party he spilt some wine upon the table. 'You would never have expected *me* to show such disrespect for the cloth,' he at once said apologetically to his hostess. Catastrophes at meal-times seem to have especially drawn forth his wit. There is a record of a luncheon when the black dress of a guest of his suffered from an accident with some of Crosse and Blackwell's pickles.

'They've spilt all her pickles—
How great is her loss!
They don't suit her Black well,
And so she is Cross.'

Thus he exclaimed without a moment's hesitation. No less prompt was his rejoinder one day when some one told him that her dressmaker lived next door to Spencer Wells, the surgeon.

> 'Next to Mr Spencer Wells,
> Madame White the modiste dwells.
> The reason why—are you a guesser?
> Next to the surgeon comes the dresser.'

His perception of hidden analogies seemed to spring from words almost before the speaker had finished with them. 'Ainger's last (quite private),' he wrote to a friend in Cambridge days. 'One of our men told me the other day that he had discovered that our classical lecturer uses a translation in class. "Ah," I replied, "the ass knoweth its master's *crib*" (*vide* first lesson of last Sunday morning).' Indeed, throughout his letters, of whatever period, there occur verbal quips which lose life when taken out of their context; or, even if they can stand alone, they seem to need his presence to quicken them. In 1892, when the Liberals had come in by only forty-two votes: 'The G.O.M.,' he says, 'will try to bear his moderate majority with forty-twod.' And more recently, of a young friend at Oxford: 'I hope,' he wrote, 'that —— will do well in his coming exam., and that, as the apostle (all but) said, his "moderations" will be known unto all men.' His wit, like all wit that lasts, had an atmosphere of humour. He gave the most unexpected turn to any subject that came up. Talking, for instance, of an impecunious gentleman who had married a coloured heiress and did not get on with her, 'It seems a pity,' he remarked, 'that he should quarrel with his bread and butter, even though it is brown.' He said things as quietly as if he were making a bare statement, giving no sign of fun except by a shooting gleam from his eyes.

His fun, however personal, was always forgiven him; indeed he never really gave offence. There was a famous occasion in his young days, at a time when Dr Cumming was making himself conspicuous by his constant announcements that the last day was at hand, especially in his book 'The Great Tribulation.' One evening Ainger was amusing his company by a 'chronicle song' about this personage.

'The eminent Low Church divine
Who is putting us up to a proximate sign,
And tells us without any ha-ing or humming
What a very great Tribulation is—Coming.'

So it ran. But just after the performer had finished this verse and passed to the next, 'into the brighter light around the piano a figure emerged from the comparative gloom. It was the Doctor, who took the matter sensibly and good-humouredly.' We may hope that he was also amused.

It must not be imagined that he always coruscated. His talk was often quiet and grave, but even when he spoke of common things it never lacked form. And he was a good listener. When he was not inclined to emit much himself he was interested in the things that were said and the people whom he met, and liked to make circumspect enquiries about them. It was inevitable too that his highly-strung nature should have its moods. If his company were at all uncongenial or even unfamiliar to him, if he were pressed to read or expected to jest, if his taste or his fastidious ear for language were offended, he would shut himself up in a silence which he himself seemed powerless to break. Short of these alarming moments, he would sometimes appear almost formal if the society he was in did not stimulate him—though what would stimulate him it was difficult to say; oftener than not it was the presence of rather dull or shy people whom he delighted to cheer and amuse. This sensitiveness occasionally gave the impression of caprice, because its cause was generally imperceptible except by those who knew him well; but the cause was always there, and he was never fickle in his likings.

One of the distinctions of his wit was his power over quotations, his swift adaptation of them to his needs. Lines of poetry and of prose altered to his will; stories, nonsense-rhymes, were brought forth at a moment's notice and were often taken for his own. Nor did this impair his originality; it seemed rather to show him as a resourceful administrator of wit—a born editor of other men's sayings as well as a producer of his own. In his jests, as in all else, he was a critic. To preach, outside a pulpit, bored him; but he often conveyed serious criticism of life in a quip or an adage. 'Shak-

speare' (he wrote in his commonplace book) 'said "Brevity is the soul of wit"; our age reads "levity."' Or, in the same little volume: 'Blackstone says that idiots cannot marry. How frequently is this law evaded!' In conversation, as in writing, he would frequently avoid solemn discussions on the fashionable book of the moment, or hit off some exaggeration he had noticed by a sudden rhyme or a spicy phrase. His dissatisfactions also often evaporated in verse.

'Last Sunday' (he writes) 'the coughing in church was something terrible. I deeply regret that its effect upon myself was even worse, for I pulled out my pencil and produced the following:—

The Plaint of the Poor Preacher.

(Influenza-time.)

'Your pity not in vain we seek
Who serve beneath your parish steeples;
Our own coughs plague us all the week,
And on the Sunday—other people's.'

We add another sally in his lighter vein.

'*To Dr* ——, *who sends me his dramas.*

Oh! doctor, finding ever fresh
Employments for thy cruel mood—
Thy ether-spray to freeze our flesh,
Thy tragedies to freeze our blood.

Thank God, I stand in need of neither;
And yet, were I my mind to say,
If I must be the prey of either,
I think I'd be the ether's-*pray*.'

He could not have pronounced more finally had he written a long review. Nor, had he penned a serious article on 'stage realism,' could he have given more forcible criticism than is conveyed by his poem, written upon the introduction of a hansom cab on the Drury Lane boards—the progenitor of many such stage prodigies.

On the real 'Hansom Cab' at Drury Lane Theatre.

(In the 'Streets of London.')

'Ho! for Art and Education;
Ho! for Progress (à la crab).
Have you heard the new sensation?
Have you seen the Hansom Cab?

Never, Drury, was thy stage meant
For this "most unkindest" stab.
They have offered an engagement
To a Cabman—and his Cab.

Where we've wept with Juliet's sadness,
Heard Mercutio or Queen Mab,
Where we've marked Ophelia's madness,
There to-day 's a Hansom Cab.

Here we've seen the hags appalling
Make the gruel "thick and slab";
Here we've heard King Richard calling
For a horse—but not a Cab.

Gone Sir Toby, Slender, Shallow,
Launce, with stony-hearted Crab.
Shakspeare's touch e'en curs could hallow;
Not e'en his a Hansom Cab.

Touchstone, Trinculo, all vanished;
Hushed the jester's fluent gab;
"For oh! the Hobby-horse" is vanished:
Modern taste demands—the Cab.

Close the idle panorama!
All is gone; and on a slab
Let us write, "Here lies the Drama,
Knocked down by a Hansom Cab."'

Most of his verses were written for private delectation; a few appeared in 'Punch.' He had, however, a much more fruitful, if a less direct connexion with that periodical. The kind gods of fun and friendship brought him and Du Maurier together. It was in 1875, while he was Reader at the Temple and when both were living at Hampstead; and from that time until his 'beloved artist' died they were the closest collaborators, Ainger ('Your own Canon,' as he signed himself) providing jokes for Du Maurier to illustrate in 'Punch.' It gave a definite purpose to his gift for collecting good stories and for his paternal love of them when collected; and most of the best witticisms of those palmy days of 'Punch' were concocted by the two friends, generally while they and their dogs walked round Hampstead Heath pond—as they often did twice a day for nearly twelve years—till the Canon removed to the Temple. They discussed every

kind of topic; and not the least interesting distinction of their intercourse was the utter divergence of their religious views, and the fact that it never cast a shadow of difference between them.

Canon Ainger had, indeed, a genius for friendship—no lesser word serves the purpose—much in the same way as had Charles Lamb and Edward Fitzgerald, the other men whom he loved to dwell on. With him, as with them, friendship remained what it always is in youth, an emotion, an ever fresh excitement; and it was remarkable that, while holding fast to his old friends, he never ceased to make as many new ones as if he had still been young. Perhaps no man ever had a greater number of friends—men of the world, recluses, musicians, lawyers, old pensioners of both sexes, men of letters, men who had none, artists, and, not the least, children. Each individual knew him in a different guise. To one he was the comrade in literature, the familiar spirit of the library, to another the fellow-fisherman, his whole heart centred on trout. Often he was the family friend, intimate with every member of a large household and conversant with its smallest details; or the wizard of the nursery and the schoolroom, famed for his acting and his fantastic stories, his rhymes and his sleight of hand. To those who knew him in their sorrows he came as the most human of comforters, well-versed in suffering, one whose silence helped as much as his speech, who warmed men by the grasp of his hand.

Friendships were, indeed, the events of a life which was externally uneventful. Its chief incidents are his appointment to the Readership in 1866, to a Canonry at Bristol in 1887, to the Mastership of the Temple in 1894; and the appearance of his literary work, more especially his 'Life of Charles Lamb' and his scholarly edition of Lamb's letters. But he felt no need of more stir, for he had in him the vein of sentiment which kept life romantic in the midst of plain practical duties. It made him naturally susceptible to all refined impressions, not least to intercourse with women. Of his two sisters, the younger, his witty companion, Marianne, married early and settled in Germany; the other, Adeline, died when he was thirty. No sketch of his character would be complete without some mention

of this sister, seven years his elder, who shared the religious aspirations of his youth and all the interests of his life, and whom he looked up to spiritually, loving her with a passionate devotion. Her sudden death was a blow that changed his life. Another, though a later influence in this first half of his existence, was that of his Staffordshire vicar's wife, the charming and music-loving Mrs Haslehurst, whose companionship drew him out and helped him, while she made her house a home to him. But she also died early, to his lasting grief—a grief which he expressed in verse; for verses he always wrote with ease, though he composed but few of a serious nature after he was thirty-five years old. He never published them, or thought enough of them to polish their form; their appeal is to the heart, not to the sense of artistic finish. The few that we have chosen will speak for themselves. The first is to his sister and was written the year before she died.

'Home is not home, where is no kindred face;
And often wearied with the jars of day,
From stranger hearths I sadly turn away,
The story of my childhood's days to trace.
The past seems fading from me, and the grace
That clings to Home and household memories.
For friends are sweet, but friendship ne'er supplies
The love of those who link us to our race.
But, as in cottage panes the setting sun
Writes in gold words the story of its reign,
So in thine eyes, my dearest, still remain
The gentle memories of a day that's done.
And when I think of thee I smile, my own,
To think I ever thought I was alone.'

The next, dated six years later, also concerns her.

By a Grave.

'The hills are white with snow,
And the sun is bright o'erhead,
As I stand with head bowed low
In homage to the Dead.

And a pain my spirit chills,
But a hope is burning high,
For the snow will leave the hills,
And the sun is in the sky.'

'Easter, 1868' is the inscription upon a few lines that he wrote in memory of a friend, and he adds the words, 'Why seek ye the living among the dead? He is not here, He is risen.'

'New footsteps tread the paths which once she trod;
New voices give the welcome once she gave;
And none who loved her marks, except her God,
Her lonely grave.

The two poems that follow are to his nieces.

To Maggie, on her Birthday in Glen Etive.

'No bird makes music in our glen,
The hills and streams of song are bare,
So far removed from the world's ken,
It would but wound the silence rare.

But peace and joy and love are here;
And these to me, my child, thou art.
So, if no song salute thine ear,
Think not it means a thankless heart.'

To Ada, on her Birthday.

'And as this temple waxes the inward service of the mind and soul grows wide withal.'

'The East wind bites with bitter fang,
The lap of Spring is filled with snow;
The leaflet lingers in the hedge,
The timid flower forbears to blow;

But, darling, not for this I fear
To sing the wonted songs of May;
Nor deem that any blight can fall
Upon the glory of this day.

'Tis not from time we gather growth
Nor sunshine where the world has part;
But from the love we gain and give—
The inward service of the heart.

In duty done and self forgot;
In joy of making others blessed;
These are the milestones of our life,
And here the "sunshine of the breast."'

To an earlier time belong these next stanzas in memory of an old friend who had died.

'We love to think of him forgiven,
New glorying in his second birth;
But e'en because his home is heaven,
The more, not less, he haunts our earth.

I seldom took his honest hand—
Our ways had parted many a year;
But he is in the silent land,
And lo! he seemeth ever near.

The mellow lustre of his eye,
The smile about his lips at play,
In life, the sport of memory,
In death shall never pass away.

Ah! gentle Death whom we malign,
Alone thou canst not loose or tie;
But, yoked with love, all power is thine:
The dead we love can never die.'

To still older days belongs the poem below, which was composed in Sheffield for the dear friends with whom he had lived there.

1861–1868.

'Exiled from his father's house,
As the sacred records tell,
In the quest of home and love
Jacob came to Haran's well.

And he wooed his Rachel there,
Seven years without demur,
And they seemed to him but few
For the love he bore to her.

Homeless, and with kindred few,
Driven Jacob-like to roam,
I, for seven happy years,
Found with thee and thine a home.

Trusted friends of seven years,
May I not my guerdon claim?
Christian are the hopes we share;
Call me by my Christian name.'

His peculiar charm lingers in these last verses—a natural quality of sober gracefulness rarely found among Englishmen. We feel it, too, in the lines written to commemorate some Shakespeare readings held in a friend's house.

'For fifteen weeks a friendly train
Around the social board have met,
To smile at Slender's childish vein,
Or weep with love-lorn Juliet.

No winter gale has power to touch
The sweetness of Verona's spring.
Our private griefs seemed small to such
As that which wrecked Sicilia's King.

And as we read dear Shakspeare's page,
Each wound of time found healing balm;
The blood of youth ran new in age,
The young were touched with age's calm.

But ah! to-night the wind is chill,
And all the cares of life return.
O Memory, linger with us still,
And, Hope, bring forth thy lamp to burn!'

His lyrics often sound a higher strain. We have spoken earlier of the need that he felt for a personal relationship with the divine as the foundation of his religion. This was the keynote of his faith; it was also the explanation of his aloofness from modern thought and from the probings of a younger generation. The poems we now print, each in its way, express his spiritual intensity.

On Reading a Volume of Modern Sermons.

'With eager knife that oft has sliced
At Gentile gloss or Jewish fable,
Before the crowd you lay the Christ
Upon the Lecture Table.

From bondage to the old beliefs
You say our rescue must begin;
But I want refuge from my griefs
And saving from my sin.

The strong, the easy, and the glad
Hang blandly listening on thy word;
But I am sick, and I am sad,
And I need *Thee*, O Lord.'

The Prayer of a Busy Man (1864).

'O Lord, with toil our days are filled;
They rarely leave us free.
Oh, give us space to seek for grace
In happy thoughts of Thee.

Yet hear us, though we seldom ask;
Oh, leave us not alone!
In every thought and word and task
Be near us, though unknown.

Still lead us, wandering in the dark,
Still send Thy heavenly food;
And mark, as none on earth can mark,
Our struggles to be good.'

A Thought.

'In days of health there seemed no need
Bliss other than of earth to seek;
The joy of life was joy indeed,
And I was strong—but I was weak.

But He who ever lives to bless
Has ways that to Himself belong.
My pain has taught me trustfulness;
And I am weak—but I am strong.'

The things outside the world of his beliefs and affections rarely impelled him to express them. There was one such occasion—when Robert Browning died on the very day when 'Asolando' was published. In his copy of the book Canon Ainger has written this verse:—

From Asolare ('to disport in the air').

'Never more keen than when his work was ending,
Never more brave!
How sweet, how sad, when life and death were blending,
This name he gave.
Like Hamlet: "Will you walk from out the air
Into my grave?"'

(Published Dec. 12, 1889. 1st edition exhausted by 4 P.M. Browning died at 10 P.M. Bought Dec. 13, at Bristol.—A. A.)

These lines, which were evoked by a sleepless night, bring home a constant habit of their writer's mind—not only that of swift analogy, but that of familiar reference to Shakespeare. It was almost second nature to him, in writing and in talk, to illustrate any chance topic by quotations from the poet he knew best; his puns and his phraseology were redolent of the plays; and no old Puritan had the Scriptures more commonly on his lips than Canon Ainger had Shakespeare. We have spoken of his gift of moral criticism, of the strong appeal that the

moral side of life and art made to him; and it was the profound moral outlook which drew him most powerfully to the poet who for him summed up both life and art. 'It is owing to that surefooted step of his in things moral that he leaves us in the end satisfied,' he once said in a lecture on Shakespeare. Not that he thought art a moral matter, but he believed that it set up what Tolstoi calls 'a moral relation between itself and the public'; that it embodied a view of human existence often unconsciously formulated; and that, however impersonal, of its very nature it must reveal personality. He did not neglect beauty—none was keener than he to see and value it; but he regarded moral health as essential to beauty—not as the flower itself, but as the sun and light which fed the flower. 'Without profound ethical beauty there can be no permanent or enduring popularity for the serious drama,' he wrote; and again, in comparing an Elizabethan drama with a modern one, he says:—

'The "Duchess of Malfi" is a fine but in many ways a repulsive play. Webster's defects, or rather excesses, are admitted by all his readers. . . . The drama abounds in slaughter and in suffering; and the poet has no scruples as to the former being perpetrated *coram populo*. It is grim, ghastly, bizarre, all but grotesque in its incidents; it is often cynically plain-spoken and even coarse in its language, contrasting painfully with the divine reticence of Shakspeare. And yet no reader, when he arrives at the end, can be insensible to the fact that he has lived all through it in high and elevating companionship both of noble characters and noble thoughts and ideas. He has been pained and terrified, but he has been lifted above vulgar things by the pity and terror he has suffered. Not alone in such lines as

> "I have ever thought
> Nature doth nothing so great for great men
> As when she's pleased to make them lords of truth,"

but in the poet's clear conception of the characters of the Duchess and of her chosen husband, there is a storehouse of human dignity and virtue which would sweeten even a more unsavoury atmosphere than that in which Webster has set them. The speech of the Duchess in the opening scene, when she declares her love for Antonio, beginning—

> "The misery of us that are born great—
> We are forced to woo, because none dare woo us"—

strikes a keynote to the tragedy which no after-sounds of discord or extravagance can ever drown.' *

He had the same feeling about other writers, about Chaucer—his especial love—about Wordsworth and Dickens, about Hood and Charles Lamb. We could cite many passages from his writings which set forth this idea; but space forbids us, and we cannot do more than subjoin a few scattered extracts taken from notes of his various lectures upon Shakespeare. Fragmentary though they be, they give some rough impression of his thought.

'Shakspeare held up the mirror to human nature itself, not to it in any particular garb it might happen to assume.'

'All true humour is based on breadth of observation; this is true humour because true life.'

'Shakspeare cared for man more than for incident, and revealed all the varied, unvarying qualities of humanity. . . . In Shakspeare the plot arises from the characters and could not exist without them. . . . No matter how repellent his plots, without intending it, and even without being conscious of it, Shakspeare seems to sweeten them and bring us more into love with human nature.'

'Poetic justice, as that imbecile phrase is generally understood, was all but absent in Shakspeare; and that is a mark of his greatness. Except in his fantastic comedies, he showed no sign of making things happy all round. He never considered what would be liked by the barren spectator, for whom, indeed, he was compelled to have a well-founded contempt.'

'Literature demanded a perfectly sane genius . . . and Shakspeare's genius was pervaded by moral sanity and moral sweetness. . . . Even his first attempt showed no sign of imitation; and his was "the power of going on and still to be." The stream, though it flows through well-ordered banks, yet as it flows it brims. . . . His was the prodigality of quality rather than quantity. In his earlier work the food is sometimes too rich, and we cannot see the wood for the trees. . . . His finest mastery is the mastery over himself. As the incidents rise, his language calms into simplicity and strength. . . . He shows us suffering and all the glory of charity, which springs up like flowers about its feet.'

'We know Pope and Swift by their writings. Every novelist, too, now and then relapses on himself, but it is not

* 'Pilot,' March 3, 1900.

so with the dramatist. . . . It is Shakspeare, not Pistol, who laughs at the fashion of the day. And we, who have watched Shakspeare laugh at it, know him the better for it. . . . It has been thought that Jacques represents Shakspeare at a time when moral sentiment had become dimmer through contact with the world. I read a different moral, and think that it was a healthy mood in which Shakspeare wrote the part. Jacques is not Shakspeare; and when, in the play, his melancholy is laughed at, Shakspeare is condemning cynicism, not allowing it. The little touch of conscience made Jacques sweet.'

'If "Love's Labour's Lost" shows an excess of words, "Coriolanus" shows an excess of thought—depth of thought also. Its very obscurity comes from a plethora of thought. . . . "The Winter's Tale" stands by the side of "The Tempest" in sweetness and in greatness. There may be, and is, a difference in power when we compare it with the earlier plays, but most assuredly there is no falling off. . . . Its tone is autumnal, real to feel if difficult to define. . . . "The Winter's Tale" and the "Tempest" rank as comedies, but they are so solemn that it seems profane not to rank them apart. In them we find still another "soul of goodness in things evil"—still distilled but sweeter than before. Their effect is as that of a sunny day after rain.'

These remarks will serve to help remembrance; for those who heard Canon Ainger lecture on any poet will be able, even from these scattered fragments, to reconstruct a unique pleasure, filling up the gaps with tones and gestures. Especially will they recall the readings with which he interspersed his comments, and by which he enforced the human impressions he had been trying to convey. Who, for instance, that heard him read the description of 'Chanticlere' from Chaucer did not at once realise the 'glad confident morning,' the jolly honesty and brave cheer of the poet and his day? or who would be likely to forget the picture of the ladies quarrelling for precedence in church and his sly comparison, shot lightly into the air, of the quarrels about pews in our own times which make Chaucer seem quite modern? His manner as lecturer, delicate, incisive, was as unlike other people's as his appearance. He would stand at his desk, elusive and yet dominant, intimate, yet remote, with a dignity all his own, as if he came from the land of literature—'the land of poetry' (to quote

himself), 'which is in reality no man's land'—and were only there to represent it.

He was, we must repeat, a born interpreter, because he became what he interpreted. Were there no other proof of this, his translations of German poems, regularly written, during several years, for the benefit of singers at the Hampstead Concerts, would be enough in themselves —translations conscientiously close to their originals, yet poems by their own right. This is only to say that his life and his literary work were of a piece; and the feature distinctive of both was the personal quality. His friendships in literature were much like his actual friendships, close, unalterable, and founded upon likes and dislikes which he did not attempt to get over. The great English writers he constantly dwelt with. They were meat and drink to him, an elemental part of existence, accepted like the air he breathed. Spenser, Milton, and Walter Scott never ceased to refresh and strengthen him; Wordsworth, Tennyson, Browning strongly affected his thought. To hear him quote any of these men was to gauge the part they played in his life. But for his familiars, the confidential companions whom he associated with the little things of every day, he chose Charles Lamb, Thomas Hood (whom he never allowed to be called Tom), and Charles Dickens, whom he had upon his lips almost as often as Shakespeare. Enough has perhaps been said about his affinities to Lamb, but it is not so common to dwell upon his likeness to Hood. The resemblance, indeed, was not one of the whole individuality, as in Lamb's case, but lay in certain qualities and intellectual faculties; and Hood's nimble-footed wit, his gift for punning, his unfailing fun and sentiment, his moods of melancholy, his courage in suffering, his power of making quips to the end, belong equally to Canon Ainger. The biographical preface to his edition of Hood's works was, he used to say, the best piece of work that he ever did; and he delighted in lending the book to those who, in his opinion, underrated Hood as a poet.

But Charles Lamb it was who brought him fame. Long before the publication of his biography of Lamb, indeed from boyhood onwards, he had devoted himself to Elia, had learned to know his haunts and the details

of his life. Probably he never enjoyed anything more than a trip he took to Nether Stowey in the company of Mr Dykes-Campbell, to live awhile near Myrtle Cottage, where Charles and Mary Lamb once stayed with Coleridge. And, most likely, he was as glad as Lamb to return again to town, for he did not like the country as much as he believed, and would always get into the train for London after any prolonged absence with an ejaculation of content. Of another pilgrimage that he made in search of Elia's Blakesmoor, and of the friendship that he formed there with the old lady who had known Lamb, he himself has left us a record—the last gift from his pen—in the pages of the 'Cornhill Magazine.' Another pleasant memory was that of the dinner given by the Dykes-Campbells in honour of his completed book—a banquet for which he composed the menu out of dishes mentioned by Lamb, with appropriate quotations for each. The bill of fare as it originally stood swelled to such dimensions that his hostess had to beg him to curtail it in consideration of the cook.

It was characteristic of Canon Ainger that he never allowed his wit and humour to enter into his sermons. It is easy to argue that the use of such gifts in preaching would have been justified by the increased power to attract and to hold attention. But his spiritual candour allowed of no casuistry; and his brilliancy was subject to his religion. In this Christian self-discipline he was not unlike his predecessor, Sydney Smith; and perhaps no sort of self-control is harder. Otherwise the whole man, with his inner life as we have been trying to depict it, is set before us in the volume of his Temple sermons which has lately made its appearance. 'Do not think me merely professional if I say that I regard my sermons as my chief work in life,' so he once said, as Mr Beeching tells us in the admirable preface to this book. No one who heard Canon Ainger will fail to realise the full force of the remark; and he himself has summed up his whole conception of preaching in a sermon that he gave upon the subject after Dr Vaughan's resignation of the Mastership in 1894.

'His method' (he says of St Paul) 'was not that of the bigot who, framing his message in the shortest possible terms, cries, "Take that and be saved; or reject it and be lost."

For St Paul was a lover of men as well as a lover of God; though he could not have loved men so much had he not loved God more. His method, therefore, was not to present, as it were, a pistol to their breasts, but to commend to them the message he was charged with; to show its reasonableness, its necessity, its justice, as well as its beauty and its compassionateness, by appealing in turn as witnesses to every faculty of mind, heart, and spirit with which God had endowed them. For he had learned, as every faithful preacher must surely learn when in contact with a living, throbbing humanity, that his own soul, heart, and intellect must enter into the great work he is sent to do. He must be a preacher; but to be that he must be a teacher also. . . . He has to deal alternately with the highest mysteries of Christian theology, and with the humblest and most prosaic duties of the family and the home . . . to rebuke fiercely, without fear or favour; to exhort, to control, to plead, to touch the heart and the emotions, and to lift the hearer into the region of the divine by that noblest eloquence, the eloquence of a passionate enthusiasm for all that is lovely and of good report.'

Thus much for the preacher; what follows is for the congregation.

'Just as the eye must bring with it its power of seeing, so the ear must bring its power of hearing, which is but its will to hear. Believe it well—only the cold-hearted and unspiritual will underrate the office of the preacher. Only the fool and the flippant will laugh at it. For though there may be sermons that are perfunctory and unprofitable, still, just as we are not so illogical as to deny that we have learned from the poets because much poetry is mediocre, so we shall hardly decline to be thankful to the pulpit for its successes merely because of its many and inevitable failures.'

Canon Ainger disliked extremes. If his position had to be defined, we should say that he belonged to the old-fashioned Evangelical school of a day when its most marked characteristic was a deep but unaggressive piety. Very High churchmen and very Low churchmen were alike distasteful to him.

'The Low Church preachers are teaching a gospel of selfishness pure and simple. The High Church are crushing God's image under a heap of the dreariest symbolism. We want the kingdom of heaven preached. . . . The prate and chatter

of free-thought and late schools of biblical criticism is to me quite as offensive as any other cant; and I confess that the contemplation of it all drives me back to the simple friendship of Christ as the most perfect rest and relief.'

So he said when he was about twenty years old; and the words hold good of his attitude throughout his life, and epitomise the substance of much that was developed in his sermons. Perhaps one of the finest of these is the one upon Wiclif—his gift of the English Bible to us, his creation of poor parish priests, his character and the way in which, despite apparent failure for the moment, it lived on in the Protestants of the Reformation.

It is interesting to compare his ideas upon the Reformation with those of Bishop Creighton, whose recently published letters reiterate his belief that there need have been no break of continuity in the Church; and that, had the Pope renounced his encroachments upon the temporal power, religion might have been reformed without a complete division. Canon Ainger, on the contrary, upheld the necessity of a radical separation, and believed in it as the only means of asserting man's spiritual responsibility and establishing the right relation between the soul and its Maker. From his days at Cambridge to those at the Temple he liked to dwell upon this conviction.

'The emerging from darkness into light disclosed to men many things besides their true relation to their God' (so he wrote in his youth). 'You know my favourite old doctrine that true faith instantly places a man, as it were, on a height from which he has an infinitely wider view than the many who are wandering through life without a clue. The Bible was a key to an infinite number of problems.'

His sermon upon Wiclif is his last statement of the same view. But

'what interested him most in religion' (as Canon Beeching says) 'was the character of Christ; and the Christian faith presented itself to him as the God-appointed means for bringing that influence to bear upon the hurrying, unsure minds of men. The sermons headed "Christ before Christianity" and "Life through the Only Begotten Son of God" will make clear the theological position that was peculiarly his own; but his strongest message lies in the application of the Gospel to our

common daily duties, and his all-pervading aim is to get down to the real facts of human life and to present them *sub specie eternitatis.*'

His spiritual humility was, after all, the sweetest and most lovable thing in him. The evil that perhaps he warred most against and thought the worst danger of our times was arrogance of intellect. One of the finest sermons in this volume, 'The life was the light of men,' deals with this subject.

'It is thus' (he says) . . . 'that we are seeking to reverse these words of St John, and to say "the light was the life of men," instead of "the life was the light." And this is no jugglery of words, no nice distinction of priests or metaphysicians. "Life" is a greater thing than "light," for life is light transmuted into action. Between light and life there may be yet a great gulf fixed, because the one vital step has yet to be taken. . . . Light shows us a beautiful picture—one painted with divine truth and in divine colours; but it remains, or may remain, a mere picture, beautiful indeed, and by all men to be admired, until we have welcomed it and adopted it and taken it to live within our own affections and our own conscience. It is the Pygmalion statue, cold and dead as stone, until we have fallen in love with it; then, and only then, it warms into life—a breathing, moving, energising source of all future life and growth for ourselves and for others. Yes, for others; and here again is shown one vital difference between life and light. Light, if it try to live alone, may serve only to separate us from our fellows. Light without love may make us feel only our difference from our brethren, and plunge us into something like intellectual scorn or, at best, social intolerance towards others. . . . A great deal of love may lift the soul to heaven, though accompanied by very little light; whereas a great deal of light, with very little love, may leave the soul still in outer darkness.'

Of Canon Ainger's charm as a preacher—and we use the word charm in its most spiritual sense—of his low, clear, vibrating tones, swift to change and to thrill, yet kept within due limits like fine music; of his harmonious presence, fraught with the dignity of soul; of the expressive gesture, rare enough, of his hand, it is hard to give any impression excepting to those who heard him, and they need no reminder. These, too, will recall his memorable reading of the Lessons, his devout joy in

the church music, which he made his especial care. All who have watched him, at concerts or in private, listening to great composers—the most melodious ones for choice—can realise the high and holy pleasure that this part of the service gave him. Music ever remained his favourite language, whether in the Temple or outside it.

We may end with some words spoken by him about Dr Vaughan, his predecessor in the Mastership, which apply equally to himself, and sum up the qualities that we have been contemplating.

'Putting on one side . . . the unfailing freshness of thought and treatment; the grace, always dignified and elevated . . . putting, I say, on one side these partly intellectual endowments, which never in themselves alone could win and retain the allegiance of the hearer, may I not speak of those "yet more excellent gifts," the deep understanding of the human heart, the singular power of reading the conscience, the detecting of the many sophistries of the human will, the laying of the hand on them, never without tenderness, with "here thou ailest, and here," and last, but surely not least among such gifts, the rare and blessed one of moderation, seeking ever to avoid the falsehood of extremes.'

Such a passage demands no comment, and forms in itself the fittest ending to a study of Canon Ainger's personality.

EDITH SICHEL.

Art. VIII.—THE DIRECTION AND METHOD OF EDUCATION.

1. *Code of Regulations for Public Elementary Schools, with Schedules*, 1904. [Cd. 2074.]
2. *Regulations for the Training of Teachers and for the Examination of Students in Training Colleges*, 1904. [Cd. 2134.]
3. *Regulations for the Instruction and Training of Pupil Teachers*, 1904–5. [Cd. 2140.]
4. *Regulations for Evening Schools, Technical Institutions, and Schools of Art and Art Classes*, 1904–5. [Cd. 2172.]
5. *General Reports on Higher Education, with Appendices for the year* 1902. [Cd. 1738.]
6. *A selection of Circular Letters of the Scotch Education Department*, 1898–1904, *with Explanatory Memorandum.* [Cd. 2077.]
7. *Report for the Year* 1904. By Sir Henry Craik, K.C.B. [Cd. 2224.]
8. *Report on Secondary Education in Liverpool, including the Training of Teachers for Public Elementary Schools.* By Michael E. Sadler. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1904.
9. *The Education Acts of* 1902 *and* 1903, *with the Revised Text of the Education Acts* 1870–1899. Edited by G. R. S. Taylor. London: Routledge, 1903.
10. *School.* Edited by Laurie Magnus. Vols I and II. London: Murray, 1904.

FORTY years ago Matthew Arnold wrote an essay on 'The Function of Criticism at the Present Time.' He reminded his readers that

'epochs of concentration cannot well endure for ever; epochs of expansion, in the due course of things, follow them. Such an epoch of expansion seems to be opening in this country. In the first place, all danger of a hostile, forcible pressure of foreign ideas upon our practice has long disappeared; like the traveller in the fable, therefore, we begin to wear our cloak a little more loosely. Then, with a long peace, the ideas of Europe steal gradually and amicably in, and mingle, though in infinitesimally small quantities at a time, with our own notions.'

Accordingly, we loosened our cloak and took our ease for forty years. We sat at the feet of foreign doctors. We suffered a forest of reports on foreign systems and examples to spread itself about us. We were dosed, largely or minutely, according to the stoutness of our fibre, with foreign ideas. We discovered the genus and *differentia* of an *école primaire supérieure*; we found out the latitude and longitude of a *technische Hochschule* on the map of municipal education, and when a Swiss learns to read, and how a Swede learns to run. Two continents have been ransacked in that period by the British army of expansion. Successive Governments have been backed by private parties of adventure, of which the latest in time, and perhaps the greatest in enterprise, is the expedition fitted out by Sir Alfred Moseley 'to ascertain how far education in the United States is responsible for her industrial progress.'

Thus, during the 'epoch of expansion,' we have gathered sheaves of information. The question is, what to do with them. To-day we cannot congratulate ourselves on the dawn of 'a long peace.' To-day we cannot contemplate with equanimity the continued assimilation of 'foreign ideas.' The ideas of Europe to-day are ideas of aggression and envy. In an era of war and rumours of war it is no longer fitting that we should cultivate the large indifference, the spacious security, the charitable diffuseness to which Matthew Arnold looked for the correction of the narrowness of his own generation. In education, at any rate, a close time would seem to be at hand. With the swing of the pendulum, an epoch of concentration is due; and the Matthew Arnold of our day would warn us to wear our cloak a little closely.

Concentration and application are always the most difficult part of reform. History, written and unwritten, is full of instances of reforms which, however splendidly conceived, have failed in the effort of execution. To 'ride abroad redressing human wrongs' might have been an ideal in days of chivalry; in these more complex times such a programme is no longer practical. The reformer may ride abroad; a grateful sovereign may even knight him on his return; but there the likeness ceases. Between the commission of enquiry and the legislative redress there stretches a weary period of

parliamentary debate, with all the accompanying evils of public misconception and impatience. In education especially, as Matthew Arnold noted in another place, the British public is exposed 'to questions of religious politics, so attractive to the middle-class Englishman, so fatally apt to divert his mind from what is the point of cardinal importance for him, the one thing needful.' The Board of Education tell us in their Report for 1904—surely the first occasion on which controversial theology has ruffled the surface of a Blue-book—that

'some special difficulties have been experienced in certain places by the Local Authorities in dealing with . . . the Managers of Voluntary Schools. . . . Relations, complicated in themselves, are unhappily further embarrassed in some parts of the country by religious difficulties.'

So Mr Morant at Whitehall signs memorandum after memorandum, each surpassing its predecessor in enlightened counsels of action, while Radical members and their friends try to render the Act of 1902 inoperative. Passive resistance and the Welsh revolt are the most conspicuous results of thought directed to the improvement of our national education and to our better ability to cope with the polyglot foreigner. Angry ratepayers invade the precincts sacred to the schoolmaster; and the last link which connects the eager child with the State is forged by the hammer of the auctioneer.

Education has two main aspects, which require to be sharply differentiated in any discussion of the subject. The first aspect is that of educational machinery, the second that of educational method. The machinery of education has received increasing attention during the past thirty or forty years, culminating in the series of enactments passed during the administrations of the late Lord Salisbury and of Mr Balfour, and reflecting, in our opinion, much credit and distinction on a Government which has been distracted by the demise of the Crown, by a prolonged war, and, latterly, by party dissensions leading to deeper cleavages than any cause since Home Rule. The five years of British history from 1899 to 1904 will probably be commemorated in the textbooks as the epoch of Queen Victoria's death, of the

struggle for the possession of South Africa, and of Mr Chamberlain's protectionist campaign. But the social historian will but ill perform his task if he fail to take account of the educational record of those years. The Board of Education Act of 1899, the Education Act of 1902, and the Education (London) Act of 1903, constitute a considerable achievement in a period when other occupations did not leave the Government idle, and in a field where the interest of the public, rent already by differences of opinion on the gravest matters of policy, is notoriously difficult to conciliate.

The reform of educational machinery is written on the statute-book and lends itself readily to review. The reform of educational method is a more complex business. It depends mainly on the personnel of those in authority; and its records are to be sought, not in the legislation of the country, but in less accessible Blue-books and other official documents of the central Board of Education, and of local committees and subcommittees. Consequently its measure of success is not so easily to be estimated. An approximate estimate can be formed by considering the aims of the Board in connexion with the performance of the committees; and here we are helped in a marked degree by a series of memoranda issued by the secretary to the Board of Education during 1904. With the publication of the revised edition of each annual code or set of regulations in the various departments of the work of the Board, the secretary wrote last year a kind of encyclical letter, in the form of a 'Prefatory Memorandum,' to explain its changes and to accompany its programme. We have before us no less than five of these documents, signed at various dates between May and July 1904; and the authorities would confer a boon on diligent seekers after enlightenment if they would publish these secretarial prefaces in a volume by themselves, much in the same way as Mr Graham Murray, at Dover House, has published 'A selection of Circular Letters of the Scotch Education Department, 1898–1904,' to the delight of all who have followed at all closely the admirable work which was done in that direction during Sir Henry Craik's régime. Finally, the prefatory memoranda, as described above, are still to be reinforced by a long delayed volume of 'Suggestions for

the Consideration of Teachers in Public Elementary Schools,' in which the problems of method will be discussed in a practical manner, and hints and information will be given to teachers to aid them in carrying out their duties. This series of instructions from the headquarters staff at Whitehall and South Kensington must be compared with the records of results contained in such documents as Professor M. E. Sadler's 'Report on Secondary Education in Liverpool,' and in the quarterly or annual publications of the various educational committees throughout the country, in order to arrive at a general view of the progress of educational method.

Before we go on to this consideration, however, it is only just to turn to what was said above as to the influence of personnel in this branch of national education. The appointment of Mr Robert Morant to replace Sir George Kekewich at the Board was much criticised at the time. Mr Morant had been in the service of the department; he was known to have advised the Duke of Devonshire during the legislation of 1899, and to have acted in a confidential capacity towards Mr Balfour during the preparation of the still more important Bill of 1902. But what the public hardly yet know, and these documents should help them to realise, is that the country possesses in Mr Morant a true educational administrator, a patient and hard-working public servant, gifted with imagination, energy, and practical ability, who is likely, when Wales is quiescent and lesser opponents cease to trouble, to do first-rate work in revising and improving our methods of education. His appointment transposes the key, so to speak, of the Act of 1899. That Act, as was freely stated at the time, was purely official. It abolished the Committee of the Privy Council which was created in 1839 to supervise the distribution of certain parliamentary grants, and in which Sir John Gorst was the last in the series of vice-presidents who for sixty years had discharged the functions of a Minister of Education. It replaced the Committee of the Council by a Board of Education, with a president (now Lord Londonderry), a parliamentary secretary (Sir W. R. Anson), a permanent secretary (Mr Morant) and staff, and a consultative committee, of which, perhaps, we do not hear enough. So far, there is nothing to show that the Board

of Education Act, 1899, meant more than a change of nomenclature. The committee called itself a board; the vice-president called himself a secretary; and the requirements of education were satisfied. Mr Morant's term of office, short though it has been as yet, has rebutted such criticism. He has made the change effective, not nominal; and the difference between now and then is not merely a difference of names. If personality is a factor to be taken into account in a discussion of educational method, the presence of Mr Morant at the Board of Education supplies a factor of prime importance.

Recent legislation had a double objective. It aimed, first, at concentrating authority in efficient hands at headquarters, and then, after the establishment of firm control, at the delegation of power to efficient local authorities. A third task is involved in these aims; but for this task legislation is unfortunately not competent. It would have been desirable to see the devolution of function accompanied by an awakening of the public consciousness to a sense of educational responsibility. At Whitehall Mr Morant may be said to be acting as keeper of the conscience to the Board of Education; it must be added with regret that the country, as a whole, has not been aroused to the need of developing a conscience in these matters. Released officials—a class of freedmen very conspicuous just now in English politics—such as Mr Michael Sadler, Sir John Gorst, and, the latest recruit, Sir Henry Craik, are working in this direction; and some of the professional papers have attempted to rise to the occasion. 'Education' publishes long reports of county and borough proceedings; and 'School' was founded in January 1904 with a view to meeting the need for an educational paper which should treat education as an object of national interest and concern. But, apart from these and the older journals, the twin forces of concentration and delegation require for complete efficiency the trained co-operation of the public. Without it the success of the Acts must be difficult and slow. There must inevitably be wanting the vivid quickening force which animates the scattered parts and helps the organism, in Mr Kipling's phrase, to find itself. Contrast, for instance, the public history of the two movements of recent months—education and

tariff reform. Not all the eloquence of statesmen, not all the 'revelations' of Blue-books, not all the thunder of the press could kindle in the country the true fire of enthusiasm on the educational question. Public interest in education strayed into side issues, flickered dully to indifference, leapt to a moment's vigour on a quasi-religious topic, then died again in laughter; it never really grasped the essential matter at stake as it seized the vital issue underlying the voluminous *dossier* on the tariff-reform question. There were no catchwords in educational reform. No ingenious orator displayed the two children of his imagination to a responsive audience, coextensive with the country — the child starved of learning and the child fed and taught by the state. The loaf-idea caught the country and lent a human interest to politics; the child-idea left it cold.

We are presented, accordingly, with a system of national education the contractors for which were confronted with the old puzzle of the Israelites—how to make bricks without straw. They had to build for the public good without the sympathy of the public; the Government had to consult the interests of the country despite the ignorance or indifference of its representatives in Parliament. In such circumstances there is bound to be something lacking in the result; and the wonder is, perhaps, not that so little is effected, but that the disheartening experience has led to so few mistakes. Another mitigating cause, which critics should take into account, is that the Government did not have a free hand. The authors of the Act of 1899 were reformers, not innovators. An ideal commonwealth might conceivably have been equipped with a better apparatus of educational machinery than was forged by Lord Salisbury's last administration out of the heterogeneous elements which were, till then, at work. A system which had been suffered to adapt itself to the growing needs of the nation during two generations, and which had included the benefit of nine tenths of the dues of the Customs and Excise Act of 1890, was not easy to reorganise, either on its administrative or on its financial side. Vested interests, use and wont, even sentiment, affected the policy of the reformers; and those who look back to-day from the orderly Board of Education, exer-

cising supreme control over secondary and elementary education, with its president and secretaries, its efficient staff, its consultative committee, and its register of teachers, to the old days of mismanagement at South Kensington and disorganisation at Whitehall, find it hard to realise the completeness of the change.

With these reservations, it is now appropriate to consider the Act of 1899 in relation to the Acts of 1902–1903, and to the work of the Board since April 1, 1900, when the provisions of the Act came into force. The statute 62 and 63 Victoria, cap. 33, contains only nine clauses, of which the last five are purely formal. The first states that 'There shall be established a Board of Education charged with the superintendence of matters relating to education in England and Wales.' This Board, in accordance with clause 2,

'shall take the place of the Education Department (including the Department of Science and Art), and . . . it shall be lawful . . . to transfer to, or make exercisable by, the Board of Education any of the powers of the Charity Commissioners or of the Board of Agriculture in matters appearing . . . to relate to education.'

Thus the mixed control, and consequently overlapping powers, of various government departments were drawn out of the chaos into which they had lapsed and were duly handed over to a single central authority responsible to the country for all 'matters relating to education.' The inspection of secondary schools by the Board and the establishment of its consultative committee were the chief remaining contents of the Act which placed England and Wales, for the first time, on a level with continental countries in regard to state control.

'I have attempted to sketch in outline the plan of reorganisation for English instruction which is suggested almost irresistibly by a study of public instruction in other European countries, and of the actual condition and prospects of the modern world. The reorganisation proposed will to many people in England appear chimerical. Yet I have a profound conviction that, if our country is destined, as I trust it is destined, still to live and prosper, the next quarter of a century will see a reconstruction of English education as entire as that which I have recommended in these remarks,

however impossible such a reconstruction may to many now seem.'

The prophet was Matthew Arnold; the date was 1868; and the words quoted are from the conclusion of his 'Higher Schools and Universities in Germany.' He was only six years out in his reckoning.

Reconstruction on paper is one thing; a working system is another. Matthew Arnold, again, in his 'French Eton,' forecasts the requisite means of turning theory into practice.

'By really agreeing to deal in our collective and corporate character with education, we can form ourselves into the best and most efficient of voluntary societies for managing it. We can make State-action upon it a genuine local government of it, the faithful but potent expression of our own activity. We can make the central government that mere court of disinterested review and correction which every sensible man would always be glad to have for his own activity.'

In this passage is contained, by a happy prevision, the relation of the Acts of 1902–3 to the Act of 1899. The statute 2 Edward VII, cap. 42—the Education Act, 1902—is a much larger affair than the measure which we have just reviewed. It extends to twenty-seven clauses, with four schedules or appendices. It repeals the whole of the Technical Instruction Acts of 1889 and 1891, two clauses of the Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act, 1890, as well as many sections of the Elementary Education Acts of 1870, '73, '74, '76, '80, '90, '91, '93, '97, '99, and 1900, of the Agricultural Rates Act, 1896, and of the Voluntary Schools Act of 1897. Let us go back for a moment to the legislation of 1899. On April 1, 1900, there came into operation a new central authority, 'charged with the superintendence of matters relating to education in England and Wales.' But these 'matters relating to education' were by no means of a kind readily to submit to superintendence. The mere recital of the Acts of Parliament which it was necessary to repeal, in whole or in part, before order and system could be introduced, shows that the new Board of Education would have entered into an inheritance of chaos and anarchy unless a method had been devised of bringing 'matters relating to education' within its sphere of operations.

The Act of 1902 was the first in our statute-books, as Mr Taylor reminds us, to deal with these matters together. For the first time we find the three grades of instruction included in the scope of a single Act of Parliament. This is, historically speaking, the significance of the Act in the annals of English education; and it may confidently be stated that, whatever chances or changes await our educational system, the country will never abandon the position taken in 1902. It will never go back from the long deferred principle of unity in control. The old, partial, haphazard method disappeared with the Acts repealed.

The progress in administrative method marked by the Act of 1902 corresponds in statesmanlike conception to the importance of the measure in the history of education. It carries out Matthew Arnold's prediction of making 'state action upon it a genuine local government of it'— how genuine the future must determine. It utilises for this purpose existing councils and committees, and it strictly confines its scope to education as a matter of local government. This Act and the London Act of 1903 were constructive administrative measures. They constituted local education authorities in order to enable the Board to exercise a 'superintendence of matters relating to education in England and Wales.' No new bodies were created for this purpose. By section 1 of the 1902 Act 'the council of every county and of every county-borough shall be the local education authority.' The proviso as to borough or urban district councils need not be recited here; the essential point to be noted is the foundation of a relationship between the Minister of Education in London and the 128 councils created by the Local Government Act of 1888, and directly representing the local electorate in each instance.

A second principle of the new legislation is manifest here in the disappearance of the specific educational bodies formerly known as School Boards. We do not propose to discuss the various problems which result from their disappearance. These problems in their nature are temporary and evanescent; in many districts they belong already to past history; in others they are moving into that phase; they must reach it eventually in all. The principle itself is sound enough, if for no

other reason than because it is always bad economy to put the purse into the hands of specialists. The place for special knowledge is at the centre of the system; and the extra work thrown on the authorities at Whitehall is compensated by the release of local electorates from the burden of an *ad hoc* poll and from the extravagance of an *ad hoc* committee. In London the County Council has succeeded to the extinct School Board; its educational policy forms a part of the general work of local government; the debates are governed by the same rules; and already a sense of proportion in municipal affairs has begun to reassure the ratepayers. The London body has further earned the confidence of the public by its wise choice of officials. These include Dr Garnett, a member of the old Technical Education Board; Dr C. W. Kimmins; Mr Blair, formerly of Dublin; and Mr Frederick Rose, sometime H.M. Consul at Stuttgart, and author of some of the ablest consular reports on education. Throughout the country, too, the abolition of the School Boards has been effected with a minimum of annoyance; and the services of admirably qualified men have in most cases been secured as county directors of education. Thus the specialists in each locality have become the paid servants of the local authority—a principle of democratic government which it will be difficult to improve. We are consciously giving high praise to a series of enactments which the opponents of the present Government have loaded with abuse, and the merits of which have been obscured by certain incidental drawbacks readily liable to exaggeration. But Acts of Parliament which have the courage to enforce sound principles of reform deserve at least the credit of their achievement. We believe that the national welfare is already feeling the benefit of the Acts of 1902-3; we are convinced that the lapse of time and a fair experience of their working will prove the wisdom and foresight of their authors.

We are still discussing the machinery of education, and it may be stated with little fear of contradiction that much of the recent legislation is still very imperfectly understood. The debates in Parliament tended rather to obscure the issues than to explain them; and it will not be out of place to take note of one or two features. The Act of 1902 is divided into four parts. The first, with

which we have dealt, constitutes the local authority. Part ii deals with 'education other than elementary,' part iii with elementary education, and part iv with education committees in general, with expenses, borrowing powers, and so forth. We reproduce here the essential words of the opening clauses of part ii and part iii respectively (sect. 2 (1), and sect. 5), in order to point out, by the use of italics, a somewhat important difference. The first passage runs as follows:—

'The local education authority *shall consider* the educational needs of their area *and take such steps as seem to them desirable*, after consultation with the Board of Education, to supply or aid the supply of *education other than elementary*, and to promote the general co-ordination of all forms of education.'

The second passage runs thus:—

'The local education authority *shall* throughout their area *have the powers and duties* of a school board and school attendance committee under the Elementary Education Acts, 1870 to 1900, and any other Acts . . . and *shall also be responsible* for and have the control of all secular instruction in public elementary schools not provided by them; and school boards and school attendance committees shall be abolished.'

The words underlined are significant, inasmuch as the duty in the one case is optional and in the other is compulsory. The local authorities *must* assume control over elementary instruction; they *may* take steps to supply education, other than elementary, after consultation with the central authority; and it is extremely noteworthy how general has been the desire to take advantage of these powers. The powers, appropriately enough, are wider in the first case than in the second; 'supply or aid the supply' is a less definite instruction than that relating to elementary schools. The evasion of a definite epithet for secondary or higher education—'education other than elementary'—is also to be remarked; and time might be spent in discussing the new departure involved in placing the 'control' of secular instruction in non-provided schools in the hands of the council authorities while leaving a residue of 'management' in the managers' hands. But we do not propose to drag the voluntary schools question into the scope of this review. The programme which we

have set ourselves is already wide enough. It is to estimate the value of recent educational reform through the two aspects of machinery and method. At this point it will be convenient briefly to summarise the results of our consideration of the former.

1. The State Department for Education has been organised in all its branches. There are a Minister of Education, a permanent secretary and staff, and a consultative committee.

2. The Board of Education is charged with the superintendence of 'matters relating to education in England and Wales,' and has power to inspect secondary schools.

3. Parliament makes no distinction in administration between elementary education and 'education other than elementary.'

4. The machinery of education has been municipalised for the purposes of local control. The powers of existing local government representative bodies have been extended to include educational control, and existing *ad hoc* educational representative bodies have consequently disappeared.

5. The local government authorities are responsible for elementary education, and shall consider, and may take steps to supply, secondary and higher education.

6. Secular instruction in non-provided schools passes into the hands of the same bodies.

So much for the machinery of education, as affected by the enactments of 1899 to 1904. Meanwhile, there are the teacher and the child, whose particular interests and share in educational reform are not very clearly promoted by these purely administrative articles. The problems of the teacher and the child are primarily problems of method. Success in dealing with them depends on the less measurable qualities of sympathy and imagination, as well as an intelligent knowledge, adaptive as well as assimilative, of what is best in foreign practice. The aim is to widen the opportunities; to give every child in the country the widest possible opportunity of self-development and improvement; to leave as little room as imperfect human conditions permit for the reproach that a child 'never had a fair chance'; to minimise the disabilities of criminal or unhealthy early surroundings, physical or moral evil

tendencies, poverty, and lowly station; to build a ladder from the slum to the university; to spread the blessing of education, so that defective educational opportunities may be excluded from the list of possible causes for the failure of the country in any department of national welfare or international competition.

At the same time the needs of State must be kept steadily in view. To put it negatively, it is as little the object of the State to train a generation of commercial experts as it is to risk, by default of education, the rise of a race of criminals. German example is perhaps misleading at this point. The unverified conclusion roughly drawn by the public from consular and other reports on educational progress in Germany suggests a kind of materialised Utopia, in which every boy is born a bank-clerk and every girl a typist. Such a conclusion is fallacious, and the reaction may be exaggerated. There is a way of looking at commerce which touches chords as responsive to a noble ideal as any on the keyboard of the old classical curriculum. Even rows of figures in a ledger may stimulate the intellectual and moral imagination, if the clerk is trained to see his work in the perspective of his country's destiny, its historical development, and its geographical conditions, as well as to do that work with care and despatch. This is the way of looking at commerce which inspires recent educational foundations such as the Commercial College in Leipsic; and it is far too early at present to encourage a reaction from that standard. The right view is clearly stated by Mr Sadler in his report on education in Liverpool, where he succeeds with rare skill in adapting to the needs of his own country—in this instance, of one city in that country—his unrivalled stores of knowledge concerning foreign methods and appliances.

'The more likely' (he writes) 'that a boy's future life-work is to absorb him in questions which necessarily have some sordid sides, the more need is there to insist that throughout his education there shall be a strong vein of idealism. . . . At bottom, the business relations of a great commercial city with the outside world are human relations. In no education, therefore, is it more necessary than in the education of a commercial community to give a large place to the vivid and real teaching of the humanities.'

Success, then, in commercial competition is by no means the prime ulterior object of state intervention in education. Herbert Spencer's aphorism is appropriate here: 'To prepare us for complete living is the function which education has to discharge'; and 'complete living' includes much more than ability in business. The State must set forth on a higher plane of argument altogether; a broader view must be taken than that of the unverified conclusion which we noted above. Here, for the first time in the history of our educational department, we are helped by a Blue-book issued by the Board of Education. The new 'Code of Regulations for Public Elementary Schools' (1904) contains an 'Introduction,' extremely useful in this context, which honourably distinguishes the present issue from previous codes, and supplies us with an official statement of the object of the State in education. The purpose of the public elementary school is therein defined as 'to form and strengthen the character and to develop the intelligence of the children entrusted to it,' so as to assist them 'to fit themselves practically, as well as intellectually, for the work of life.' They are to be trained 'in habits of observation and clear reasoning'; they are to become acquainted 'with some of the facts and laws of nature'; to learn to take 'a living interest in the ideals and achievements of mankind,' and in the 'literature and history of their own country.' Their mother-tongue is to be used by them as 'an instrument of thought and expression'; the 'activities of hand and eye' are to be suitably encouraged; 'appropriate physical exercises' and the 'simpler laws of health' are to form part of the training; and 'it will be an important though subsidiary object of the school to discover individual children who show promise of exceptional capacity,' and to qualify them for secondary instruction. All this is novel in its place and purpose; but the most noteworthy paragraph follows and deserves to be quoted in full:—

'Though their opportunities are but brief, the teachers can yet do much to lay the foundations of conduct. They can endeavour, by example and influence, aided by the sense of discipline which should pervade the School, to implant in the children habits of industry, self-control, and courageous perseverance in the face of difficulties; they can teach them to reverence what is noble, to be ready for self-sacrifice, and to

strive their utmost after purity and truth; they can foster a strong respect for duty, and that consideration and respect for others which must be the foundation of unselfishness and the true basis of all good manners; while the corporate life of the School, especially in the playground, should develop that instinct for fair-play and for loyalty to one another which is the germ of a wider sense of honour in later life.'

This has been said before by other people in other places. The late Bishop Creighton, for instance, said it in 1894 to his clergy at Peterborough. 'Every child,' he reminded them, 'carries away from school at least a sense of discipline. With a little personal care this might be maintained against the temptations of a precocious freedom.' But it had never yet been said by the State in its educational capacity. In 1904, for the first time, it was put in the forefront of the official code, as the expression of the awakened conscience of the responsible Board of Education. Henceforth the 'foundations of conduct' form a part of the curriculum in schools which hitherto had directed their educational policy towards earning a grant.

The Board, as we have seen, is charged with 'matters relating to education'; and what is true of its aim in a single branch of this activity will be found to be true of it as a whole. If the recent administrative policy of the whole of the Board's work had to be compressed into one sentence, it would be that co-ordination of effort depends upon a clear differentiation of function. For this reason the central authority has been trying to classify the different aims of elementary schools, secondary schools, evening schools, and technical institutes, as well as to define more clearly what is to be aimed at in educating pupil-teachers, and likewise the object of training-colleges, whose task it is to educate persons, themselves but half-educated, who aspire to teach others, and to give them some professional training. In this differentiation of function, as a preliminary to the co-ordination of effort, lies the key to the memoranda issued by Mr Morant to which we referred above. These fall here into their places as mete-rods in a staked-out claim —the memoranda of a survey which is to lead to a successful cultivation of the field. It is the fashion to attack this method by talking of 'delimitation' and

'water-tight compartments,' of 'shutting off the rise of a promising student,' and so forth. But such criticism is quite unfair; it is not the student who is 'delimited,' but a particular function is being allotted to each of the various institutions.

The prefatory memorandum to the 'Regulations for Secondary Schools,' dated June 14, 1904, is of vital importance from this point of view. It insists that

'in order to arrive at a proper differentiation of functions, it is important, for purposes of central and of local administration, and in particular for considering and properly planning courses of instruction, to distinguish Secondary Schools, on the one hand, from Technical Institutes and Classes which devote themselves mainly to giving specialised instruction and training in certain subjects to young persons and adults who should previously have completed a sound general education, and, on the other, from Evening Schools and Classes which, though they may offer instruction to some students in subjects of a general kind and to others in subjects of Art or of pure and applied Science, do not provide a consecutive and complete course of general education to be followed by each student who attends the School.'

Three principles are enunciated as essential to the course of instruction which shall qualify a day or boarding-school to be described as secondary. First, the instruction must be general; next, it must be complete; thirdly, it must be graded in its various branches. Subject to these axioms, the new regulations are framed with a view to 'leaving greater freedom than hitherto for schools to frame curricula of varying kinds, as may be required or rendered profitable by local conditions'; and a like regard for the need of elasticity is to be marked in the following sentence:—

'In order to meet . . . the danger of forcing a particular kind of school on a locality for which it is not suitable, and the danger of that premature specialisation which is destructive of real progress, the Board have materially modified the rules under which schools of this type may be recognised and conducted.'

Almost equally significant in this context are the new 'Regulations for the Training of Teachers and for the Examination of Students in Training Colleges.' It is the

object of the Board to make these institutions effective centres for teaching how to teach, instead of places for the further education of half-educated persons. Mr Morant's prefatory memorandum to the document is dated June 23, 1904. In it a clear distinction is drawn between the different kinds of students who frequent the training colleges and the different courses of study which they require. Further, as the memorandum states,

'not less important than the framing of courses of study which shall be thoroughly suitable to the several requirements of the various students in Training Colleges, is the manner in which the college staff treat the several branches of the approved courses of study. Much of the instruction which is given in all subjects must necessarily be founded upon the statements and the experience of other persons; but every education which deserves to be called complete must include some training of the student in those systematic methods of enquiry which are necessary for any assured advance in knowledge, and which are the most truly educative of all mental processes. . . . When Matthew Arnold declared in 1868 that the want of the idea of science, of systematic knowledge, was the capital want of English education and of English life, he was thinking of science as a method and not as a prescribed portion or subject of a curriculum. It cannot be doubted that this want has been seriously prevalent in a large portion of the education and training hitherto provided for Elementary School Teachers.'

We cannot enter here into the details of method discussed in these regulations, though we admire sincerely the recommendations as to the History course, which should be used to develope the students' 'historic sense,' and as to the teaching of Languages and of Natural Science ('often called "Nature Study"'), as well as the rescript on professional training. But a special welcome is due to the remarks on the teaching of Literature.

'The time devoted by the student to text-books dealing with literature, however exact and complete, is little more profitable than that devoted to verbal and grammatical commentary, if he is thereby prevented from access to the works of great writers, and consequently from all independent effort to realise for himself that in which their enduring value consists.'

Accordingly, the alternative courses of study in English

Language and Literature include 'books for general reading' as well as 'books for detailed study'; and the whole subject is to be studied in connexion with the corresponding period in the History course. This increased emphasis laid in last year's memoranda on the importance of the study of English is likewise a mark of the reports and recommendations of the Scottish department in its several grades; and it is a feature of American education which is developed to a high degree. It is to be greeted here as a good sign for the future, when 'complete living' will more and more require quickness of grasp, readiness of expression, clearness of arrangement, and that generalising faculty without which all learning is pedantry.

In this work of reforming the methods of education which the Board have undertaken so courageously and with so comprehensive an aim, delay and disappointment are inevitable. The urgent necessity of tackling the problems of machinery arising daily and hourly out of legal points in the new Acts has hampered the Board considerably. As time goes on, and the political situation improves, and as the Consultative Committee becomes a little less timorous in its recommendations to the Board, the directions from headquarters are likely to grow more effective. On the other hand, it is fair to the Board and not harsh to the public to add that, if politico-ecclesiastical considerations—the fatal lure of British public life—are imported afresh into the House of Commons, the result must be that the reform of method will be indefinitely postponed. Already the 'Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers in Public Elementary Schools,' which were promised in May, and were looked for in October, though known probably in proof form to a small section of the profession, are still overdue; and primary scholars are still deprived of the benefit of the new ideas as to arithmetic, English, geography, and the knowledge of common things which, among other branches of instruction, are likely to be discussed in this belated Blue-book. The remedy for the delay lies with the public itself. We shall not be exaggerating the gravity of this consideration if we add that the recrudescence of the education question in party politics

will deeply injure the cause of national education, which its champions are supposed to have at heart.

Fortunately the responsibility for reform is not confined to the Board of Education. The Board would be the first to recognise that their efforts require, as a first condition of success, the intelligent co-operation of the local committees throughout the country. The future of the nation's educational charter is in the hands of these committees. The proceedings of the London County Council Education Committee, over which Sir William Collins presides, are reported in the daily papers, and are doubtless followed with some attention by the ratepayers of London. Quite recently the committee have devised a new scheme of county scholarships which they expressly describe as 'a result of the Education Acts of 1902–3.' They propose that the Council should aim at selecting annually, at the age of eleven or twelve, between two thousand and three thousand of the ablest children in the London public elementary schools as junior county scholars. Such scholarships would confer free education in an approved secondary school, and would be tenable, subject to good conduct, till the end of the school year in which the scholar reaches fourteen years of age. Under certain conditions they would then be renewable for two more years, when the scholar should either pass on to an intermediate county scholarship or to a training college and to a pupil-teachership in the service of the Council. There are certain obvious objections to this scheme. The number of scholars contemplated is almost unduly large; the aim seems rather to recruit the teaching profession than to improve the education of the children of London; and exception may be taken to the sentence, 'As the requirements of the elementary schools compel the Council to pick out twice as many girls as boys, the scholarship standard may probably have to be lower in their case.' On the other hand, praise is due to the proposed method of examination, which is to be a test of capacity rather than a scrutiny of attainment—a fresh sign, by the way, of the renascence of humanism in English education. The eventual cost of the scheme, which will reach completion in five years, is computed at 275,200*l.* a year.

Education committees outside the London area have, in a sense, more novel functions than the committee of

the London County Council, which has succeeded to the duties of the School Board for London. At least their work demands qualities of mind and action which are more commonly trained in the capital than in the provinces. Many years have passed since John Stuart Mill wrote:—

'It is quite hopeless to induce persons of a high class, either socially or intellectually, to take a share of local administration in a corner by piecemeal, as members of a Paving Board or a Drainage Committee. The entire local business is not more than a sufficient object to induce them to become members of a mere local body.'

But it is only within the last year that Mill's condition has been fulfilled by the inclusion of education among the functions of the same local bodies which take charge of the roads and the drains. Thus, it is not surprising that the new era in local government should be still but imperfectly understood, and that the country as a whole should fail to pay attention to the work of the 334 education committees formed to administer the Act. From one point of view this is a gain. It is not altogether undesirable that the committees responsible for the local control of national education should be suffered to make their experiments and, it may be, their mistakes, without further direct interference than that which is supplied by the Board of Education at one end of the scale and by the ratepayers at the other. At the same time, recognition is encouraging; and a comparison of results may lead to an economy of effort.

One such comparative result may be selected here. We remarked above that the training-college problem is the most urgent with which the Board of Education has to deal. The function of a training college is to provide professional training; and no defect is more conspicuous in the whole system of the Board than the inadequate supply of efficiently trained teachers for the elementary schools. It is interesting to note the local aspects of this problem. The authorities at Manchester write, in their second annual Report, dated October 26, 1904:—

'Much may be hoped from the effect of the new regulations . . . which had already been anticipated by this Committee, and provision made for bringing them into effect early in the ensuing year.' In the opinion of the committee,

'it is most desirable that measures should immediately be taken to make provision for securing an automatic supply of properly trained certificated teachers for the Public Elementary Schools.'

About 300 bursaries (80 for boys and 220 for girls) will accordingly be established in March, and will be awarded, on the results of a public examination, to candidates willing to become pupil teachers. These bursaries will be tenable in secondary or other day-schools; an examination of bursars about to complete their course will be held each May; and in the following August the selected candidates will be engaged as pupil teachers for a period of two years. Similarly, the committee recommend 'that provision should be made in the first instance in conveniently situated rented buildings for two undenominational residential colleges, one for women and another for men'; and, in connexion with the Pupil Teachers' College which is about to be erected, 'suitable provision should be made for day-certificate classes at which assistant teachers might receive, say, half-time instruction.'

The Gloucestershire authorities write, in their Report dated October 24, 1904:—

'It was inevitable that the change effected by the Act of 1902 should entail an enormous amount of administrative labour. . . . But it must be recognised that no great change can be looked for in the Elementary Schools until the Board of Education's new regulations for the instruction and training of teachers have had time to bear fruit.'

A scholarship scheme has been started in the county; and other steps have been taken which, it is hoped, 'will bring more recruits into the teaching profession, and remedy the deficiency which still is, and must for some time remain, acute.' The same story is repeated in Northumberland and other centres, till we reach the excellent 'Report on Secondary Education in Liverpool,' by Professor Sadler, to which reference has already been made. In the sixth chapter of that work, which should by this time be in the hands of every education committee in the country, the writer discusses the 'Supply and Training of Elementary School Teachers,' and adds 'Suggestions and Recommendations.' This is not the place to consider the specific needs of Liverpool, or the means

of supplying them; but Mr Sadler expressly states, as a general principle of training, that, 'in order to draw the future pupil teachers to the secondary schools, a scholarship system will be necessary.' Articles 8, 9, 10, and 11 of the seventeen recommendations contained in the summary of his Report are stated as follows:—

'To develop the scholarship system; to take various steps for improving the supply and preliminary training of those intending to teach in elementary schools; to strengthen the Pupil Teacher Centres; to establish a new Training College for women teachers; to enlarge the University Day Training College, and to establish hostels in connexion with it.'

Authorities in other parts of the country will welcome the support of so eminent an expert as Mr Sadler in this important respect.

We have attempted to illustrate the work of the education committees by directing attention to a single aspect of their labours. But, however typical the example, it is merely an example. Instances might be multiplied in which the various reports shed light upon one another, and in which the local authorities might give mutual assistance. An exhaustive survey would lead to considerable repetition, and might be wearisome to follow in detail. The essence of the matter is that the nation should be aware of the great work which is being done in its midst. Despite the clamour of party politicians, and the threat to undo the legislation of 1902–3 when the present Government goes out of office, the county authorities of London and the provinces are showing themselves eager and competent to give the children in their several areas the utmost benefit of the law as it stands. They are seeking to remove the reproach—to quote Matthew Arnold for the last time—that the schools in our country 'have been left to come forth as they could and to form themselves at haphazard, and are now, as a whole, in the most serious degree inadequate and unsatisfactory.'

If we were asked to describe in one word the whole tendency of English education as manifested at the present time, we should speak of a humanistic renaissance. Pater, a type of modern humanism, declares that 'the

real business of education' is insight, 'insight through culture into all that the present moment holds in trust for us, as we stand so briefly in its presence.' And in another place he writes:—

'Not the fruit of experience, but experience itself, is the end. A counted number of pulses only is given to us of a variegated, dramatic life. How may we see in them all that is to be seen in them by the finest senses? How shall we pass most swiftly from point to point, and be present always at that focus where the greatest number of vital forces unite in their purest energy? To burn always with this hard, gem-like flame, to maintain this ecstasy, is success in life.'

Between this definition of success and the ideal recommended to his son by the 'Self-made Merchant' of Mr Lorimer's clever 'Letters'—'you've got to eat hog, think hog, dream hog, in short, go the whole hog, if you're going to win out in the pork-packing business'—there is the whole difference between humanism and materialism. English education, we believe, is working round to the humanistic ideal.

'The school should humanise' (writes Mr Sadler). 'It should give to each of its scholars the chance of that development most congenial to his native powers. . . . By humanising its pupils it can best serve the community which supports it.'

This tendency may be traced in the recent publications of the Board of Education; its spirit animates the work of the local committees throughout the country; and it may reasonably be hoped that this spirit will endure. The one thing needful now is to stimulate an interest in education, so that the national conscience may no longer tolerate a generation of elementary school teachers at once ill-trained and underpaid. The reaction has started at Whitehall; a sense of civic duty must do the rest.

Art. IX.—MATTHEW ARNOLD.

1. *Poetical Works of Matthew Arnold.* London and New York: Macmillan, 1891.
2. *Letters of Matthew Arnold*, 1848–1888. Collected and arranged by George W. E. Russell. Two vols. London and New York: Macmillan, 1895.
3. *Matthew Arnold.* By George Saintsbury. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood, 1899.
4. *Matthew Arnold.* By H. W. Paul. London: Macmillan, 1902
5. *Matthew Arnold.* By G. W. E. Russell. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1904.
6. *Matthew Arnold, and his Relation to the Thought of our Time.* By W. H. Dawson. New York and London: Putnam, 1904.
7. *Two Essays upon Matthew Arnold; with some of his Letters to the Author.* By Arthur Galton. London: Elkin Mathews, 1897.
8. *The Bibliography of Matthew Arnold.* Compiled and edited by T. B. Smart. London: Davy and Sons, 1892.

> 'Ah! two desires toss about
> The poet's restless blood;
> One drives him to the world without,
> And one to solitude.'

For a celebrity to say nowadays that he will not permit his life to be written after his death is about as wise and about as effective as for him to say that he will not permit his portrait to be taken during his life. If the celebrity will not be taken sitting he will be 'stalked' or 'snap-shotted.' Some portrait of him for general use will be secured. It is the same with his biography. If he does not write his own story, or allow it to be written from authentic materials by friends, some 'Life' will be written, *tant bien que mal*, from such materials as can be reached by fair means or by other means. Tennyson, 'a shy beast,' as he called himself, who disliked the idea as strongly as any one could, recognised the necessity and bowed to it, happily for himself and the world.

That Matthew Arnold should have objected to the process seems a little strange, for he was not at all shy,

but, on the contrary, liked recognition, and was even, innocently enough, rather vain. However, he did so object, and tried to prevent it. But written, of course, his life has been, and will be again. Besides the admirable articles in the 'Dictionary of National Biography,' by Dr Garnett, and in the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' by Mr Watts-Dunton, three biographical sketches have been produced, by Professor Saintsbury, by Mr Herbert Paul, and, more recently, by Mr G. W. E. Russell. All three are, as they were sure to be, done with admirable skill. Professor Saintsbury is himself an excellent scholar both in ancient and modern tongues, and has an unique acquaintance with the history of criticism. Mr Paul is a man both of letters and affairs, a politician, a journalist, and an historian, a master of wit and epigram, and full of the keenest appreciation for the Greek and Roman writers. Mr George Russell was an Under-secretary of State, and is a practised writer, besides being a staunch churchman and a lay-preacher. Politically, Professor Saintsbury is a Conservative, Mr Paul and Mr Russell are Liberals. All three are Oxford men. Between the three, with all these qualifications, it might be thought that ample justice would have been done to their common subject. But it is not so. Neither individually nor combined do they give an adequate presentment. Professor Saintsbury treats Arnold too much as a man of letters who strayed into the pulpit; Mr Paul too much as a poet who was betrayed on to the platform. Mr George Russell comes nearest to what is wanted; and his book, so far as it goes, merits our warm praise and gratitude. He has the best conception of the variety, range, and relation of Matthew Arnold's interests, and the fullest sympathy with them. But something more is still required. We still want the man as a whole. He does not stand out as what he was, well-defined and complete. And the reason is not far to seek; it is want of material. No one of these biographers has been at the pains to collect materials for a real 'Life.'

Yet in truth this ought to be done and done soon, before it is too late. There are many still living who knew Matthew Arnold well, though every year some one disappears who could tell us much at first-hand about him. There must be in existence not a few letters besides those included in Mr George Russell's well-known collec-

tion. Indeed, in his latest book, Mr Russell quotes at least one such letter of great value. Even the existing materials have hardly been properly used. The 'Lives' of Arnold's contemporaries contain many letters and many notices which are interesting and elucidative. What is to be desired is that all these letters should now be collected and given to the world; and that, while the tradition of the living man is still itself alive, a biography should be written, with due reticence and reserve, but sufficiently full and definitive.

'What is there to write?' it may be said. 'Surely Matthew Arnold's life was, even more than that of most poets, uneventful.' But the evolution of a poet's genius is always instructive; and in Matthew Arnold's case the peculiar conflict of attractions and repulsions, and the somewhat erratic orbit which he ultimately traced, are intensely interesting. Why did he produce so little? yet why did he produce so much? for his total output, though small, is a good deal larger than is often thought. Why did he publish, and why, having published, did he immediately withdraw, his first volume of poems? Why, stranger still, did he, three years later, repeat this odd process with 'Empedocles on Etna'? What was the meaning of his sudden excursion into Italian politics in 1859, seven or eight years after he had apparently given up all idea of a wider public life and settled down to school-inspecting? Some hints in answer to these questions, and to others of the kind, Mr Russell gives; but much remains a mystery.

The main outlines of Matthew Arnold's life are pretty well known. He was the eldest son of the famous Dr Arnold, a man whose genius and variety, like those of his son, transcended the bounds of his profession and found expression alike in history, in politics, and in religion. To be the child of such a man meant much to Matthew Arnold. It meant that he was brought up in the love of letters, especially of the Greek and Latin masterpieces, in the love of history, in the love of nature, though not of Natural Science; in the love, therefore, of travel and of scenery alike for its natural beauty and its historic associations. It meant again that he was nursed in the keen air of a strong if limited Liberalism, not seldom refreshed by the breezes and, at times, the storms of

political and religious controversy. At the same time, Dr Arnold, though theoretically a Latitudinarian, retained in practice not a little of the old-fashioned churchman, and, like the Lutherans, clung to a certain order and ceremony. Matthew, 'papa's continuator,' as he quaintly called himself, did the same. Further, he was not only the son of his father, but the godson of his father's friend, the author of 'The Christian Year.' As a boy at Winchester he used to visit Mr Keble at Hursley. As an undergraduate at Oxford he was at home, not only with the then Broad Church party, but also with the Tractarians, and found in Newman not merely 'the voice which from St Mary's thrilled the hour,' but his godfather's near friend and ally. Thus he was emphatically a disciple, even if at times he appeared a truant disciple, of the English Church.

To be the son of Dr Arnold meant, again, that he was the child, not only of Rugby, but also of 'Fox How,' reared amid the scenery and the spirit of the Lakes and the Lake poets. Of Southey, indeed, he could only say 'Vidi tantum'; but Southey's greater compeer, Wordsworth, was a familiar figure from his childhood. 'It is not for nothing,' as he wrote himself, 'that one has been brought up in the veneration of a man so truly worthy of homage; that one has seen and heard him, lived in his neighbourhood and been familiar with his country.' The Lake poets, again, were eminently critical poets; and to the formative influences of Arnold's youth must be added the philosophic tradition of Coleridge, the literature of De Quincey, and the boisterous badinage of 'Christopher North.' Poetry, then, and criticism, education and religion, separately and in combination, with their influences keen and high, were around him from the first.

Dr Arnold was a generous and wide-minded spirit. He had no bigoted belief in his own methods. He was a good Wykehamist and loved his old school. He thought 'a period at Winchester would do his boys no harm'; and he sent 'Mat' and 'Tom' to be under Dr Moberly. Tom, in that *naïf* and sincere narrative, 'Passages in a Wandering Life,' gives us some glimpses of both the successes and the *faux pas* of his brother's boyhood. 'Mat,' he says —and we can well believe it—'always talked freely,' and once, when at breakfast with the headmaster, spoke, in

the presence of another bigger and stronger boy, of his form-work as being too easy. The result was that Dr Moberly increased the tale of bricks, and the other boy and his friends, equally naturally, 'took it out' of Mat after school. On the other hand, he distinguished himself by gaining the Queen's medal—it was in the year of her accession—for a recitation, choosing Byron, his favourite poet, the favourite of most youthful poets of that time. From Winchester he went back to Rugby; and from Rugby, the most strenuous and stimulating school of that day, he passed to the most strenuous and stimulating of Oxford colleges, having won 'the Balliol,' as the open classical scholarships of Balliol College were already called.

The set at Trinity, Cambridge, in which Tennyson moved, the coterie of 'In Memoriam,' is ever memorable; but even with that the Balliol coterie in which Arnold found a place need not fear comparison. The list of scholars who were his contemporaries is nothing short of extraordinary. Edward Meyrick Goulburn, Stafford Northcote, A. H. Clough, Frederick Temple, John Duke Coleridge, James Riddell, Edwin Palmer, Theodore Walrond, F. T. Palgrave, William Sellar, Henry Smith, Alexander Grant—could a dozen names be found more honourable to any seminary whose function was, in the language of the 'bidding-prayer,' to supply 'persons qualified to serve God in Church and State'?

No wonder that Principal Shairp was inspired to catch and fix the portraiture of this academic company in his charming 'Remembrances.' Some of its members worked hard for the schools, most of them, indeed, very hard, and took the highest honours. The two Rugby poets, Clough and Arnold—not, perhaps, for quite the same reasons—both found their way into the second class, affording thereby consolation to many a subsequent similarly unlucky competitor. In the case of both an Oriel fellowship redressed the balance of the University examinations. Arnold was undoubtedly a good undergraduate scholar. He was *proxime accessit* for the Hertford scholarship, being only vanquished by a rival to whom any one might well have run second, Goldwin Smith. He won the 'Newdigate' too, with a strong but rather dull poem on a subject perhaps not very congenial, Oliver Cromwell. Probably he did not read

hard, not, at any rate, upon the lines recognised in the schools. Shairp's vignette portrait is well known.

'So full of power, yet blithe and debonair,
Rallying his friends with pleasant banter gay,
Or, half adream, chaunting with jaunty air
Great words of Goethe, catch of Béranger:
We see the banter sparkle in his prose,
But knew not then the undertone that flows,
So calmly sad, thro' all his stately lay.'

His brother Tom gives almost the same account. Their father died, it will be remembered, in the early summer of 1841, just at the end of Matthew's freshman's year. Tom went up to Oxford that autumn, and for the next three years the brothers were together.

'During these years' (writes Tom) 'my brother was cultivating his poetic gift carefully, but his exuberant versatile nature claimed other satisfactions. His keen bantering talk made him something of a social lion among Oxford men; he even began to dress fashionably. Goethe displaced Byron in his political allegiance; the transcendental spells of Emerson wove themselves around him; the charm of an exquisite style made him and long kept him a votary of George Sand.'

A contemporary at Oxford, afterwards a country clergyman, and fond, in a not unbecoming clerical way, of sport, would often recall with pleasure how he and Mat Arnold used to go rook-shooting together as undergraduates. The poet, indeed, always liked shooting, though a poor shot. 'Need I say that I am passionately fond of the Colchian bird,' he writes in one of his letters. His own account of his Oxford time bears out this and similar reminiscences. 'I and my friends,' he used to say, 'lived in Oxford as in a great country-house.' It was not altogether a bad way; it was a way, moreover, more natural and possible in the little old unreformed Oxford of those times than in the residential city of to-day.

It is not difficult to imagine what Arnold's life at this period was. The sons of the aristocracy, of the country gentry and the clergy, with a sprinkling of the sons of the well-to-do professional men, bankers and men of business, who were within the Anglican pale, 'Lord Lumpington' and 'the Rev. Esau Hittall,' as Arnold

afterwards called them, and their set, but without 'Mr Bottles,' who was still confined by the 'Tests' to 'Lycurgus House,' and 'Dr Silverpump'—these made the society of the Oxford of that era. And the place! The pleasant country still ran up to the walls and gates of the colleges. No fringe of mean suburbs interposed between the coronal of spires and towers and its green setting. It was the Oxford of William Turner's paintings and Ingram's views. There were 'our young barbarians all at play'; and Arnold played a good deal with them, 'Bullingdon and hunting' were well known to him.

> 'See, 'tis no foot of unfamiliar men
> To-night from Oxford up your pathway strays.
> Here came I often, often, in old days,
> Thyrsis and I: we still had Thyrsis then.'

The 'Hurst in spring,' the 'lone alehouse in the Berkshire moors,' the 'causeway chill,' the 'line of festal light in Christ Church Hall,' seen from the Cumner slope, the 'wide fields of breezy grass' above Godstow, 'where many a scythe in sunshine flames':

> 'What white, what purple fritillaries
> The grassy harvest of the river-fields
> Above by Ensham, down by Sandford, yields,
> And what sedged brooks are Thames's tributaries':

the 'wood which hides the daffodil,' 'the frail-leaf'd white anemone,' the 'red loosestrife and blond meadow-sweet,' the 'Fyfield elm' and the 'distant Wychwood bowers'—these last not, as a rule, known even to poetical undergraduates—he knew them all; and it was now that he learned to know them, roaming on foot with 'Thyrsis' or some other congenial studious friend, but also at times 'rejoicing in life and the sunshine,' as Thyrsis himself sings, and joining the jovial and merry bands of Oxford riders and oarsmen.

In later days his visits to these haunts grew, perforce, more rare. It was now that he became Oxford's poet *par excellence*. For Oxford, most poetical of universities and cities, has produced, strangely enough, few poets. She had few, indeed, worthy of the name until the last century. In the last half of that century, and at the present time, it is true, she was and is comparatively

rich. But if she had to wait long, she was at length rewarded when she found in Arnold a poet who made her territory literally 'classic ground,' teaching her sons to love her, and giving a language to their love.

Arnold, however, did not linger in Oxford, though, had he chosen to do so, the opportunity offered. From Balliol and its distinguished undergraduate company he passed to the distinguished graduate company of Oriel, the other college at that time most alert and alive, becoming a member of the same common-room with Newman, Church, Clough, and Poste. Now, indeed, the fortunate youth seemed to have the ball at his feet. He had not determined on a career, but what he inclined to was public life. For a few months he taught the Sixth Form at Rugby; but this was a transient episode. 'Attach yourself to some great man, sir! Many have risen to eminence in that way,' said old President Routh, speaking with the voice of the eighteenth century, a year or two later, to Conington when he was leaving Magdalen. It was still a recognised precept, and Arnold followed it. He became private secretary to Lord Lansdowne, then President of the Council, and was launched on the great world. He had the run of Lansdowne House; he was asked down to Bowood, the rallying-ground of Whig wisdom, wit, fashion, and society. The path of intellectual and discriminating and very enjoyable and prosperous Whiggery, smooth, but not too smooth for mental health, lay before him. He had only to go forward on it with fair diligence and caution to be sure of success.

What, then, were the first steps of the young and brilliant *débutant*? They were characteristic enough. He set out with head erect and jaunty confident pace. 'The mountain tops,' as he has sung, shone 'bright and bare,' and 'short the way appeared to the less practised eye of sanguine youth.' Soon, however, he wearied of the beaten track. Furtively he stepped aside into the flowery meadows and sequestered by-paths, then hastily darted back into the high road. In other words, he put out his first volume of poems; but they were published anonymously, and he called them in almost as soon as they appeared. In many a young man such a course would have been natural enough. Had Arnold not been a true and high poet, had the poems been less

good, there would have been little remarkable about the matter. But, in truth, both the volume and the action were prophetic of his whole singular career. Taken alone, this first suppressed collection of poems is, indeed, extraordinarily interesting. It shows what Arnold was before he made the plunge, which he shrank so much from making, into practical life. The germ of much of his subsequent work and writing is here. His loves and his dislikes—hatreds in one so amiable and urbane they should hardly be called—his attractions and repulsions—Sophocles, Shakespeare, the blatant Nonconformist minister, the Republican friend, youth's bitter-sweet melancholy, his 'sad lucidity of soul,' his feeling of the irony of fate, above all, his hesitancy, his sense of the 'something that infects the world'—all appear in it and appear impressively. For this slender first volume, so short-lived, so little noticed, contains some of his very best work, some of those pieces by which he will always be remembered—'Mycerinus' and the 'Forsaken Merman,' the sonnet on 'Quiet Work,' the 'Sophocles' and 'Shakespeare' sonnets, the 'Sick King in Bokhara,' 'In utrumque paratus,' the 'Strayed Reveller,' and the 'New Sirens.'

Yet it shows only half his character; the other half was perhaps to be seen in its suppression. He was indeed a singular mixture, a paradox, or rather a bundle of paradoxes, oscillating, vacillating at all times between the worldly and the unworldly. Handsome, athletic, elegant, fashionable, loving (as he said himself) the ways and sports of the 'barbarians,' full of a superficial levity and even flippancy, calculated to shine in society, to adorn and enjoy it—this was what he appeared on the surface. 'A very brilliant person was Arnold in those days,' writes, somewhat later, Mr Ellis Yarnall, that pious and kindly pilgrim from New Jersey—one of the very few still surviving who can recollect Wordsworth and Keble—'but of sweet and winning manner; as an especial mark of eminence he was singularly urbane and gracious. Exquisite was he in dress; and his black hair and fine eyes, his easy bearing and pleasant talk, made him altogether fascinating.' But, as Mr Russell well remarks, he was, like his own description of poetry,

> 'Radiant, adorn'd outside: a hidden ground
> Of thought and of austerity within,'

Underneath were the 'sad lucidity of soul,' tender passion, dissatisfaction with the pleasures of this world, a mastering sense of duty at war with his lighter nature.

Much of this contradiction was indeed physical. 'The lofty Mat' he had been called at school; and what he was as an undergraduate Principal Shairp has recorded. His erect carriage, his manners like those of Milton's 'affable archangel,' his Count d'Orsay poses, his waving handkerchief and airy gesticulation, were natural to him, as natural as were

> 'The comely face, the cluster'd brow,
> The cordial hand, the bearing free,'

which he has described so tenderly in those exquisite lines on his brother, so happily transferred by Mr Galton to himself. Equally natural were his sallies of wit and raillery. He was aware of it himself. 'You'll like her,' he said of his wife; 'she has all my graces and none of my airs.' These last, indeed, were proverbial among his friends. 'Please say whether you liked Matthew Arnold and his airs,' writes Lord Acton to Mary Gladstone. Arnold 'laughed till he cried' when he read Frederic Harrison's description of himself, 'me, in the midst of the general tribulation, handing out my pouncet-box.' 'X will do,' he said, speaking of a young relative in whom he was interested, and who was just launching into life, 'X will do. He has that invincible *insouciance* which has always carried *me* through the world.' 'Invincible *insouciance*'; indeed he had need of it. Many a man has need of more than a little to carry him through the daunting stress of life. Arnold certainly found, as will be seen, his double portion very convenient and helpful. Strange to say, it hardly appears in any line of his poetry.

His own ideal was to unite the grave and the gay. This combination was what he admired in his ancient and his modern exemplars, Sophocles and Goethe, spirits whom 'business could not make dull nor passion wild,' minds that 'saw life steadily and saw it whole.' Again and again the ideal appears in his verse, but he could not compass it himself.

> 'Years hence, perhaps, may dawn an age
> More fortunate, alas! than we,
> Which without hardness will be sage,
> And gay without frivolity.'

In his own poetry the gay found no outlet. Perhaps poetry was too sublime and serious an art. Certainly life itself, when he was in the poetic humour and looked beneath the surface, was too serious a matter. The world in these moods was a vain and passing show; pleasure and knowledge were alike hollow; the white-robed slave whispers at the Great King's elbow amid the flowers and over the cups; the philosopher scales the heights of science only to sink palsied on the summit. In real life also he felt this serious side. It was always returning upon him. He had, as his letters and note-books abundantly proclaim, a deep inner existence, fed by communings with his self-chosen directors, Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius, the Bible and the 'Imitatio' and Bishop Wilson.

'From his earliest years' (wrote Lord Coleridge to Mr Ellis Yarnall just after his death) 'sorrow or trouble always calmed or sobered him; his persiflage disappeared, and you saw and, what is more, you felt, the warm generous heart, the just judgment, the tender sympathy which was as natural to him as to breathe.'

But in real life he had this double nature, one half of which alone appears in his poems. The gay and lively was always bubbling up through the grave and severe. He could not resist the chronic tendency to banter. The world, in consequence, did not know, to use a vulgar phrase, 'where to have him,' whether to treat him as a mocker or as a mystic, a Socrates or a Scarron. He seemed an impossible and provoking combination of opposites, a living contradiction in terms, a Christian Voltairian, a voice poking fun in the wilderness, an 'elegant' from the cloister, a 'Jeremiah,' as some one said, 'in white kid gloves.' By a natural reaction, when he was most in the world the desire to escape and cultivate his unworldly side was strongest. It was when he was cut off from the world that his appetite for it returned.

A born critic of others, he was a born critic also of himself. Few young men at the opening of life have judged themselves better. There is a striking passage in a letter written to his sister in 1851, just before he 'ranged himself,' which, as a human document for the

poetic temperament at this critical period of transition, may be compared with Keats's preface to 'Endymion.'

'The aimless and unsettled, but also open and liberal state of our youth we *must* perhaps all leave, and take refuge in our morality and character; but, with most of us, it is a melancholy passage, from which we emerge shorn of so many beams that we are almost tempted to quarrel with the law of nature which imposes it on us. I feel this in my own case, and in no respect more strongly than in my relations to all of you. I am by nature so very different from you, the worldly element enters so much more largely into my composition, that, as I become *formed*, there seems to grow a gulf between us which tends to widen till we can hardly hold any intercourse across it. But, as Thomas à Kempis recommended, *frequenter tibi ipsi violentiam fac* . . . so I intend not to give myself the rein in following my natural tendency, but to make war against it till it ceases to isolate me from you, and leaves me with the power to discern and adopt the good which you have and I have not.'

So he writes to his sister. But an influence more potent than a sister's was at hand. It has not been revealed, and perhaps it would not be right to ask, whether there is any special reference in the well-known pieces, published, as he himself would say, 'by divers portions and in divers manners,' but the first of which is found in the first volume and obviously goes back very early. Who were the fair figures appearing and vanishing in so charming, so perplexing a manner in the 'Memory Picture' (called also 'To my Friends') and the 'Modern Sappho,' the 'Dream' and the two series entitled 'Switzerland' and 'Faded Leaves'? Marguerite and Olivia, Marguerite before all, had she any individual existence? Where and when did he meet her? 'Mitte quærere.'

> 'The mists are on the mountain hung,
> And Marguerite I shall see no more.'

Dreams, indeed, in a sense they are, in which passion and coquetry mingle, dreams and day-dreams of a chivalrous young heart and a gay insouciant spirit, blended with the romance and illusion of first travel and careless roving hours by the Rhine and in the Alps. Enough

that, as may be said of many young impressionable natures, before they find the hour

> 'When round one fairest face shall meet
> Those many dreams of many fair,
> And wandering homage seek the feet
> Of one sweet queen, and linger there,'

'Nondum amabat: amare amabat.' It is customary to speak of Arnold's poetry as wanting in passion. But passion enough is in these pieces; and in consequence they contain some of the best and strongest, as well as the lightest and happiest, of his lines.

Two years after the publication of his first poems he found, like so many young men, if not the solution, at least the determination, of his doubts. He married for love and he became a school-inspector. Being what he was, it is infinitely characteristic, and much to his credit, that he should have taken these steps. It was an unworldly match and an unwordly choice of a profession. He seems to have dreamed at first of keeping leisure for his own poetic life, possibly even of retiring to Italy on 200*l.* a year, but he soon found that this was an empty vision.

The career of a school-inspector was perhaps not necessarily so laborious as might appear. Some years later another distinguished poet, critic, and thinker, F. W. H. Myers, deliberately chose it as giving the maximum of free time for private research and writing. Myers undoubtedly justified his choice by his contributions to literature and to psychical enquiry. Possibly things were more difficult in the earlier days. As Arnold lived, it was a hard life, and he was assuredly Pegasus in harness. Was it a mistake—the ruin of great possibilities?

Good poetry is so lovely, so delightful, above all, so rare a thing, that we are always tempted to wish that the poet might have given us more. In Matthew Arnold's case this is certainly true. In reading his 'Life' we cannot avoid a certain sense of a *vie manquée*. At times he himself seemed to feel this too. When he compared himself with his old friends and contemporaries, risen to be judges, cabinet ministers, ambassadors, and archbishops, it was difficult for him not to do so. To any worldly ambitions that he might have cherished he had certainly given the death-blow. 'He is a Balliol man

who has succeeded in life,' he said of Archbishop Tait. 'I am a Balliol man who has failed.' And again, 'We are only humble men of letters; we admire the superb proportions of Sir Robert Morier; we cannot emulate them. But we subsist and perform our humble functions.' Was he serious in this badinage? Half serious. It was, perhaps, one reason why he did not wish his life to be written. Did he feel the consolation of having made a noble sacrifice for the sake of his profession, or to secure freedom for his own inner life? The first he might well have had; but he did not love his profession.

'Though I am a schoolmaster's son I confess that school-teaching or school-inspecting is not the line of life I should naturally have chosen; I adopted it in order to marry.... My wife and I had a wandering life of it at first.... We had no home; one of our children was born in a lodging at Derby, with a workhouse, if I recollect aright, behind and a penitentiary in front. But the irksomeness of my new duties was what I felt most; and during the first year or so it was sometimes insupportable.'

So he spoke of the life when leaving and looking back on it. 'Well-nigh a positive purgatory,' he called it at the time. 'I've had a hard day,' he writes on one occasion. 'Thirty pupil-teachers to examine in an inconvenient room, and nothing to eat except a biscuit which a charitable lady gave me.' Things, perhaps, need not have been quite so trying. Arnold probably managed badly; but at times it was what is called a dog's life. Even had he been a better economist of time and strength, it would have been difficult to combine it with writing the highest poetry for, 'Carmina secessum scribentis et otia quærunt,' 'the Muses love the musing mind.'

But it certainly was a fortunate hour for English education when, in order to marry Miss Fanny Lucy Wightman, Matthew Arnold accepted the post of school-inspector. What a wealth of resources he brought to it has been seen—the tradition of his father, moral and intellectual standards of the highest, wide culture, poetic imagination, ready sympathy, eloquence, charm, genius. In the strict technical sense he was probably not a good inspector. He was tempted to delegate his work. The details were not congenial. As years went on he became

impatient, as he wrote to his mother, of getting old amid a press of occupations and labours for which, as he says expressively, 'after all I was not born.' But his high gifts were not lost in what might appear his humble calling. Read 'A French Eton'; note his powers of description, the masterly placing on the canvas of the Lycée of Toulouse and the College at Sorèze, the lovely and sympathetic picture of Lacordaire, the diversion about the old *cité* of Carcassonne. In such passages the son of Dr Arnold and of Oxford, the hearer of Keble and Newman, the poet and literary artist, all appear. He brought, again, to the service of English education an idea of what education was and what it might be, some notion of its history, some conspectus of the history of other countries and other times, above all, his own fresh critical spirit, his habit of taking wide views and questioning everything, his mixture of patriotism and discontent, his interest in foreign countries, his love of England even as she was, and his desire to see her better.

His detached and independent position gave him much advantage. He retained his instinct for and interest in affairs. His work lay, it should be remembered, in the region of elementary, not of the higher or secondary education, and within this region in a peculiarly selected and restricted area, that of the Nonconformist schools. He started with a prejudice against the Nonconformists. Like his father, he wished to 'compel them to come in,' and resented their unwillingness to be compelled. Among his poems almost the only acrimonious one is the early sonnet on the 'Independent Preacher.' Their positive principles he only half understood. He regarded them as schismatics for schism's sake. As he went on he came to know them better, and found many friends among them, and undoubtedly learned much from them. But their ways were not naturally congenial to him. A lover of beauty, his temperament a curious blending of the sensuous and the gay with the austere, he could respect them but he could not love them, and, as Goldwin Smith, in his trenchant criticism of 'Falkland,' pointed out, he ever did less than justice to the Puritans. By nature he was drawn to the colour and the comfort, the historic dignity and glamour, of the Roman Catholic system, with its warmth and variety, its pleasant cakes and ale, con-

taining, as he said, 'all the world of Shakespeare.' The want of beauty in the Congregationalist, Methodist, and Baptist conventicles and beliefs got upon his nerves; and he used one-sided language about their 'hideous and immense *ennui*.'

He retained, however, his wonderful spirits. He was bright and brave. 'We are not here to have facilities made for us for doing the work we like,' he wrote, 'but to make them for ourselves.' Still he desired more scope, more 'action,' as he called it. It was when he was in this mood that Oxford, ever his best friend, came to his rescue and gave him just what he wanted—an outlet from his poorly paid drudgery, emolument, honour, opportunity, authority, a pulpit from which to address the world. It is difficult to estimate how much he owed to the Professorship of Poetry to which he was elected in 1857. He was an ideal man for the post. His lectures were brilliantly successful both on their delivery and on their subsequent publication. It is enough to say that the 'Lectures on translating Homer' and 'Essays on Criticism' were the first-fruits of his professorship. It is strange to read that even these lectures 'were not quite the work he liked.' What on earth would he have liked? He thought he would have liked to give himself more to poetry, to creation rather than to criticism. He knew how hard it was to do so, living the life he had to live. He could not do it without being exhausted, nay, 'torn to pieces,' *viel zerrissen*, as he said, borrowing the phrase of his great master, Goethe.

Some effort, fortunately, he did make. To this period we owe 'Merope' and the volume entitled 'New Poems,' published in 1869. 'Merope' was the outcome of his professorship, and has been happily called his 'diploma piece.' It is perhaps best described, if a little cruelly, as just such a poem as might have been expected from any professor of poetry—except Matthew Arnold. In it he appears as an inverted Wordsworth. The preface is one of the best things he ever penned. His theory is admirable, his practice a cold failure. He was disappointed and inclined to grumble to Conington at the success of Swinburne's 'Atalanta' though not really classical. But it is not only the glitter and glamour of 'Atalanta' that make 'Merope' show faint and pale. The poem is equally

a failure if compared with the austere force and solemn music of 'Samson Agonistes,' or the dainty art and frolic charm of 'Achilles in Scyros.'

The 'New Poems' succeeded much better. From the first they sold well, and went into a second edition almost directly. His name as a poet was now firmly established. He had the popular encouragement he required. Yet, after the publication of this volume, Arnold wrote hardly any more verse. Why did he not go on? The 'New Poems' themselves contain, perhaps, part of the answer. After 1869 it is noticeable that all his poems were occasional, and all but two prompted by the death of friends, either human or brute, these last ever among his dearest—Dean Stanley, 'Geist,' 'Kaiser,' and 'Poor Matthias'; the two best, a 'Summer Night' and 'Thyrsis,' were drawn from him by the death of his brother William, and of that brother of his soul, Arthur Hugh Clough. He projected other poems, and it is interesting to note what he projected, namely, a handling of the Middle Ages, especially, perhaps, of the Nibelungen story, poems on 'St Alexius,' on the 'Voyage of Achilles to the Island of Leuce,' and a tragedy on Lucretius. He thought Tennyson had not done justice to the Middle Ages, and that he could do much better. He was distressed to find that Tennyson also was engaged on Lucretius, with which he himself had been occupied for twenty years. He thought, however, he would persevere with it. Those who remember the happy allusions in 'Wordsworth's Grave' and 'Obermann' will much regret that he did not. Why did he not? The answer is only partly given in the pathetic if awkwardly phrased stanzas entitled 'The Progress of Poesy.'

> 'The man mature with labour chops
> For the bright stream a channel grand,
> And sees not that the sacred drops
> Ran off and vanish'd out of hand.'

Arnold was not, he never became, 'the old man tottering nigh,' and 'feebly raking among the stones'; but it would appear that the cause of his ceasing to pour forth was not so much that the sacred drops vanished, as that he never chopped the channel grand. The real reason was that if he had little time in all, he did not give that little

to poetry. A striking passage in a letter to Sir M. E. Grant-Duff, a very sympathetic recipient, to whom, consequently, some of his best letters were written, gives the truest clue to his real attitude.

'One is from time to time seized and irresistibly carried along by a temptation to handle political or religious or social matters directly; but, after yielding to such a temptation, I always feel myself recoiling again and disposed to touch them only so far as they can be touched through poetry.'

More and more, almost insensibly, he yielded to the temptation, and the recoil became less and less. The fact is, as Mr W. H. Dawson has discriminatingly brought out, his prevailing desire was to deal with these political, religious, and social matters. He thought he could do this through poetry. But through what kind of poetry? He had a strong instinct for true poetry. When he was young this predominated. In so far as his mission was to preach beauty, poetry was a suitable medium. And in a sense beauty, no doubt, is truth and truth is beauty. But they are not the same, nor to be handled in the same way. Unless the form of satiric or didactic or gnomic poetry be adopted, these topics cannot be touched except indirectly. Matthew Arnold did not adopt any of these forms. He therefore touched them only indirectly. So touching them, he fancied that he had achieved already some considerable measure of success. 'My poems represent,' he wrote in 1869, 'on the whole, the main movement of mind of the last quarter of a century.'

He thought Tennyson 'deficient in intellectual power.' He thought that he himself had perhaps 'less poetical sentiment than Tennyson, less intellectual vigour and abundance than Browning, but more of a fusion of the two than either,' and, above all, 'that he had more regularly applied that fusion to the main line of modern development.' Does not this show how difficult it is for even the best critic fairly to judge his own work? For what was the 'main line of modern development' in the quarter of a century preceding 1869, both in England and on the Continent? What were the ideas with which men's heads everywhere were full? Were they not chiefly these—the potency and promise of material and mechanical development, the conception of what was

called, sometimes by its English sometimes by its Latin name, 'freedom' or 'liberty' in every field; the emancipation of women, of the lower classes, of the serf, of the slave; 'free trade,' a 'free press,' a 'free church in a free state'; and, with a view to all these, the extension of the franchise and the universal application of parliamentary systems? Were they not the ideas which went with those of 'nationality' and of 'unification,' and, above all, coming to crown them in the intellectual sphere, of 'evolution,' which seemed to supply a philosophic basis for all these movements? But where are these ideas, or any of them, to be found in Matthew Arnold's poems? The 'march of mind,' the 'steamship and the railway and the thoughts that shake mankind,' the 'happy sails that bear the Press,' the 'parliament of man, the federation of the world,' the progress of science 'charming her secret from the latest moon'—it is to 'Locksley Hall' and 'The Princess' and 'In Memoriam,' to the lines on the opening of the Exhibition, and those to the Queen, that we must go to find them; for Tennyson seems to have felt them all and anticipated many of them. It does not seem to have occurred to Matthew Arnold that perhaps to this fact, as well as to his 'poetical sentiment,' Tennyson's popularity was due.

There was, indeed, another movement going on simultaneously, by some considered only a backwater, by others the main stream. This was the movement which Disraeli partly started, partly only led, which began with the 'Young England' party and, after prevailing in the Conservative reaction of 1874, has since, in the main, merged itself in the later Unionist and Imperialist movement, but has also contributed something to modern Liberalism. To this stream of tendency Matthew Arnold, who had many affinities, besides his power of phrase-making, with Disraeli, also contributed. Its note was to offer opposition to the Manchester school and to many of those ideas of liberation enumerated above, and, before all, to disparage the merely material and mechanical advance of England. It finds strong if somewhat obscure expression in the famous apostrophe to England as 'the weary Titan' in the lines on 'Heine's Grave.' The whole of that poem, indeed, indicates Arnold's position very well. He called himself a Liberal, and so he was; but he

was a continental Liberal, desiring to unite freedom of opinion with strong government. Be that as it may, of this reaction against the older English liberalism he had no monopoly. Tennyson expressed it even more strongly in 'Maud'; and Dickens, whom Matthew Arnold strangely did not read till his last years, expressed it in 'Hard Times.' Ruskin, too, is full of it. Arnold's capital idea, however, was that the world, down to the French Revolution, had based itself on supernatural Christianity; that the French Revolution meant the breaking up of that foundation; and that the world was moving, or striving to move, towards a new basis, resting on non-supernatural Christianity. In his poetry this again finds its best utterance in the two 'Obermann' poems; but once more the utterance is obscure.

It is probably to such utterances that Arnold alludes when he speaks of having touched in his poems the 'main movement of his time'; for it is these ideas, and ideas cognate to them, that he proceeded to work out in his prose. Mr Humphrey Ward, in his introduction to the selection from Arnold's poems included in his 'British Poets'—an introduction full at once of eloquence and insight, and, for the personal side, one of the best things written upon Arnold—points out that it was the decade of storm and stress (1840–1850) that gave Arnold as a poet his real ply. Certainly out of the discouragement, the melancholy of that 'yeasty time' he never grew. The later more optimistic note of 'Imperialism,' so potent in our own day, struck so early and so forcibly by Tennyson, he never strikes at all. If he mentions the Colonies in his writings it is only to think of them as children of the Philistines and an offspring more hopeless than their parents. If we go deeper it is the same. Many will remember the striking criticism by the late Professor Henry Sidgwick on the position, in relation to the main movement of mind, of 'In Memoriam,' and of 'its unparalleled combination of intensity of feeling with comprehension of view in dealing with the deepest needs and perplexities of humanity.'

'In the sixties I should say' (writes Professor Sidgwick) 'that these deeper issues were somewhat obscured by the discussions on Christian dogma, and Inspiration of Scripture, etc. One may recall Browning's reference to this period—

"The 'Essays and Reviews' debate
Begins to tell on the public mind,
And Colenso's words have weight."

During these years we were absorbed in struggling for freedom of thought in the trammels of an historical religion; and perhaps what we sympathised with most in "In Memoriam" at this time, apart from the personal feeling, was the defence of "honest doubt," and, generally, the forward movement of the thought. Well, the years pass; the struggle with what Carlyle used to call "Hebrew Old Clothes" is over. Freedom is won, and to what does Freedom bring us? It brings us face to face with atheistic* science; the faith in God and Immortality, which we had been struggling to clear from superstition, suddenly seems to be "in the air"; and, in seeking for a firm basis for this faith, we find ourselves in the midst of the "fight with death" which "In Memoriam" so powerfully presents.'

Colenso's words had no weight with Matthew Arnold. Indeed he annoyed and alienated his Broad Church friends by treating Colenso as a ridiculous figure, a calculating boy turned *enfant terrible*. But in the 'obscuring' discussions on dogma and inspiration he was and remained absorbed. He did not perceive, then or afterwards, that the real epoch-making book of 1859–61 was not 'Essays and Reviews,' nor even the 'Vie de Jésus,' but the 'Origin of Species.' The fact is that the great defect of Matthew Arnold's culture was his almost total want of appreciation of the real importance of Natural Science. It was partly the fault of his bringing up. What the position of Natural Science was in the studies of Rugby under his father is sufficiently indicated by the immortal picture of 'Martin' in 'Tom Brown's School Days.' Oxford was little better. Natural Science was, it is true, just beginning, when Matthew Arnold went there, to struggle *in luminis oras*. His contemporary, Henry Smith, caught the spark and fanned it into flame. But Matthew Arnold remained almost as insensible to it as Gladstone. Officially and theoretically, it is true, he recognised its value; but the diameter of the sun and moon, the chemistry of the candle, the descent of man, were for Matthew Arnold,

* The epithet is unfair to some of the greatest and some of the most recent leaders of natural science.

like the equator, only things to take liberties with; and he thought Lord Salisbury a dangerous young man because he advocated the larger introduction of Natural Science into Oxford.

The determination of Arnold's relation to the 'main movement of ideas' belongs, however, to the consideration of his prose rather than of his poetry. By a strange irony it is through the very quality in which he was willing to admit himself inferior, but in which he was really strong, that, as a poet, he, like all poets, will live. What are his best poems, his most memorable pieces? Are they not 'The Forsaken Merman,' 'Sohrab,' 'Mycerinus,' 'Tristram and Iseult,' 'Requiescat,' 'A Summer Night,' 'A Southern Night,' 'Rugby Chapel,' the lovely descriptive passages in 'Thyrsis' and the 'Scholar Gipsy,' or in the 'Stanzas from the Grande Chartreuse'? They are not those in which any 'main movement of ideas' appears, but those which are pervaded by the quality of poetic sentiment. Much, indeed, he did contribute to the ideas of his countrymen, but as a prose-writer rather than a poet.

Meanwhile, Oxford had given him, as we said, a pulpit just when he wanted it. Having a pulpit, he at once began to preach. The instinct for, the interest in, the two spheres, politics and religion, so universal in Englishmen, the desire to have his say about them, he had always felt; and now his chance had come. It is significant that his first prose book, published two years after he became Professor of Poetry, had nothing whatever to do with poetry, but was a return to his early loves, which came back to him in his first mission abroad. 'I really think,' he wrote from Lausanne in 1859, 'I shall finish and bring out my pamphlet.' He did so. It was 'England and the Italian Question.' It is not insignificant that it bore a biblical motto, given in the language of the Vulgate, which he used, he said, when he was not earnestly serious, 'Sed nondum est finis' (S. Matt. xxiv, 6). His first magazine articles were also significant. They were 'Maurice de Guérin' and the 'Bishop and the Philosopher.' Three years later he opened his guns more directly, no longer from across the Channel, but on English soil, in the article, 'My Countrymen,' which, later still, was to form part of 'Friendship's Garland.'

Thus, even during his tenure of the professorship his real bent was clear. The 'Essays in Criticism' themselves are only half literary. The element of politics and the element of religion, the elements of social and moral and didactic criticism, are at least as strong as those of literature proper; and it is these that form the originality and charm of the volume quite as much as the æsthetic or artistic elements. Directly he was freed from the bias given by the professorship he showed his own inclination even more decidedly. He ceased to be professor in 1867, winding up with the lectures on Celtic Literature. He began shortly afterwards the series of articles which form 'Culture and Anarchy.' It was ten years before he published anything new on literature. How was the decade filled? In it he produced 'Culture and Anarchy,' 'St Paul and Protestantism,' 'Friendship's Garland,' 'Literature and Dogma,' 'God and the Bible,' and 'Last Essays on Church and Religion.' There was not room for much *belles-lettres*. Truly it is character and not circumstance that is destiny. It was not mainly want of leisure that prevented his writing more poetry or more literary criticism; it was his own action, his own deliberate choice, his own overmastering interest in contemporary affairs.

Though his poems had now at last begun steadily to make their way, it was these prose contributions on subjects of general interest that first made him a force in the country. 'Gentlemen, you see before you what you have often heard of, an unpopular author,' he said to the Income-tax Commissioners on one occasion. A really popular author he never became during his lifetime; but these writings undoubtedly reached a large and wide audience. Their precise effect is difficult to estimate, as it is not easy to dissociate the religious from the political, and the political from the educational portion of his writings. To judge by the results which have actually come about, the truth would seem to be that he affected his country, as regards these three points, in an ascending scale—least, that is to say, in the religious field, more in the political, most of all in the educational. His methods were least adapted for success in the first. The English, and not the English Nonconformists alone, are a serious people, peculiarly serious as regards their religion.

Matthew Arnold's bantering tone and superior airs, his 'smiling academic irony,' as Swinburne called it, estranged even those who might have been expected to sympathise with him. What Gladstone forcibly expressed for himself was felt by many.

'It is very difficult' (he wrote) 'to keep one's temper in dealing with M. Arnold when he touches on religious matters. His patronage of a Christianity fashioned by himself is to me more offensive and trying than rank unbelief.'

Arnold remained, too, always somewhat of an amateur in biblical criticism; and the 'higher critics,' both of his own and of later days, have not paid much attention to him, not so much, indeed, as might have been expected. Jowett, on the morrow of his funeral, wrote:—

'The world has been pleased to say many complimentary things of him since his death, but they have hardly done him justice, because they did not understand his serious side—hard work, independence, and the most loving and careful fulfilment of all the duties of life.'

But earlier, when 'Literature and Dogma' appeared, Jowett himself had pronounced after reading it:—

'Arnold is too flippant to be a prophet. His argument of the meaning of words from their etymology is fallacious and a most Philistine sort of fallacy. But he is a master in the art of plausibility. A confident statement, a slight joke, an argument of this kind, may be brought against anything. Oh, 'tis much that a slight jest will do.'

It is significant, however, that the most serious minds have taken him most seriously. R. H. Hutton (of whom Matthew Arnold wittily, if ungratefully, said that his fault was, 'Always seeing so very far into a millstone') in his own day wrote of him as 'a great Oxford leader' and a 'guide of modern thought,' ranking and comparing him with his master, Cardinal Newman. The present Bishop of Birmingham, Dr Gore, in his lectures on St Paul's Epistle to the Romans, says:—

'Life in Christ Jesus, Christ living in me—there can be no question that these beautiful phrases, which, if St John's witness

be true, represent the teaching of Christ himself, express also what was most central in St Paul's idea of Christianity. It was the great merit of Matthew Arnold's "St Paul and Protestantism" that it recalled the fact to notice in ordinary educated circles. Recent scientific study of St Paul has gone in the same direction.'

Something, then, Arnold contributed to theological education. Did he achieve his great object of delivering England from the political Nonconformist, and the Nonconformist from his narrow religion? The first end has certainly not yet been achieved. To the second, in so far as it, along with some widening in other quarters, has come about, many causes contributed; and probably Arnold's contribution was not by any means the largest.

In the realm of politics and of social questions he achieved much more. Here his manner, 'easy, sinuous, unpolemical,' as he himself described it, was admirably suited for its purpose. His banter and raillery only aided him; and it may be questioned whether any man of letters, by the mere power of his pen, has effected so much in this region since the days of Swift. Matthew Arnold, fortunately, was no Swift or Juvenal. No *sæva indignatio* lacerated his heart or prompted his prose-poetry. Rather his method was that of the dapper, plump little Roman poet-critic who 'touched, like the sly rogue he was, every foible of his friend so gaily that his friend laughed with him,' who 'insinuates his way into our bosom and plays about our heart.' There is more than one 'Horatian echo' in Arnold's verse; there are many in what may be called his 'Satires and Epistles.'

'There is to-day a cult of Matthew Arnold,' says Mr W. H. Dawson, the well-known writer on sociology, in the preface to his solid volume; 'it is growing, it must grow.' How far either the statement or the prediction is to be accepted it is difficult to determine, without more evidence than we possess. But the fact of their being thus made and so fully set forth by such a writer is, in itself, so far as it goes, evidence. What cannot be overlooked is that many of the greater changes and reforms of to-day are those which Arnold predicted and advocated; that he certainly was, in regard to his views and ideas, in advance of his time; that he was, in his own language, 'going with the movement of the world.

The chief political changes in the England of the last quarter of a century—and they are so great that already they amount to something like a silent revolution—may all be referred to or summed up under one capital change of policy and public feeling, in itself a revolution—the change from the policy of *laissez-faire* to that of state-action, the change from Individualism to Collectivism. Many causes have doubtless contributed to effect this revolution, and many men. How far Matthew Arnold aided to bring it about may be difficult to determine. What is certain is that he inculcated and reiterated it so importunately that it seems ungenerous not to give him credit for at least some part of it.

'A true poet, and not only a poet, but a man, as we now see, with a far truer insight into the intellectual needs of his countrymen than any other writer of the closing quarter of the century.' It is thus that Mr John Morley writes of him in his recently published 'Life of Gladstone.' Only last year the Bishop of Hereford, addressing the British Association at Cambridge upon the subject of education, called attention again and yet again to the warning words of Matthew Arnold 'in his illuminating reports on the schools and universities of the Continent as he saw them thirty-seven years ago,' and to his advocacy of scientific system and method.

'Had some English statesman' (the Bishop said) 'been enabled to take up and give effect to Mr Arnold's chief suggestion, as Humboldt and his colleagues gave effect to their ideas in Prussia in the years 1808 and onwards, the advantage to our country to-day would have been incalculable.'

What Arnold cared for in education, as in affairs, was not administrative or practical detail, but wide and fresh views, and the introduction of a general philosophy and system by which the detail should be governed. In this region it is hardly possible to exaggerate the services which he rendered to his country. Of the ideas which slowly and gradually have come to the birth in English education Arnold had not, indeed, a monopoly—few inventors ever have a monopoly of their ideas. But at least they are all contained in Arnold. Hardly anywhere are any of them stated earlier, and nowhere are they stated earlier with such completeness as in his pages.

'Organise your primary education,' he said, even before the general establishment of primary education was recognised as a state duty. He laboured for its organisation. He laboured not less for its regulation. From the first moment that it was proposed he courageously contended with 'Bob Lowe'—a humble school-inspector with a powerful minister—against the introduction of 'payment by results.' It has died hard and slowly, but the first death-blow was dealt by Arnold's hand.

'Organise your secondary education,' he cried again, boldly overstepping his province in the cause of what he felt to be an obvious public need. Here, even more completely than in the sphere of primary education, we are living still on his ideas; his spirit still rules us from his urn. What was it he said at the outset?

'There must be a real Minister of education, supported by an Advisory Committee of educational experts. All schools and their courses must be inspected either by the Government or, for the Government, by the Universities. New secondary schools must be provided by local authorities up and down the country.'

The Bills of 1899 and 1902 were framed in close agreement with these lines. It may fairly be claimed that he suggested these ideas and also did much to create the public feeling necessary for their being carried into effect.

He was much laughed at for his supposed advocacy of a British academy. He did not advocate *any* academy. The German academy which he predicted we should one day have is an accomplished fact. The French academy which he said we should not have we have not got. If a Roman Catholic university is hereafter created in Ireland, it will be created because the feeling and the ideas which he toiled to infuse and inculcate have prevailed. If it is not created it will be because it will be wrecked on the very reef he always dreaded, because the forces which he recognised and deplored will have proved too strong. In all these things he was before his time. In all, his secret of keeping an open mind and letting a fresh stream of ideas, derived from quiet pondering on the best hitherto thought and written, play upon our everyday conceptions, may be said to be justified.

What then is the truth? Was he after all a prophet,

despite his flippancy, despite his airs, his persiflage, despite his white gloves, his pouncet-box? Had he a message for his generation? He certainly thought he had. He toiled and laboured, he rose up early and late took rest, he probably shortened his life, he certainly retarded his own worldly advancement, he forswore the darling Muses, in order to deliver it. Much of the prophet he undoubtedly possessed, yet he was not quite a prophet. He had not the prophet's intensity or abstraction. He did not retire enough either into the wilderness or into himself. Like his own Goethe, he occupied a middle place.

'Prophete rechts, Prophete links,
Das Weltkind in der Mitte.'

In his apt and discriminating stanzas, entitled 'In Laleham Churchyard,' Mr William Watson hints very happily the contrast between the disciple and his other master.

'Lulled by the Thames he sleeps, and not
By Rotha's wave.
'Tis fittest thus, for though with skill
He sang of beck and tarn and ghyll,
The deep authentic mountain-thrill
Ne'er shook his page;
Somewhat of worldling mingled still
With bard and sage.'

Moreover, even as a critic and even as a poet he lacks something. He did not concentrate enough. He did not remember Goethe's dictum—

'Wer Grosses will muss sich zusammen raffen;
In der Beschränkung zeigt sich erst der Meister.'

He did not give up all for poetry, like Tennyson, or for philosophy, like Herbert Spencer. Even his criticism is in a sense superficial. He did not go deep; he was more artist than scholar. His account of Heine is not exhaustive; he did not mean it to be. When Sir M. E. Grant-Duff offered him fuller information, he declined it. His account of Gray's infertility is brilliant, but, as Mr Tovey has shown, not supported by full consideration of Gray's life and character. His criticism was often a matter mainly, as Swinburne said, of 'studious felicity of exquisite phrase.' Yet in these very phrases critical

power of the highest was condensed. His *aperçus*, too, and his intuitions were those of genius. They set others thinking and working. His lectures on Celtic Literature, of which he said, with characteristic frankness, 'I know nothing,' are a capital instance.

So too his poetry is unequal. He is often compared to Gray 'going down the centuries with his thin volume under his arm.' The parallel is not a good one. A better, so far as it goes, though it does not go far, would be with Collins. A defective ear, an uncertain choice and mastery of metre, yet often a lovely, unsought, unaffected music, always a tender elegiac passion, a pure drawing and colouring of nature, a philosophic and scholarly aroma blended with exquisite delicacy of sentiment—these are characteristic of both. Poetry is, above all, an affair of genius and often largely of youth. Had Arnold given his life to it, to pure poetry, that is, not to any Wordsworthian inculcation of the 'main movement of ideas,' but to the poetry with which he began, he might have done some greater, stronger, more finished things. Who shall say? But he did enough and more than enough, it may be confidently asserted, for immortality. A spirit buoyant, blithe, and charming, a delightful private friend, a faithful public servant, a benefactor of the commonwealth in his own day, and to all after days a consummate critic and a true poet—to have been, to have achieved all this, is enough, is much.

'But seldom comes the Poet here,
And the Critic's rarer still!'

If each is rare taken singly how rare must the combination be! How rare it is!

T. Herbert Warren.

Art. X.—TARIFFS AND NATIONAL WELL-BEING.

1. *Modern Tariff History: Germany, United States, France.* By Percy Ashley. With a preface by the Right Hon. R. B. Haldane, M.P. London: Murray, 1904.
2. *The Rise and Decline of the Free-trade Movement.* By W. Cunningham, D.D. Cambridge: Clay, 1904.
3. *The History of the English Corn Laws.* By J. S. Nicholson, D.Sc. London: Sonnenschein, 1904.
4. *The Tariff: a Review of the Tariff Legislation of the United States from* 1812 *to* 1896. By William McKinley. New York and London: Putnam, 1904.
5. *Protection in France.* By H. O. Meredith. London: King, 1904.
6. *Protection in Germany.* By W. H. Dawson. London: King, 1904.
7. *The National System of Political Economy.* By Friedrich List. Translated by S. S. Lloyd. London: Longmans, 1904.
8. *The Return to Protection.* By William Smart. London: Macmillan, 1904.
9. *Economic Method and Economic Fallacies.* By W. W. Carlile. London: Arnold, 1904.
10. *Free Trade.* By the Right Hon. Lord Avebury. London: Macmillan, 1904.
11. *Work and Wages.* Part I: Foreign Competition. By S. J. Chapman. With an introduction by Lord Brassey. London: Longmans, 1904.
12. *The Progress of the German Working Classes in the last quarter of a century.* By W. J. Ashley. London: Longmans, 1904.
13. *The Organization of Agriculture.* By E. A. Pratt. London: Murray, 1904.
14. *Second Series of Memoranda, Statistical Tables, and Charts prepared by the Board of Trade.* [Cd. 2337.] London: Spottiswoode, 1904.
15. *Report of the Tariff Commission.* Vol. I: The Iron and Steel Trades. London: King, 1904.
16. *The Free-trader.* Vols I, II. Published by the Free Trade Union, 8 Victoria Street, Westminster.

And other works.

As the fiscal controversy proceeds, books take the place

of pamphlets, and speeches greatly multiply. The books, numerous as they are, range themselves into distinct classes. One class, which deals with the historical aspect of the question, includes the works in our list by Mr Percy Ashley, Dr Cunningham, Professor Nicholson, the late President McKinley, Mr Meredith, and Mr Dawson. Another series discusses the principles of political economy. Foremost amongst these is the classic work of List; other very valuable volumes are those by Professor Smart and Mr Carlile, both of whom discuss economic theories in relation to existing problems. A third class of works examines more closely the actual circumstances of national and international trade. This includes the treatises by Lord Avebury, Professor Chapman, and Mr Pratt, the new volume issued by the Board of Trade, and the first report of the Tariff Commission; while Professor W. J. Ashley enters upon a long, but not very convincing review of the condition of the working classes in Germany under Protection. If sound conclusions are not arrived at, it will not be from lack of guides. The first necessity, however, is to discover the actual issues as defined in the recent speeches of the leaders in fiscal reform.

In his very brief reference at Southampton to his own position, Mr Balfour stipulated that people should interpret his policy, not by other persons' commentaries, but by an examination of his own words. If words are clear, comments, no doubt, are useless. But are Mr Balfour's words clear? Lord Hugh Cecil, in his letter to the 'Times' of October 18, accepted the Edinburgh speech as dissociating Mr Balfour from Mr Chamberlain's Protectionism. The Duke of Devonshire, at Rawtenstall, could not imagine why Mr Balfour went out of his way to make that speech unless it was to repudiate 'the Protectionism which Mr Chamberlain is preaching.' Lord George Hamilton, at Ealing, declared that, if the speech had been made in the House of Commons last year, none of the free-trade members of the Cabinet would have felt it necessary to leave the Government. Mr Chaplin, on the other hand, finds no difference between Mr Balfour's Free Trade and Mr Chamberlain's Protectionism; and the Conservative party at Southampton accepted this view. To go to Mr Balfour's own words,

then, is absolutely necessary. 'What,' he asked, 'is a protective policy?' and he answered:—

'A protective policy, as I understand it, is a policy which *aims* at supporting or creating home industries by raising home prices.'

If he had said that a protective policy is one that supports or creates home industries by raising home prices, and that he would have nothing to do with such a policy, there would have been no room for cavilling. But he makes Protection depend upon the aim, and so lays himself open to Mr Chaplin's rejoinder: 'If the effect of the duty, whatever its object, be to protect,' the result is Protection. To make his meaning perfectly clear, Mr Balfour gave two illustrations. First, he said:—

'There are countries which are universally recognised as free-trade countries, but which yet have a general customs tariff for revenue purposes which is not balanced by a corresponding excise. Are these protective countries, or are they not? They are not, because the object of putting on the customs tax was revenue.'

It is, then, the object, not the effect, of the policy that, in Mr Balfour's opinion, determines whether a customs duty is protective or not. Clap a 20*s.* duty on imported wheat to raise revenue, and have no corresponding excise, and the customs duty will not be protective. Or adopt Mr Chamberlain's plan of reducing or removing the duties on food that is not produced in this country, and find compensation in wheat and meat taxes, and in duties on manufactured articles, and, on Mr Balfour's principle, there will be no Protection. The income-tax and the death-duties bring in about 40,000,000*l.* per annum. Abolish both, and make good the deficiency by an average tax of 50 per cent. *ad valorem* on imported manufactures (of course for revenue purposes only), and still there will be no Protection. On this theory, even the United States may claim to be a free-trade country.

Mr Balfour's second illustration was in these words:—

'I have always been in favour—that is part, indeed, of the Sheffield programme—of using our power of putting on taxation on foreign foods, where it seemed desirable, for the purpose of enabling us to negotiate arrangements with

foreign countries upon a basis favourable to our own manufacturers. Is that Protection?'

His answer is that it is not Protection; but the sentence in which he explains why it is not Protection is very confusing and is variously reported by different newspapers. What it seems to mean, however, is that a retaliatory duty would be a step towards Free Trade if the tax were 'paid by the foreigner and not by the British consumer' and therefore 'did not raise British prices,' while at the same time it 'induced the foreigner so to manipulate his tariff that the general cause of free interchange of goods' would be promoted. Here, then, we have Mr Balfour's own definition of his free-trade principles; and they are vital in this controversy. If the intention be to raise revenue, or to break down a foreign tariff, or to prevent dumping, it does not matter a pin whether—according to the first illustration—home prices are raised or not; the policy is not protective. By the second illustration, however, the raising of home prices is barred: the retaliatory tax must be paid by the foreigner. We must confess that we do not see any vital difference between Mr Balfour's views, as thus defined, and those of Mr Chamberlain, who has over and over again protested that the foreigner will pay the food taxes, while, on the question of Protection, he said, at an overflow meeting at Leeds:—

'If there is any one here in this hall who belongs to an industry that is going out of date, or cannot keep up with modern conditions, or that is purely artificial, or could be carried on better abroad, if there is any one of that character in this hall, I tell him frankly I do not propose to protect his industry.'

Nevertheless Mr Chamberlain's avowed intention is to protect native industries. His Protection is to be given to those industries that are not going out of date, that can keep up to modern conditions, that are not artificial, and that cannot be carried on better abroad. His pill is for those who are well, not for those who are ill. Mr Balfour, on the other hand, no longer objects to a general customs tariff—say Mr Chamberlain's average tariff of 10 per cent.—so long as it is proposed for revenue purposes; and he favours a fighting tariff against foreign high tariffs and dumping, without introducing the excep-

tions laid down by Mr Chamberlain, in the belief—which Mr Chamberlain at Luton endorsed—that retaliatory taxes will be paid by the foreigner and will not raise home prices.

If, however, there be no essential difference between Mr Balfour and Mr Chamberlain on the subject of Protection, there is one on the question of a colonial conference and Preference. On August 1, Mr Chamberlain said in the House of Commons that he entirely approved of Retaliation in principle, but was content to wait for details; and he thought Retaliation could be 'adopted at a much later stage,' whereas, if Preference were not adopted within a reasonable time, the offer would no longer remain open. Mr Balfour does not take this view at all. He places Retaliation first, and proposes a conference that could bring no practical results for years. He seeks to enter it pledged to nothing, and free to discuss everything affecting the empire, including colonial contribution to imperial defence. Mr Chamberlain is all in favour of this wider field of discussion; but at Luton he thought that, if the Colonies were invited to a conference not having authority to agree to taxes on food, or to conclude a bargain without reference to a plébiscite over the whole empire, they would be justified in regarding the invitation as insincere and in declining to attend it. The position, then, is that Mr Chamberlain, who initiated the fiscal controversy, insists that the first step in reform should be preferential tariff arrangements within the empire, and that Retaliation is not urgently needed; whereas Mr Balfour places Retaliation first, and would put off Preference indefinitely. One may well ask, in such circumstances, whether there can be any danger calling for a drastic remedy in either direction. For the present we propose to leave Preference aside, and to consider the broad question of Protection, which, of course, covers Retaliation as well. We begin with recognising that Mr Balfour's declaration in his 'Economic Notes'—'judged by all available tests, both the total wealth and the diffused well-being of the country are greater than they have ever been'—still holds good, and that he has never attempted to show that any particular trade or interest is in need of protection. He is still content to ask 'whether a fiscal system suited to a free-trade nation

in a world of free-traders remains suited in every detail to a free-trade nation in a world of protectionists.'

This, with Mr Balfour, is the crux of the whole question. Of course when he asks whether our free trade is suited 'in every detail' to conditions that may arise 'in all time,' no one would be so foolish as to say that it is. Time and circumstance must determine the policy to be pursued. But, if Mr Balfour's question be put in the only reasonable form that is possible, and it be enquired whether a free-trade nation can prosper in a protectionist world, an authority that should carry weight replies with an emphatic 'yes.' Mr Balfour's case against Free Trade rests on the fact that 'nationality has received an accession of strength' since Cobden's time, and that protectionist systems are segregating national industries. List was the great advocate of 'nationality' as against the cosmopolitanism of the Cobden school. 'I would indicate,' he writes in the preface to his 'National System of Political Economy,' 'as the distinguishing characteristic of my system, Nationality.' In this famous work he gave the tone to every argument that is used in all lands by the advocates of the principle of rendering nations self-dependent by the creation and preservation of varied national industries, and of regarding present cost as of little consequence in comparison with the ultimate benefits to be derived. All the arguments that are used by Mr Balfour and Mr Chamberlain now—even down to those about dumping—are, in fact, to be found in the pages of List, written more than sixty years ago. Yet we read:—

'History teaches us how nations which have been endowed by nature with all resources which are requisite for the attainment of the highest grade of wealth and power, may and must—without on that account forfeiting the end in view—modify their systems according to the measure of their own progress; in the first stage, adopting free trade with more advanced nations as a means of raising themselves from a state of barbarism, and of making advances in agriculture; in the second stage, promoting the growth of manufactures, fisheries, navigation, and foreign trade by means of commercial restrictions; and in the last stage, after reaching the highest degree of wealth and power, by gradually reverting to the principle of free trade and of unrestricted competition in the home as well as in foreign markets, that so their agriculturists, manu-

facturers, and merchants may be preserved from indolence and stimulated to retain the supremacy which they have acquired. In the first stage we see Spain, Portugal, and the kingdom of Naples; in the second, Germany and the United States of North America; France apparently stands close upon the boundary line of the last stage; but Great Britain alone at the present time has actually reached it.' (Transl. p. 93.)

In List's opinion, indeed, Great Britain's mistake was not the adoption of Free Trade when that policy was espoused, but failure to adopt it in 1815. Mr Chamberlain has more than once spoken of the possibility of our decline to the position of a third or fourth-rate or even, as he said at Welbeck, a fifth-rate power—to the state, as List has put it, of Spain or Naples—but he has failed to find statistics in support of his pessimism; and Mr Balfour's admission of the unparalleled wealth of the country, and of its general diffusion, forbids us to place Great Britain in any class lower than List's highest. If we have fallen back into the intermediate position, and France, Germany, and the United States have risen to the highest stage of economic development, then, indeed, it is time for us to return to Protection, and for our three great and successful competitors, in their own interests, to adopt Free Trade. This is List's theory; and there has been no more 'scientific protectionist' than he. But France and Germany, instead of admitting that they have reached List's highest stage, are raising their tariff walls higher; while the United States, though still clinging to Protection, is groaning under the tyranny of monopolies and yearning for a lowering of the protective tariff, and at least one of the two great American parties adopts the reduction of the tariff, if as yet hesitatingly, as a plank in its platform.

A wise policy does not aim at averting evils that may possibly present themselves fifty or a hundred years hence. It is therefore scarcely worth while to discuss Mr Balfour's fear that somewhere in the distant future the food-exporting countries of the present may supply themselves with all the manufactured goods they will require, and consume all the food they produce. Mr Chamberlain deals more directly with actualities, or at all events attempts to do so. His figures may be only used as illustrations, and his dead and dying industries

may show an inconvenient vitality; but he nevertheless puts before the country alluring promises. He is going to increase employment. His fiscal reforms may add to the cost of living, but he does not think so. His manipulation of the tariff may add to the burden of taxation, but he disputes that proposition. His new tariff may diminish imports and react upon exports, but he anticipates no such result, because the Colonies will, in his opinion, more than make good any loss there may be in the foreign trade. Mr Chamberlain has not proved any of these propositions; he invites the country to accept them on his authority, and trusts to his Tariff Commission to find good reasons and practical methods for carrying his policy into effect.

Unfortunately for Mr Chamberlain, he has made many definite assertions that facts do not support; and, when he asks to have his theories and promises accepted as gospel, these miscarriages are remembered. Old-age pensions need not be dwelt upon. At Greenock he said that within two or three years ten million tons of American iron would be dumped into this country. More than a year—a year of dull trade—has elapsed, and it has not begun to come. He said, 'You will see many ironworks closed, and many others continued at a loss, struggling for better times.' But it is in America that ironworks have been closed. 'Hundreds of thousands of English workmen' were to be thrown out of employment 'to make room for hundreds of thousands of American workmen,' who were to be kept in employment during bad times by dumping their products upon England. It has been in America that the 'hundreds of thousands' of unemployed workmen were to be found. Take another of Mr Chamberlain's fables. At Leeds he said we must either pull down foreign tariffs or meet tariff with tariff, and the effect would be that, 'instead of our manufacturers taking their work away, foreign manufacturers would bring their work here.' At Limehouse, discussing the alien immigration question, he said the same thing. He had two contradictory propositions to prove, and his arguments were mutually destructive. He had to show that in protected countries the condition of the working classes was all that could be desired. This he proved in his usual way by his own assertion. Then he had to

prove that working people here were being ruined by hungry alien immigrants, and by the importation of the products of 'sweated' workers in his flourishing protected countries. Behind the wretched aliens who have flooded the East-end of London, and who have reached Leeds and Scotland, there are 'millions of the same kind,' Mr Chamberlain says; and yet he also asserts that in every protected country 'without exception' the working classes have been making more progress under Protection than British workmen under Free Trade. British capitalists, he says, are setting up works abroad. But American manufacturers have already opened great businesses here. Professor Carlile, arguing, in his excellent work on 'Economic Method and Economic Fallacies,' that Free Trade gives access to the widest market, quotes (p. 260) Mr Ewing Matheson, who asks why it is that

'under present conditions the manufacturers of the United States must come to this country if they wish to supply us or our colonies to advantage? The largest American boiler-makers have their works in Scotland; there also is the Singer's sewing-machine factory; Messrs Frazer and Chalmers of Chicago and San Francisco, the most notable manufacturers of mining machinery in the world, have their works near London; the largest makers and installers of electric plant in the world, the Thomson-Houston Company, are at Rugby; Westinghouse makes his electric machines and gas engines at Manchester; and the American Screw Company have their works at Leeds.'

'How,' Mr Carlile asks, 'could any or all of this be the case if it were true that Protection necessarily secured wider and safer markets than Free Trade?' Yet another American industry, it appears, is to be opened in this country. The 'Manchester Guardian' has announced (Dec. 1, 1904) that the American Car Foundry Company, which already has fifteen large works in the United States, has acquired a site at Trafford Park for erecting large works for the manufacture of railway wagons and carriages, and that the labour to be employed will represent 15,000*l.* to 20,000*l.* per annum. There is no need to abandon Free Trade in order to attract foreign capital.

At Leeds Mr Chamberlain further boasted of the success of the Sugar Convention, which we have since been

told by Mr Long was largely attributable to Mr Chamberlain. The Convention, he said, was carried by a threat of retaliation. And much good it has done us! At a cost to the nation of from 8,000,000*l.* to 10,000,000*l.* per annum we have, indeed, secured for the West Indies an advantage of something like 75,000*l.* a year, but we have also stimulated Swiss and French competition in the confectionery trades to the disadvantage of home workers and manufacturers. Mr Chamberlain himself, writing to Messrs Icke and Sharp of Birmingham on November 30, admits that continental confectionery of inferior quality is taking the place of confectionery previously supplied by this country, but he does not reply to Messrs Icke and Sharp's complaint that, owing to the Sugar Convention, Swiss manufacturers are able to buy sugar at less than half the price that British makers have to pay, and that, 'unless relief is forthcoming, the confectionery industry will be practically stamped out here owing to the importation of foreign confectionery.' So long as sugar in Switzerland—which is outside the Sugar Convention—is only half the price that it is here, it is useless to argue that sugar is dear here, not because of the Convention, but because of a short crop. The immediate result of the stoppage of the dumping of sugar has been a permanent loss of capital and a reduction, not an increase, of employment. When a statesman has thus erred in his prognostications as to the probable course of events in the immediate future, there is good reason for declining to accept, on his personal authority, theories of taxation that would uproot the existing system under which the country has prospered and still prospers.

When Mr Chamberlain descends to particulars, he is no more successful than when he prophesies or propounds general principles. At Welbeck and at Luton he spoke upon agriculture. At Welbeck he said:—

'There never was a prophet who was more unfortunate in his predictions than Mr Cobden, who promised that the repeal of the Corn Laws would stimulate the demand for agricultural labour. Has it done so? . . . It has thrown one half of the agricultural labour of the country out of employment. He told you that it would not throw a single acre out of cultivation or lessen production by a single bushel, but the producing

of corn in this country at the present time is less by sixty millions of bushels.' ('Times,' Aug. 5, 1904.)

If Mr Cobden held this opinion he was not alone in holding it. It was shared by List, whose conviction was that agriculture would flourish most when it had a great industrial market by its side. 'The most important division of occupations,' he wrote (p. 127), 'and the most important co-operation of productive powers in material production, is that of agriculture and manufacture. Both depend mutually upon one another.' Broadly speaking List and Cobden were right. Agriculture in England prospered greatly for fully twenty years after the Corn Laws were repealed. But it may be said there was a diminution in the number of people engaged in it; and that employment is the test. Yet employment is not the whole test; wages must be regarded too; and wages rose during that period. If the employment test is to be applied, it is necessary to look farther back. It was not under Free Trade that the decrease of the agricultural population began. Professor Nicholson, in his 'History of the English Corn Laws,' mentions (p. 119) that the families employed in agriculture declined from 35·2 per cent. in 1811 to 25·9 per cent. in 1841; that 'between 1821 and 1831 there was an absolute decrease in the number of families in agriculture, in spite of an increase of about 19 per cent. in the aggregate number of families in Great Britain'; and that after 1831, when the figures of the actual individual workers became ascertainable, there was an actual decrease in the number of adult males employed in agriculture, though there was an increase in the population of over two millions. This diminution was largely due to the increased use of improved agricultural implements and methods. If, however, Mr Chamberlain's contention be conceded, and it be admitted that under Free Trade the agricultural population has declined, proof is needed that the change has been disadvantageous to the worker or to the nation. He says himself that wages have risen, but that agricultural labourers are *still* the 'worst paid labourers in the United Kingdom.' If, under Protection, the rustic was worse paid than the artisan, why blame Free Trade for not improving his relative position? or why blame the labourer for quitting

agricultural for more remunerative employment? And, if the position of the labourer be eliminated, it is still necessary to show that the present condition of agriculture is less satisfactory than under Protection, and that what is unsatisfactory in it is due to Free Trade.

Mr Chamberlain says that the improvement in the condition of the agricultural labourer or the worker during the first thirty years of Free Trade was due to 'the development of trade, which was brought about by the progress of invention and by the discovery of gold in Australia and America, and which raised his wages and increased his employment.' Let this theory be accepted. Did invention and discovery of gold close in the early seventies? or have changes wholly apart from tariffs during the last, as in the preceding, thirty years, and as in the years between 1815 and 1845, exercised a more potent influence than tariffs upon agriculture since 1872? Everybody knows that the filling up of the fertile prairie lands of America and Canada, the introduction of labour-saving machinery, the improvement and cheapening of transit by sea and land, and cheap money, have been the most potent influences in cheapening agricultural produce during the last thirty years. To say in such circumstances that Free Trade has brought about all these results, while it had no influence previous to 1872, is either a recognition of its immeasurable indirect influence for good or a ridiculous misrepresentation of well-authenticated facts. If Free Trade has enabled protectionist America and Russia to sell wheat cheaply in England; if it has made it possible for protectionist New Zealand to place 'Canterbury Lamb' on English dinner-tables; if, because of it, Canada can give homesteads free of charge to hundreds of thousands of immigrants who consequently sit rent free; if it covers Australian plains with sheep until their owners can supply the world with wool—then, indeed, Free Trade has conferred immense benefits upon protectionist countries and colonies, and upon England as well.

If Free Trade has not refuted, it has necessitated a modification of the theory of List that agriculture prospers most when great national industries are carried on in the same country. It is not physical proximity that secures prosperity for agriculture, but cheapness of

production and of communication with industrial markets. Virgin or sparsely populated soil ensures cheapness of production; cheap iron and steel, cheap railroads and ships, perfected organisation and mechanical appliances, and, for perishable goods, refrigeration, ensure cheapness of communication with markets, so that American and New Zealand meat-producers, the wool-growers of Australia, South Africa, and Argentina, the wheat and fruit-producers and the ranchmen of Canada, the United States, and La Plata, can now reach the English market more readily than some farmers can who are living almost within sight of great centres of industrial population in England. These are the people whom Mr Chamberlain tries to persuade that a 2*s.* duty on corn and a 5 per cent. tax on other farm products, except bacon and maize, will restore prosperity to British agriculture and to landowners their lost millions, bring happy times to farmers, increase employment, secure higher wages for agricultural labourers, and stop the migration of the rural population to towns or to foreign countries or to the Colonies —or to the workhouse. He 'bases his arguments upon the experience of foreign countries,' and he 'cannot help thinking that our neighbours in France, for instance, manage these matters better than we do ourselves.' Well, look at France, remembering Mr Chamberlain's declaration that the cause of misery before the repeal of the Corn Laws was 'not the price of corn, but the lack of employment.' An excellent history of 'Protection in France' has been written by Mr H. O. Meredith, who gives (p. 174) a statement of the percentage of unemployed returned by trade-unions in France and in the United Kingdom since June 1895. The table is too large for reproduction, but the yearly averages may be conveniently summarised as follows :—

Unemployed in	1895.	1896.	1897.	1898.	1899.	1900.	1901.	1902.
France	4·7	6·3	7·2	9·4	8·0	7·7	9·6	11·3
United Kingdom .	4·4	3·0	3·0	2·3	2·0	2·5	3·2	4·2

The percentage of unemployed unionist workers, who represent, as a rule, the most skilful and profitable labour

of the country, varies, it will be seen, from twice as many in France in 1896 to four times as many in 1899; and over the whole period there were 8 per cent. of unemployed in France compared with 3·1 per cent. in the United Kingdom. A striking feature in the comparison is that it is in the winter months that France compares to the greatest disadvantage with the United Kingdom. In the winters of 1898–99 and 1899–1900 the proportion of unemployed in France was from four to six times as large as the proportion in this country, and in subsequent years from twice to three times as many. If, then, employment be Mr Chamberlain's test, the experience of France is strongly against him. If the wages test be applied it is next to impossible to give an answer of any kind that will find general acceptance. It must necessarily be discussed in connexion with the cost of living, the purchasing power of money, working hours, conditions of work, regularity of employment, and other complex problems that afford innumerable possibilities of error. On matters of this kind the new Blue-book (Cd. 2337) is a mine of information embodying the results of original research into the cost of living, fluctuations in employment, pauperism, emigration, savings-bank deposits, and the effect of customs duties upon the price of food. But statistics are not collected and arranged on the same lines by Great Britain, Germany, France, the United States, and other countries; and accurate international comparisons are impossible. Tendencies only are illustrated; and, on the whole, the British figures are at least as indicative of steady improvement in the conditions of working-class life as those of any other country. In regard to employment and the cost of poor relief, they are especially favourable, and give no support to the theory that in protectionist countries the working population is making more progress than in England. Mr Meredith's conclusion is (p. 157) that 'Protection has caused French trade and French shipping to expand more slowly than would otherwise have been the case,' and (p. 185) that the same slackening tendency 'is seen in the statistics of wages, of working-class consumption, and of national wealth.'

Mr Chamberlain urges that the number of small holders of land should be increased, and remarks that,

with the 5,000,000 of small holders in France and the hundreds of thousands of small holders in Ireland, the bogey of the dear loaf has no meaning whatever. This may be; but it is something new to have Ireland with its peasant owners and congested districts held up for British imitation; and Mr Chamberlain destroys the force of his Irish illustration of the value of a small peasantry by insisting at Limehouse that, though 'Ireland is probably at this moment richer than it ever was in its whole history,' Irish agriculture has nevertheless been ruined, and no other industry has been found to take its place. So Ireland has become unprecedentedly wealthy while its only industry has been ruined in spite of its peasant proprietary! The existence of peasant proprietors in France was not brought about by Protection, any more than Protection, when we had it here, created a peasant proprietary in this country. Even before the great Revolution, when the French feudal system was broken up, peasants owned about one third of the soil of France; and, to get to the beginnings of peasant ownership in that country, we must go back for centuries. If Mr Chamberlain could create a peasant proprietary in Great Britain he would no doubt effect a great social and, it may be, a great economic revolution; but if such a peasantry would, as he says, be unaffected by the question of the big or the little loaf, it is not evident how a 2*s.* corn duty or a tax of 5 per cent. on meat would help them. On what can be done for agriculture by organisation we have a most valuable little work by Mr E. A. Pratt. His object, as stated by himself, is 'to give a general survey of that movement in favour of agricultural organisation which is now spreading practically throughout the civilised world.' After reviewing in detail agricultural conditions in almost every civilised country of the globe, he concludes that

'in foreign countries changes in agricultural methods and a widespread resort to combination have brought about remarkable improvements in agricultural conditions . . . that there is, at least, a prospect of England attaining to a practical scheme of agricultural combination on the lines successfully resorted to by foreign countries ten, twenty, or even five-and-twenty years ago; and that much more good is likely to result from encouragement of these efforts, and from a

genuine attempt on the part of the farmers themselves to co-operate among themselves and to adapt their methods to railway conditions, than would follow merely from a blind persistence in unreasonable complaints and more or less unfounded allegations.'

When protests are entered against returning to the old protectionist system, Mr Chamberlain replies :—

'I never had the slightest idea that we could go back to those old times before the abolition of the Corn Laws, in which it so happened that there was very little employment in manufacturing industries, and, at the same time, there was great distress amongst the agricultural classes.'

No doubt his intention is to limit himself to a low tariff, but he cannot speak for other people; and all foreign experience teaches that tariffs have an almost irresistible tendency to rise. A peasant proprietary in a country that does not export its agricultural produce is always in favour of protective duties, and is never satisfied with duties that do not protect. Professor W. J. Ashley points out (p. 54) that in the first half of the nineteenth century Germany was in advance of England in the practical application of the principles of Free Trade; and that Prussia, within the Zollverein, remained the champion of a relatively free-trade policy, 'because, among other reasons, her squirearchy was anxious to maintain its export of grain to England.' This, on the whole, remained the policy of the German agrarians until 1875, the year that 'represents the high-water mark of the free-trade movement in Germany.' France had precisely the same experience after 1815. The French agriculturists, who were interested in the exportation of wine and brandy to England, were in favour of a low tariff on English manufactures; but French manufacturers were violent protectionists, and so too were the farmers where the importation of wool and corn was concerned. Consequently, Protection was riveted on France, and was not materially relaxed, as Mr Percy Ashley shows in his 'Modern Tariff History,' until the Second Empire. Under Napoleon III,

'duties were reduced on coal, pig-iron, steel, wool, dye-woods, cotton, etc.; under the stimulus of a sharp rise in prices,

the rates on cattle, meat, wines, and other foodstuffs were lowered; and in 1853 the sliding scale regulating the movement of grain was suspended, free admission was granted to materials for shipbuilding, and the restrictions on foreign shipping were greatly reduced.'

At the present time America is entering upon a new era in which the West, which has heretofore been Free Trade, will probably gravitate towards Protection, and a manufacturing industry will clamour for Free Trade. That manufacturing industry is the flour-milling trade, which is beginning seriously to need Canadian wheat to keep its mills going. The farmers, no longer able to do more than supply the home market with wheat, will, on the contrary, demand effective protection from the introduction of Canadian wheat, upon which now a rebate of 99 per cent. of duty is being allowed when converted into flour for export. In all countries where agricultural and manufacturing industries exist side by side a time comes when conflict arises on the question of Protection.

French hostility to the fiscal policy of the Second Empire was reinforced by irresistible influences when, in 1871, the indemnity had to be paid to Germany. A high tariff became a necessity; but, as it was imposed for revenue purposes, Mr Balfour would deny that it was protective and call it free-trade. Whatever it was then, it is protective now. The French duty (Cd. 1761, p. 128) on wheat has increased elevenfold, on fresh meat twelvefold, on salt meat sevenfold, on butter eightfold, on cheese threefold, since higher protection was resumed; and since 1892 the duties on imported live cattle have been doubled. The tariff wall in France has steadily been raised higher, and what has been the result? Mr Percy Ashley (p. 357) sums it up thus:—

'In the great industrial and commercial expansion of the last decade of the nineteenth century France had little share; her coal and metal industries show progress which is satisfactory only if the growth elsewhere be ignored; on her textile industries (if cotton be excluded), even so moderately favourable a judgment seems hardly possible; her shipping is stationary. Agriculture is doing fairly well, with the aid of strong Protection, and opinions as to the condition of the peasantry are divided; but there is little movement forward.'

This accords with the conclusion of Mr Meredith previously quoted, and gives no encouragement to protectionist theories, or to Mr Chamberlain's hope that trifling customs duties will bring prosperity.

What is German experience? Germany, like France, was carried into Protection by the war of 1870, but by the operation of different economic influences. What caused Prince Bismarck to substitute Protection for his previous policy of Free Trade was confusion in the imperial finances and the inflation produced by the spending of the French milliards, followed by the inevitable collapse. The position is very well described by Mr Percy Ashley (pp. 54–58). Much of the indemnity was paid in bills of exchange and much in gold. The result was a great increase in imports, while exports remained stationary; public works were undertaken; prices rose; means of production were developed to excess; over-capitalisation and overproduction followed. The empire was soon in a position to supply more than its own needs. Just at this crisis bad harvests in England brought on depression here; and British manufacturers 'dumped' their products on Germany. America at the same time began to pour in food; and the imperial German exchequer ran short of money. Mr Dawson ('Protection in Germany,' pp. 28–30) tells the same story.

'The dispersal of the milliards upon railways, fortifications, and public works and buildings of various kinds, gave for a time great impetus to industry, and the iron and steel trades especially expanded enormously; but the eventual reaction caused wholesale disaster.'

'As wages had gone up with a bound . . . so they came down with a crash.' The 'depression reached its climax in 1876 and 1877,' when 'industry stood still and labour walked the streets idle and discontented.' These were the circumstances in which Germany adopted Protection. The movement, on Mr Balfour's theory, was a free-trade movement in so far as it was meant to replenish the treasury—and this was Bismarck's main purpose; in other respects it was protective; but the whole situation was the product of abnormal conditions. Germany had no reason to complain of want of progress under Free Trade. Within the Zollverein trade had flourished. Mr

Dawson says (p. 29) that the production of pig-iron was 905,000 tons in 1864, and had risen in 1869 to 1,413,000 tons; while the deposits in Prussian savings-banks, which were 5,400,000 thalers in 1835, became 12,500,000 in 1845; 32,200,000 in 1855; 143,500,000 in 1868; 172,000,000 in 1871, and 217,000,000 in 1872. In reverting to Protection Bismarck was influenced not so much by fiscal as by political considerations. The empire was young, and each state included within it had to contribute its quota of any deficit in the revenue that might remain after the imperial taxes had been applied to imperial expenditure. Bismarck dreaded the political effect of these matricular contributions on the solidarity of the empire, and wished to make the tax-revenue meet the whole expenditure, if not also to leave a balance for distribution amongst the several states. In opening the debate on the Tariff Bill on May 2, 1879, he declared that the condition of imperial finance imperatively called for reform; that the constitution presumed that 'the condition of matricular contributions should be a transitional one'; and that it was undesirable that the empire should be a burdensome boarder or a dunning creditor, while it might be a liberal provider for the individual states if only proper use were made of the revenues which the constitution put in the empire's way, but which hitherto had been disregarded.

To effect this transformation was Prince Bismarck's 'first motive'; but the matricular contributions still exist. At the present time they amount to 1,187,500*l.*; and there is some controversy as to the proportion in which they should be borne by the several states. Protection in Germany, therefore, has failed in its first object. Bismarck's second object was to substitute indirect for direct taxation. According to the euphemism employed by fiscal reformers, this is to 'broaden the basis of taxation'; it is so with the coal tax, the sugar tax, the corn tax, and similar imposts. Bismarck had a strong bias against direct and towards indirect taxation. 'I declare myself,' he said in the Reichstag on November 2, 1875, 'to be essentially favourable to the raising of all possible revenue by indirect taxes, and I hold direct taxes to be an onerous and awkward makeshift.' Has this policy succeeded? At the present time, as in former

years, Germany is face to face with a heavy deficit, but cannot venture upon increased internal taxation; and the tariff has been raised to the highest possible limit. The deficit is therefore being met by borrowing. Before the Boer war began, the United Kingdom had been steadily paying off the national debt by large annual instalments. Germany, under its protectionist system, has been as steadily building up a national debt in a time of peace. Herr Bebel remarked in the Reichstag on December 5, 1904, that since 1888 the imperial debt had increased fourfold; and he added that the great evil of the present system of finance is the practice of voting loans in aid of ordinary estimates. The Finance Minister, Baron von Stengal, had already, on December 4, warned the Reichstag that their system could not be continued indefinitely, and that the empire must be prepared for new taxes. This is not success. The Prussian tariff has failed in its second object.

Bismarck's third object was Protection. He said:—

'We ask for a moderate protection of national labour. We are far removed from any system of prohibition such as exists in most neighbouring countries, as, for example, in America.'

What was the underlying principle of the American system that Bismarck would not follow? Dr Cunningham, in his history of 'the Free-trade Movement,' shows (p. 59) that England's exclusion of foreign wheat caused other nations, 'in self-defence, to try to supply themselves with hardware and textiles as best they could.' America was in this way impelled to set up home industries, and very naturally determined to protect them. Mr McKinley, in 'The Tariff, 1812–1896,' quotes (p. 5) from Mr Clay's speech of March 31, 1824, the following passage, which, he says, 'is to this day a strong and effective argument for the protective policy':—

'The creation of a home market is not only necessary to produce for our agriculture a just reward for its labors, but it is indispensable to obtain a supply of our necessary wants. If we cannot sell we cannot buy. The sole object of the tariff is to tax the produce of foreign industry with a view to promoting American industry.'

This was not Bismarck's object. It is Mr Chamberlain's.

But, like Mr Chamberlain, Bismarck's intention was to keep the tariff low. It is not necessary to review German economic history since the revival of Protection to show that the 'moderate' tariff of 1879 caused Germany's continental neighbours to raise their tariffs also; that it brought on tariff wars; that, after the tariff was carried higher in 1885, there was a reaction towards lighter duties in the Caprivi tariff of 1892; and that the expiration of the Caprivi tariff at the close of the year 1902 has been followed by a fighting and a conventional tariff, both of which are highly protectionist. It is, however, worth while to remember that, in supporting the high tariff of 1885, Bismarck said:—

'I hope that the price of corn may increase. I hold its increase to be necessary. There must be a limit beyond which the State must try to raise the price of corn.'

Prince Bismarck had the courage of his convictions, and did not pin himself to a 2*s.* duty on corn. The 1885 duties, however, did not keep up the prices of agricultural products; these steadily declined until the lowest point was reached in 1887. In Austria, Hungary, and Holland it was not reached until a year later, and in England, Denmark, and Russia not until 1889. In 1887, therefore, the agricultural tariff was further increased; state-railway rates were revised; and veterinary regulations were introduced, aiming at the exclusion of foreign live-stock. The general results, Mr Dawson finds (p. 97), were that

'dearer food, rising rents, and heavier taxation, combined to nullify the advantage of freer earnings; and the actual condition of labour was no better. In 1891 and 1892 the cost of living was higher in Germany than ever since Protection was reintroduced.'

'It is important to observe also' (Mr Percy Ashley remarks, p. 102) 'that the industrialisation of Germany is marked by the same general features as the economic history of England after the industrial revolution. There is the same rapid growth of the towns (an increase as astonishing as that of the American cities), and the same decline in the agricultural population, which in 1870 was about one half, and in 1900 about one third of the whole, having fallen both relatively and actually.'

Even under a protectionist system, therefore, Mr Chamber-

lain would have had to deplore a migration of the rural population to the towns. In spite of Professor Ashley's evidence of the increase in the number of peasant proprietors, agriculture in Germany is not in a happy condition. The landowners, Mr Dawson says (p. 233), after a quarter of a century's protection, 'plead perpetual impoverishment'; and the housing of the rural labourer 'is for the most part, not merely inadequate and primitive, but unworthy of human beings, while the poverty of the people makes domestic comfort out of the question,' (p. 231). It was by the power of the discontented agrarians that the excessively high tariff of 1902 was forced upon Count von Bülow; and it was pushed through the Reichstag against commercial and industrial opposition by a combination of clerical, Conservative, and National Liberal groups. Summing up the results of the economic policy of Germany during the last quarter of a century, Mr Dawson writes (p. 181):—

'A fair verdict upon Protection from the purely economic standpoint would be that, while it has undoubtedly preserved the home market for the home producers to a far larger extent than formerly, it has done this at the cost of the consumers. The manufacturing classes have greatly benefited; but their gain has been the loss of the rest of society. But an economy which does not promote the interests of society as a whole cannot by any right use of the term be called a national economy; it is a class economy, pure and simple. And this is what the policy of Protection has gradually become in Germany.'

This too, it may be remarked, is the accusation brought by Democrats against Protection in America. Mr McKinley, in 'The Tariff,' quotes (p. 49) the following Democratic 'declaration of principles' in the presidential campaign of 1876:—

'We denounce the present tariff, levied upon nearly four thousand articles, as a masterpiece of injustice, inequality, and false pretence. It yields a dwindling, not a yearly rising revenue. It has impoverished many industries to subsidise a few. It prohibits imports that might purchase the products of American labour. It has degraded American commerce from the first to an inferior rank on the high seas. It has cut down the sales of American manufactures at home and

abroad, and depleted the returns of American agriculture—an industry followed by half our people. It costs the people five times more than it produces to the Treasury, obstructs the processes of production, and wastes the fruits of labor. It promotes fraud, fosters smuggling, enriches dishonest officials, and bankrupts honest merchants.'

There is all the vigour of American phraseology in the denunciation; but the natural resources of the States and the opportunities of the home market are so great that the ill effects of Protection have not yet been realised by the American people, and even the Democrats are only free-traders of the Balfourian type.

To suppose that Protection is generally favoured in Germany would be a complete misapprehension. Mr Dawson remarks (p. 183) that 'the manufacturing and merchant classes are no more protectionist in a body than are the same classes in England,' and

'many of the most sagacious spokesmen of industry contend that a return to Free Trade would equip Germany far more efficiently than in the past to compete for trade on a large and imposing scale in the markets of the world.'

That is to say, these enlightened advocates of Free Trade are the true followers of List. They feel themselves handicapped by Protection. They believe that Germany has reached the highest stage of industrial development, and can now venture upon a contest with England on equal terms in the neutral markets of the world with better hope of success than is possible while they have to fight behind a high tariff that protects them at home but is a barrier to their progress elsewhere. Professor Ashley, strangely enough, concludes his review of the 'Progress of the German Working Classes in the last quarter of a century' with evidence in support of this opinion. He shows (p. 152) that German workmen are beginning to crave 'the English working time,' and that (p. 153) 'it looks as if the German working men were not likely to need our compassion much longer.' But his contention, of course, is that, though the conditions of life are better here, as Germany is coming up to the English level under Protection, she will soon leave England behind. If this were so, Germany would need no protection against England. Neither Germans, Frenchmen, nor Americans share

Professor Ashley's opinions; but they are the opinions of Mr Chamberlain.

We see then that, whether Protection has succeeded or failed in Germany, the experience of that empire negatives the theory that it can be kept within 'moderate' limits. French, German, and American examples all go to show that, the more a country protects itself, the stronger the demand becomes for a still higher wall; and that, only when the results of high Protection become intolerable to the mass of the people, can the vested interest of protected industries be overcome and some modification of the tariff be effected. The moderate Protection that Mr Chamberlain advocates would therefore inevitably become high Protection, under which trusts and combines might indeed be freed from dumping, but at the cost of all other interests in the country; while the diminution of imports that he seeks to effect would, if it came, produce a deficit in the national income and automatically react upon exports to the great detriment of all shipping interests and to the prejudice of the great exporting industries.

Are we then to sit still, to allow other countries that wall us out of their markets freely to enter ours, and to assume that so long as we have free imports all will be well? Far from it. But we may at least recognise that while, next to India, Germany and the United States are our largest customers, it is nonsense to speak of being excluded from their markets. We have also to recognise that for the security of our food supply, and the supply of raw materials, we need a world-wide market to buy in; and that a policy that aims at the creation of a self-contained empire necessarily aims also at a curtailment of the area from which we draw supplies, and involves all the dangers that would result from droughts in Australia, India, and South Africa, and frosts in Canada. When we examine in detail the conditions under which various industries are conducted and the nature of the foreign competition they have to overcome, it soon becomes evident that there is no universal pill by which the multiplicity of ailments that assail them may be cured, Each industry or group of industries has its own special difficulties and dangers. These must be ascertained before

they can be surmounted; and such as are not caused by Free Trade cannot be cured by its reversal.

Mr Chamberlain has appointed a Commission to enquire into and report on his fiscal proposals—their probable effect; whether any, and, if so, what modifications in them may be desirable; how conflicting interests may best be harmonised; and what, if any, duties should be imposed. The reference is obviously too narrow. It is not Mr Chamberlain's proposals only but all the conditions affecting British industries that need investigation. The first report issued by the Commission deals with the iron and steel trade, but it covers only a portion of the iron and steel industries; and a consideration of one section of allied industries that takes no account of the interests of other sections is of no practical value. Even this report, however, finds that defects in education, the burden of local rates, short working hours and high wages, heavy transport charges by land and water, and less perfect organisation, are amongst the influences that are adversely affecting the British iron and steel trades. Dumping is, of course, denounced; but it is not shown that the suppression of dumping, if that were possible, would not lead to high prices here, and inflict upon the engineering, machinery, shipbuilding, hardware, hollow-ware, and cutlery trades more harm than would be compensated for by the good that would be done to the iron and steel trades—that, in fact, the most highly skilled trades would not be injured for the benefit of the more elementary and less profitable industries. After all, it has to be remembered that there is an automatic check upon dumping, and that, as is well said by Professor Chapman in 'Work and Wages' (p. 14), the amount which it may pay to sell abroad at a low price cannot be indefinitely increased. This has been demonstrated by the Steel Trust failing to dump in accordance with Mr Chamberlain's prophecy.

Professor Chapman finds that in American coal-mines in 1900 there were 3907 coal-cutting machines at work, and that these machines reduce the cost of coal-getting between 15 and 17 per cent.; that compressed-air locomotives and electric motors are rapidly taking the place of mules underground, and are effecting further economies; and that a coal-elevator has been invented which is

expected to do for 10*d.* per ton what has been costing from 1*s.* 7*d.* to 2*s.* The result of American methods is that the average price of American coal at the pit's mouth is given as 5*s.* 3¾*d.* against 10*s.* 9¾*d.* in the United Kingdom, though wages are higher in America. There is no possibility of equalising matters by a customs duty here. The remedies lie on the surface, if the American methods are applicable in English mines. If they are not, a tariff will not help us. Turning to the iron and steel trade, it should be remembered that there has been no displacement of labour in Great Britain; the output continues to increase, but at a less rapid rate than in Germany or the United States, whose population also exceeds that of this country. The Chamberlain Commission finds that iron and steel can be produced here as cheaply as elsewhere. This, then, may be taken as granted. But Prof. Chapman quotes the late Sir Lowthian Bell (p. 63) as writing in 1867 that

'among the higher officers engaged in French mines and ironworks you will find, more frequently than is the case with ourselves, gentlemen of considerable attainments in the physical sciences.'

In 1886 there had been some improvement; but still Sir Lowthian Bell wrote:—

'There are to be found instances of highly educated men attached to the laboratories now so common in our large ironworks; but I am not sure whether chemists of the higher class are not more frequently met with on the continent of Europe than in British establishments.'

In 1896 a delegation from the British iron and steel trade visited Germany and were astonished at the perfection of German workshops. Major Patchett had never seen works 'where the administration was so perfect, where the machinery was so good, and where we could teach them so little.' The report of the delegation, as summarised by Professor Chapman (p. 77), says that,

'while we fully recognise the advances made in this direction in English industry, we were considerably impressed with the general application of mechanical arrangements for relieving labour of its more exhausting characteristics. . . . A German director remarked to a party of delegates visiting the works under his charge: "We can compete and make profits because

of the scientific basis of our manufacture and the technical education of our workpeople. . . . Every one of our foremen and managers has had a two years' special education at the cost of the firm—a technical and scientific education."'

Another point in connexion with German advantages mentioned by Professor Chapman (p. 71) is that, in 1886, 'English puddlers pursued the doubtful policy of doing only a fixed quantity of work per day, whereas foreign puddlers laboured uninterruptedly throughout the normal day.' These extracts show, with regard to the iron and steel trade, not only that Great Britain is educationally behind the Continent, but that it has been so for forty years; and that in this respect we are inferior to the United States also, for the German workshops are improvements upon the American model. There is no question as to Protection or cartels or dumping; England has to recover the lead in respect of scientific research, technical instruction, labour-saving machinery, and workshop organisation; and the working classes must put both their backs and their brains into their work. It is admitted that in capacity they have no superiors.

But when all has been done there are other broad conditions of success in trade that have to be recognised. In 1876 an English engineer obtained from Germany, for use in Holland, a quantity of bridge work that was cheaper than British work of the same kind and quality. The explanation, says Prof. Chapman (p. 69), was that

'the extent to which rolled girders were introduced by foreign architects into their designs had caused a large demand for such metal work, with the result that excellent specialised mills were established to produce it, and that foreign work of this character became cheaper and better than English work of the same kind, and was more expeditiously executed.'

Here we have the secret of British success in some important industries, the secret of foreign success in others, and the secret of success both here and abroad in branches of industry that are not specialised. The broad fact is that industries tend to be specialised in those places where most work of the same kind can be done. Great Britain has specialised shipbuilding, cotton-spinning, and weaving, and the woollen and worsted industries. But there is nothing to prevent other nations competing successfully

in those cotton manufactures that are not specialised in Lancashire, or in woollen products that are not specialised in Yorkshire or in the West of England. Hence France and Germany and India can make cotton goods that do not actually compete with the Lancashire products, but which, if Lancashire goods fail to keep in public favour, may displace them; just as French woollen cloth may displace British cloth, if Bradford or the West of England does not set up machinery to make similar stuffs. France specialises silk manufactures, and defies competition in the specialised article; but British silk manufacturers may and do compete successfully with Lyons in the silk products that Lyons has not specialised. America, with a great home market for locomotives and bridges, agricultural and mining machinery, has specialised these branches of industry, and need not, one would think, ask for their protection; but British makers can compete successfully where the standard is departed from and special patterns are required. If these facts, which are abundantly illustrated by Professor Chapman, be appreciated, it will be seen that the increase in the importation of manufactured goods which so greatly excites Mr Chamberlain is no cause for alarm, and, as a rule, is a source of profitable trade. Nottingham, for example, supplies lace to Germany of a kind that the Germans do not make, and buys from Germany lace that can be made cheaper there than in Nottingham. The trade is of mutual benefit. Similarly Bradford excels in the finishing of certain woollen products, and Belfast in the finishing of certain linen goods; and in both cases continental manufactures are imported to be finished at Belfast or Bradford. A tax on the importation of these unfinished manufactures would not cause them to be made at Bradford or Belfast; it would induce the foreign manufacturers to do the finishing themselves; and British trades would lose employment and the profit on the final sales.

This broad survey of the influences that are affecting manufacturing industries abroad and at home indicates the lines on which remedies for any dangers that exist must be sought. Five per cent. duties on food cannot compensate for defects in organisation, or enable railways carrying agricultural produce to quote 'truck-load' rates

for small parcels. Nor can ten per cent. duties on manufactured products compensate for English backwardness in chemical research and in the application of chemistry to industry. There are, no doubt, in England chemists as distinguished as are to be found on the Continent; there may be mining engineers here as competent as any in America; and in the iron and steel trade there may be, and we believe there are, scientists as good as any in the world. Nevertheless, in this country, both scientific attainment and the appreciation of it by employers are on a lower level than in competing countries. In the textile industries British manufacturers have little or nothing to learn from other nations; and, if they have not put down machinery with which to compete with the foreigner in the production of special yarns or special kinds of cloth, they have had good reasons for not doing so. When the time for action comes they may be trusted not to miss it. It will be seen that the obvious remedies for existing dangers divide themselves into two classes—those that must be left entirely to the various industries concerned, and those that must be undertaken or assisted by the State. If research and the application of science are to have fair play, employers of labour have only to show their appreciation of the value of science. If the study of languages is to be encouraged, merchants have only to appreciate such knowledge at its proper worth. And if trade methods in England are to be placed on a level with those abroad, the organisation of workshops, the use of labour-saving machinery, business administration and trade-union methods must all be overhauled in the light of the most recent experience.

Too much importance should not be attached to the 'big industry' argument. There was a time when big farms were held to be the most profitable form of agricultural industry; now small farmers are to save the State. Small industries employ more people than the great industries, and small men can succeed where great combinations fail. Manufacturers have kept up the tradition that the best article is the cheapest; now economy is held to consist in making a low-priced article that will answer its purpose, instead of a costly one that will last for all time. Workmen have fought to establish

a uniform output that is usually measured by the capacity of the least competent men, and have kept wages at a dead level, to the disadvantage of the best workers and of employers who have put down machinery that is not allowed to run to its full capacity. A new method should not be beyond discovery by which each workman should be allowed to profit to the utmost by his personal competence, and labour-saving machinery be worked to its full capacity.

State remedies must be of general application. Educational needs are at last being met. Science and technical instruction are being vigorously taken in hand by the universities, especially those of modern date, by county councils, and by the great municipalities; and there are probably no more efficient educational institutions of their kind than the London School of Economics and Political Science, the Municipal School of Technology at Manchester, the School of Commerce and the Museum and Technical School at Liverpool. The provision of educational institutions of the highest class has, in fact, outstripped the appreciation of technical, scientific, and commercial education by the average merchant and employer of labour. It is the employer who needs education most; and how is the State to educate him when the only school in which he will learn is the bitter one of experience? He will not learn his lesson the sooner if he be sheltered behind protective duties or be given preferential entrance into British colonies. What the State can do is to amend laws, whether affecting land, capital, or labour, that stand in the way of progress; to pursue at home and abroad a policy of prudence and economy; to keep the national debt and national taxation at a level that will not cripple industry, but will ensure a wide margin of credit and taxable capacity should untoward contingencies arise; and to promote, by legislation, social reforms—rating, housing, and licensing reforms—that will react upon the physique and the morals of the people. These are not heroic remedies, but without them the nation cannot prosper. With them there is no reason why its future should not be even more prosperous than its past.

Art. XI.—THE WAR IN THE FAR EAST.

THE great campaign in the Far East comes as a timely reminder that all the knowledge of the art of war was not to be learnt on the illimitable veldt. We cannot fail to see at a glance, no matter how superficial may have been our study of the great conflict now raging, something of the vast and still largely unexplored difference between regular and irregular war, between method and haphazard, between preparation and improvisation.

The South African war did much for the British army. It destroyed many debilitating influences that had been permitted to fasten themselves upon its traditions; it overthrew many cherished idols, prejudices, and reputations; it gave all ranks in all branches experience in field-craft and skill at arms, dearly won but greatly needed; while, above all, it taught our army the lost secret of mobility, and refused us peace until mobility was attained. But South Africa taught us nothing of maritime warfare; and certain of the lessons in military tactics provided by the Boers received undue prominence in the text-books and unofficial writings which were published during or after the war. We had not met an enemy with the genius, the numbers, the discipline, or the organisation required for the conduct of operations on a grand scale; we had no cavalry of the regular type against us; nor were we opposed by modern quick-firing batteries such as are now employed by the most progressive armies of Europe. We took great liberties, and finding that these liberties remained unpunished, we allowed ourselves license.

No one who has visited a great camp of exercise at home or in India, during the drill seasons subsequent to the war, can fail to have been struck by the adoption of so-called Boer tactics by all arms. Long and widely extended lines of infantry scattered for miles along hill and dale; mounted troops, full of guile, playing at puss in the corner with their fellows on the opposite side; guns taking little thought of cover, and ranging themselves on dominating positions regardless of exposure—such is the present practice at our manœuvres.

Much of this procedure might have been commendable had South Africa remained our greatest and most probable theatre of future war. But war in South Africa, we may reasonably hope, is a thing of the past. If we have every reason to regret that the conditions of a campaign in South Africa were unknown to politicians, soldiers, and the press before Mr Kruger launched his ultimatum, there is assuredly no reason for training our army to meet conditions that have passed away. The future lies before us; and it is not so clear of storm portents that we can afford to neglect the omens. Moreover, if we take a more general view and recall the larger lessons of the Boer war, we must feel very serious doubts whether we have profited, as we should have done, by the Report of Lord Elgin's Commission. That body declared that we had not enough trained men to meet the emergency when it came upon us, even when all our reserves were employed; and, if we look round and study our present liabilities and the very insignificant assets that we possess, we cannot rest satisfied with the existing situation.

The importance of the campaign in the Far East resides for us in the fact that (excluding the Spanish-American war) it is the first great maritime war in which modern armoured fleets have fought; that it exposes the relations that should exist between politics, war, and finance; emphasises the necessity for the close co-operation, not only of army and navy, but of all departments of State, for the prosecution of national ends; and finally, tells us with brutal frankness that war, regular war, is a very serious business indeed—something, in short, which relegates South Africa to the position of a side issue, and makes, according as victory or defeat ensues, for the happiness or misery of all classes of the people, from highest to lowest. The present generation of Englishmen has never been the protagonist in a national war of this character. Not since the days when the people of these islands numbered but fifteen million souls, largely self-supporting, have they been called upon to confront such a trial of strength, tenacity, and patience. We have lost sight of the elemental conditions of national war; and, if it is bad for our repose to be reminded of them, it is indispensable for our security.

The earlier part of the struggle has so often been narrated that we need not dwell upon it at length here. Hostilities began without declaration of war on the afternoon of February 8, 1904; and during the following night and day a blow was dealt at the Russian squadron lying in fancied security at Chemulpo and under the guns of Port Arthur, from which, morally speaking, it never recovered. Everything that Russia possessed afloat in the Far East, or on the way thither, was either snapped up by the Japanese, driven into port, or forced to put back. The command of the sea passed for the time into Japanese hands; and by reason of this success the invasion of Manchuria became practicable.

Japan was not prepared for such rapid success, and had not taken complete measures to profit by it. Despite a free sea, it was not until nearly three months after the outbreak of war that she had two armies ready to enter the field, one on land in north-western Korea, south of the Yalu, and a second still on board its transports near the Hall group of islands off the west coast of the Korean peninsula. But by the 1st of May Japan was ready to strike and struck hard. Her first army, under General Kuroki, crossed the Yalu, defeated an inferior force of Russians in a strong position, and drove back the remnant in disorderly flight towards Liaoyang. This success cleared the air and allowed Japan to direct her second army upon the Liaotung peninsula. But before venturing her transports within striking distance of the Russian squadron at Port Arthur, it was necessary for Japan to render these Russian ships as far as possible innocuous, so that nothing might interfere with the critical operation of landing an army upon an open and difficult beach. The successful blocking of the channel into Port Arthur took place before daylight on May 3; and, immediately the success was recognised, the second army steamed across the Yellow Sea and began to land in all security. A more perfect example of scientific co-operation between land and sea forces modern history does not record.

But, despite a free sea and no opposition worth considering, Japan, with 600,000 tons of steam transport on her books, took three months to transport across the sea two armies, complete for war, and aggregating about

120,000 men with 200 guns. It is necessary to recognise the limitations, in respect of a grand invasion from oversea, even on the part of an insular Power endowed with genius and capacity for elaborate preparation, since the long delay inseparable from the successful transport of these armies across the water is of a nature to show us something at least of the difficulties of one of the greatest and most serious operations of war. We must also recognise that these two armies were not despatched from Japan simultaneously, and that the numbers that our ally has apparently been able to unite in a single body of transports are represented by the 60,000 men and 100 guns which the second army threw ashore at Pitszewo during the second week in May. If we may admit that these armies possessed the men, horses, guns, stores, supplies, and carriages necessary for the prosecution of their mission, and were thereby effective instruments for the purposes of war, we must also acknowledge that the numbers of fighting men despatched in a single armada were not considerable, despite exceptionally favourable conditions, namely, free exit from Japanese ports, a free sea, and a free landing in the theatre of war.

So long as we possess a navy, wisely directed and superior to that of our European neighbours, the conditions which prevailed in the Yellow Sea in the spring of last year can hardly recur in our home waters. A surprise invasion, which is in itself almost a contradiction in terms, is becoming more and more improbable every day; and, so long as our agencies of information are not starved, it is impossible to reckon upon success in any such undertaking. As an operation devoid of the element of surprise, recent experience shows that an oversea invasion is a lengthy business; and, though circumstances are conceivable which would render such an attempt possible, the chance of success would be infinitesimal. Far from causing us to revert to pernicious heresies now happily exploded, the circumstances of the Japanese invasion of Manchuria may rather be regarded as of a reassuring nature. They tend to show that our naval authorities are within the bounds of justifiable optimism in declaring that they can prevent any similar effort against our shores. But we must add the proviso that such an assurance can only be taken as a fundamental

axiom of national strategy and state-craft so long as the ordinary dictates of prudence are followed by the Admiralty—a point to which we shall presently recur.

Russia was unprepared for war. Her policy was militant, aggressive, and imperious; but the material power required to support the arrogance of her claims was wanting. Not more than 150,000 men of her land army were in the Far East; her only means for reinforcing them was a single line of railway; and the transport of a battalion from Moscow to Port Arthur occupied six weeks. Her preparations at the seat of war were out of proportion with her military strength. She had two great maritime strongholds to garrison and defend. Neither of these covered the main lines of advance of a Japanese army upon Mukden, nor directly aided the operations of the Russian field army. They were, on the contrary, a serious drain upon Russian resources; and their defence, which was immediately taken in hand, absorbed very largely for many weeks the strength of the field forces and the traffic of the railway. They were the legitimate supports of a dominant fleet and the complement of military strength on land. They were not, and in their essence could not be, a substitute for one or the other. Russia had not had time to grow into her defences on the Pacific shore: strategically considered, these great fortresses were a misfit.

The danger was recognised by a few of the best Russian generals, not only when war broke out, but before it. Yet the abandonment of Port Arthur was too great a sacrifice for Russian pride; and, in view of the early disasters of the navy, the idea of withdrawal was scouted. If the Japanese desire to possess Port Arthur, it was said, let them come and take it. We hold in Port Arthur the most impregnable of all first-class fortresses, and we shall defend it to the last. With this view, General Kuropatkin, who had, with characteristic self-sacrifice, relinquished his post of Minister of War to conduct a campaign to which he had been resolutely opposed, was forced to deplete his field army for the benefit of Port Arthur. The garrison was made up to 30,000 men, exclusive of the navy, which had originally about 12,000 men with the blockaded squadron. Stores,

food, and ammunition were poured into the place before the Japanese landed; and subsequently, from Chinese and other ports, a lucrative trade began in blockade-running—easy enough so long as a large area of the Kwantung promontory remained in Russian occupation.

The margin of superiority in naval force with which Japan opened the war was inadequate for the fulfilment of her naval task with the desired completeness. Vladivostok, with its double exit, its coasts ice-bound for many months, and hard of approach by reason of fog, was a difficult port to watch. Here Russia had stationed four great cruisers; nor can we say, from the history of the naval campaign, that she has suffered any disadvantage from that fact. Japan could not watch both ports with the necessary superiority of strength; she therefore restricted herself to her main task at Port Arthur and left a residue of ships in the Straits of Korea to engage the Vladivostok cruisers should they put to sea. If this policy has not been crowned with unmixed success, it has proved on the whole sound; and, save for fugitive raids against coastwise trade and the sinking of two military transports, Russia has not hitherto scored a single point at sea.

The dispersion of effort between Port Arthur, Vladivostok, and the field army, together with the watch and ward along a wide strategic front, left Kuropatkin, at the outset, in no condition to hold the field. The Japanese second army stormed the lines of Nanshan on May 26, thus opening the road into Kwantung. It then handed over the duty of prosecuting the siege of Port Arthur to a third army, under General Nogi, and prepared to march north to co-operate in the general advance with the first army at Fenghwangchenn, and with a fourth army which began to land between the two wings at Takushan. The Russians never anticipated that Nanshan would fall to a day's assault. They expected that General Stössel's army in the Kwantung promontory would be an important and movable piece on the strategic chessboard; and soon after the Japanese second army landed and moved down upon Nanshan, Kuropatkin attempted a counter-offensive from the north. But the strength required for success was wanting, and the effort was at once too early and too late. The Japanese second army

was ready first, and, tackling Stackelberg's 40,000 men at Telissu with remarkable rapidity and decision, inflicted upon them, on June 15, a disastrous defeat.

The Pacific squadron, meanwhile, had not been wholly quiescent. On April 13 it had been coaxed out to sea and then driven back over a prepared mine-field, where the flagship 'Petropavlovsk,' with Admiral Makaroff on board, went down with almost her entire crew. On June 23 the Russian squadron again put to sea, and it was then recognised, for the first time, that the repairs of the warships injured during the torpedo attack of the night of February 8 had been successfully executed. Nevertheless, although the Russians had every reason for engaging with the utmost resolution, the advantages of the surprise and of their superiority in battleships were thrown away; and the squadron retired to harbour after a lame and impotent demonstration.

The operations in the main theatre of war were meanwhile pursued by the Japanese with some deliberation, but with complete success. During the month of June Kuropatkin had been largely reinforced. He held all the chief entrances to the Liao valley from Kaiping, on his right, through the Taling and Fenshuiling passes to the Motienling, at all of which points there were strong garrisons well entrenched. In the rear, at Tashihchiao, Haicheng, and Liaoyang, were massed his reserves, which were growing in numbers day by day. The three armies of Japan advanced on a broad front; and on June 27 all the passes fell to their assaults. The Russian centre and right concentrated at Tashihchiao and Simucheng, and were driven from their positions on July 24 and 31. Their left endeavoured to recapture the Motienling on July 17, and was badly beaten; other engagements followed in this mountain region, in all of which the Japanese were successful. By August 3 Niuchwang and Haicheng were taken without opposition; and the reunion of the three Japanese armies was secured. Kuropatkin withdrew to Liaoyang and its vicinity, determined there to offer a strenuous resistance and to bring the period of retreats to a close.

It was not until the third week in August that Marshal Oyama was ready to engage. The general line

of his advance with the second and fourth armies was direct upon Liaoyang from Haicheng. The first army, securely posted in the mountains, was destined to descend upon the Russian left flank and to deal the decisive blow. In all, the Japanese possessed, it is supposed, about 180,000 men upon the ground, and anticipated victory, not only because of equal or, as was thought at the time, of superior numbers, but on account of the considerable moral advantages derived from four months of uninterrupted success. But they had reckoned without their host. They had correctly measured the ability of the Russian leader and the limitations of the Russian troops, but they had not recognised that their most capable and dangerous antagonist was far away. Prince Khilkoff, Russian Minister of Ways and Communications, is, in a measure, the central figure of the war. It has been almost solely due to his American training and abundant personal energy that Russia has been hitherto spared one of those overwhelming disasters that occur but once or twice in a century of war.

When the campaign opened, the condition of the railway was deplorable from a strategic standpoint. It was broken at Lake Baikal into two sections. Eastward of the lake, rolling stock was deficient, while shops and repairing machinery were inadequate, and sidings wanting for the heavy traffic of the line. It was also certain that with the thaw Lake Baikal would be closed to traffic for three weeks. Prince Khilkoff journeyed to Irkutsk, and at once displayed his remarkable powers as *deus ex machina*. He hurried forward the completion of the line round the southern end of the lake, and, directly the surface was hard set, laid down rails across the ice, and transported to the east bank large numbers of locomotives, trucks, and wagons. A sledge service was improvised from local resources; and throughout the spring a continuous flow of troops, stores, and supplies was maintained. Not content with this, he collected thousands of men and women along the whole length of the railway, and set to work to improve the facilities for troop transport by doubling the line in certain sections, by the construction of sidings, the improvement of stations, and the collection of supplies of fuel and water.

This great national effort proved the salvation of the

Russian army of Manchuria. Long before the issue was joined between the main armies at Liaoyang the situation had materially changed. In place of the four or six military trains which Russia could despatch to the East when the war opened, she found herself able to rely upon nine early in the spring, and by the end of July this number was increased to twelve. In six months Prince Khilkoff had practically doubled the output of the line; while upon the sections west of Irkutsk it was found possible to raise the number of trains to a maximum of eighteen. When, therefore, after seven months of war, the concentrated field armies of the belligerents were at last in presence in the neighbourhood of Liaoyang, the scales had temporarily turned in Russian favour. Kuropatkin had over 200,000 men under his hand, and had probably a superiority of effective fighting force at his disposal. Moreover, it is believed that the Japanese had calculated on the success of the grand attack on Port Arthur (August 14–24) setting free a large part of the besieging army to strengthen Kuroki on their right. The failure of that attack forced them to engage Kuropatkin with inadequate resources. The Japanese calculations had been carefully made in relation to the conditions which were known to exist. On the results were based the plan of campaign and the whole procedure and economy of reinforcements. But neither the energy of Prince Khilkoff nor the success of his work was realised in time; and in asking the Japanese army, slightly inferior in strength, and with artillery also inferior to the Russian in range, rapidity of fire, and shell-power, to assault a strongly fortified position, defended by the field army of Manchuria, Marshal Oyama set his troops a task too great for mortal men to perform with absolute success.

Liaoyang was the military capital of the Russians in Manchuria. A considerable Russian cantonment had grown up round the railway station, which was itself adapted to great movements of troops by the existence of numerous sidings and platforms. Here were stored the supplies and fodder for the army of operations; here were the magazines, hospitals, depots, and those establishments which grow up round an army in the field; while the Chinese town, with its 60,000 inhabitants, was in itself of great utility for the purpose of meeting the wants of a

great army. The position was at the junction of the two roads leading to Korea and the Liaotung peninsula; it rested upon a chain of low heights running in a semi-circle round the south and east of the town; and for several miles of this frontage the defences were very formidable. In rear ran the Taitse river, unfordable at this season in its lower reaches, and traversed by a railway viaduct and four military bridges.

When the Japanese advanced on August 23, the Russians occupied a wide front, forty miles long, to south and east of this main position. To the south the greater part of the Siberian troops held Ansanshan, while to the east two army corps from western Russia occupied the line of the Tangho. Against this latter front the Japanese first army, under Kuroki, struck hard between August 23 and 26, and by nightfall on the latter date had driven a wedge into the Russian position. This success was followed up the next day, when the whole line of the Tangho fell into Japanese hands, and the Russians beat a retreat upon their main position. These incidents entailed a withdrawal of the Russian troops at Ansan-shan, and this position was promptly occupied by the Japanese, who now prepared for an assault on the main position.

At dawn on August 30 the second and fourth Japanese armies opened a severe bombardment upon the front of the Russian defences, and for two whole days and nights endeavoured unsuccessfully to oust their enemy from his strong position. It had been intended that General Kuroki, with the first army, should cross the Taitse and fall upon the Russian rear; but the severe struggle on the Tangho, which was prolonged on the left of Kuroki's force until August 28, had somewhat exhausted this army. It was not with more than a division and a half that the passage of the river was effected on the night of August 30. Kuropatkin recognised the danger and took prompt steps to meet it. He withdrew the bulk of his army across the bridges, and, continually reinforcing the troops opposing Kuroki, found himself strong enough to attack on September 2 with very preponderating numbers. For a time the Japanese first army was in a position of serious danger; but the rest of Kuroki's divisions poured across the Taitse in support, and Kuropatkin's advance

was not only checked but driven back with heavy loss. Both sides were now absolutely exhausted. Kuroki could do no more than hold his ground; his colleagues of the second and fourth armies were indeed able to seize the main position in their front at dawn on September 1, but were unable to drive the Russian rear-guard from a second position round the town of Liaoyang in time to co-operate with Kuroki's movements. The Russians, on their side, were also incapable of further effort, and only managed to crawl away, by September 3, to the line of the Yentai branch railway, where their scattered troops were collected preparatory to a further retreat.

The Japanese commander did well not to continue the pursuit. Tactically, his blow had succeeded; strategically, it had failed. What promised to be a signal and decisive victory, with immense military and political consequences, ended in a hardly won success, which had no serious influence upon the course of operations, since the Russian army, despite heavy losses, remained intact. The fighting had revealed the secret of the Russian railway, and it became indispensable for Japan to arrest the progress of her armies in order not to risk a possible reverse and so lose the fruits of her splendid sacrifices. It must have been abundantly clear to the statesmen and soldiers at Tokio that Prince Khilkoff's victories over time and space had changed the situation, and that it had become necessary for Japan to enlarge her views and to expand the forces assembled upon the theatre of war.

When, therefore, Kuropatkin retreated to Mukden, and sent part of his army back as far as Tieling, the Japanese advanced no farther than the branch line to the Yentai mines. It was necessary to restore the railway to Liaoyang, and, by road, rail, and river, to bring up reinforcements, supplies, and ammunition. The Russians, on their side, were in no spirit or condition for immediate movement; and several weeks passed without any change at the front or any serious engagements. But meanwhile Russian reinforcements came up apace; and with each infusion of new blood courage rose and bolder schemes were put forward. The Russian general had undertaken to attack when his army reached a certain strength which he had fixed. These numbers were under his hand by the end of September; the news from Port Arthur was bad; and, thoroughly impressed

with the necessity of a great victory for Russia, Kuropatkin dared to put his fortunes to the touch. On October 2 there was published to the army an order of the day, in which Kuropatkin announced that the moment for the advance had come, declared the main object to be the relief of Port Arthur, and assured his army that the will of the Tsar that the foe should be vanquished would be inflexibly fulfilled. A couple of days later the great army, which had grown to nearly a quarter of a million of men, broke up from its camps north of the Hun and began its advance. Thanks to the publication of Kuropatkin's order of the day, the Japanese were fully warned of the impending stroke. They occupied a semicircular position facing north and east, from a point near Yentai on the railway through the mines to Penhsihu on the Taitse, a front by no means excessive for the numbers at their disposal, probably about 200,000 men.

Kuropatkin's idea seems to have been an enveloping attack upon Liaoyang, where he expected the enemy to stand. For this purpose he formed his troops into three armies with a reserve. His right, composed of the army corps from western Russia, was ordered to march along the railway, making good each position as it advanced; his centre had the task of prolonging the line and of maintaining touch with the left; while the latter was ordered to secure the valley of the Taitse about Penhsihu, and thence to strike down the river upon the Japanese flank at Liaoyang. It was, in short, the Japanese plan of the battle of Liaoyang with the rôles reversed. The Russian left, to which was confided the most decisive action, was composed of the whole of the original garrison of Manchuria present with the field army, admittedly the best troops of the Tsar in eastern Asia. General Baron Stackelberg was placed in command of this force; and with him, in addition to infantry and guns, there went Samsonoff and Rennenkampf with their two divisions of Cossacks. After a march across country from Fuchun along secondary valleys running north and south, Stackelberg came up against Kuroki's right on October 9 in the vicinity of the Taitse. The weight of the first onset told, and two positions were successively taken by assault. The Cossacks swarmed across the Taitse, and a preliminary measure of success was secured. On the following

day, however, Kuroki reinforced his threatened wing and recaptured the lost positions, while a flying column despatched across the river drove back the Cossacks and their supports. Stackelberg exhausted himself in vain efforts to make headway, but all to no purpose, and, after losing some 25,000 men, he was forced to retreat on the night of October 13.

Reassured as to his right on the 10th, Marshal Oyama, far from falling back upon Liaoyang, determined to take the offensive with his centre and left. From October 10 to 13 the action raged along the entire front. Everywhere the Japanese were successful; and by the night of the 13th the Russian defeat was assured, while thirty-eight Russian guns were in Japanese hands. Kuropatkin's attack had hopelessly failed; with every hour he was being pressed back nearer to the Hun, and ran a risk of a great disaster. On the Shaho, however, he had prepared a defensive position; and the unexpended balance of energy remaining in the Japanese proved insufficient to oust the enemy from this line.

There can be little doubt that Kuropatkin had ordered a general retreat on the 14th, and that streams of broken units, fugitives, and wounded were already pouring across the Hun and inundating Mukden. One final effort and the rout was assured and Mukden won. But, although Oyama recognised on the 15th that he had only rear-guards in front of him, he was either unwilling or unable to make the effort. Kuropatkin reconsidered his order and began to pour troops back to the Shaho, even succeeding on the 17th, by a vigorous counter-attack, in overwhelming a Japanese brigade and in capturing Japanese guns for the first time during the campaign. The reason for the arrest of the Japanese forward movement is not yet known. It is, however, not improbable that the losses and the unprecedented expenditure of ammunition may have caused Oyama to receive reports calculated to induce him, from motives of prudence, to check the march of his troops. The losses on both sides had been very severe, and it is not excessive to believe that during these two great battles of Liaoyang and the Shaho no less than 150,000 casualties occurred in the two armies out of an aggregate of 400,000 to 450,000 men engaged.

Meanwhile, General Nogi's forces, completely covered by the operations of the main army in the chief theatre, pressed the siege of Port Arthur in circumstances of great difficulty. In the period of grace allowed him, General Stössel had greatly increased the natural strength of Port Arthur, and had raised a tremendous barrier of fortifications at every point of vantage throughout the peninsula, with the view of holding off the Japanese as long as possible from an attack on the main line of works and from effective bombardment of the harbour.

It was on June 26 that General Nogi advanced from Dalny in the expectation of making a rapid end of the great fortress. But he soon discovered that every step in advance had to be won at a high price, and that the precedents of the Chinese war were of no use as a criterion of the heavy task before the besieging army of 1904. A whole month was spent in driving the Russians from the advanced chain of semi-permanent defences constructed right across the peninsula from Ingentsi to Takhe Bays; and it was not until the first week in August that the Japanese right could touch Louisa Bay. The attack and defence of the group of works on the low hills north of the main line of forts occupied the Japanese during the month of August; and it was only at the end of that month and during the first days of September that Wolf Hill was taken, the line of works drawn in close on the north, and Pigeon Bay secured on the right. The capture of outlying works about Takushan on the east front also enabled the line to be drawn tighter; and from all these captured positions a rain of shells soon began to fall upon the town, forts, and harbour. On August 4 the effect of this bombardment was first felt. The shells began to fall upon the warships in harbour; and, after enduring punishment for some few days, the squadron took courage and sallied forth, under Admiral Vitoft, with express directions not to return to Port Arthur. The Tsar's orders appear to have been that the squadron should sail for Vladivostok; but, in the event of a defeat, it was doubtless understood that the neutral ports of Tsingtau, Chifu, and Shanghai, would offer security to cattered vessels.

Admiral Togo, who had transferred his movable base from Masampo to the Hall group and thence to the

Elliot islands, was always in condition to oppose a sortie. The channel into Port Arthur was narrow, and the larger Russian war-vessels could only leave port in succession, at slow speed and by day. Togo's watchers, in touch with their chief by wireless telegraphy, were always able to send news of any change in the situation and to call up reinforcements. Nevertheless the circumstances were not unfavourable for vigorous action on the part of the Russian admiral. He had six first-class battleships, four cruisers, and eight destroyers; while, to oppose them, the Japanese admiral had but four first-class battleships and two first-class armoured cruisers in his first fighting line. In May the Japanese navy had suffered irreparable loss by the sinking of the battleship 'Hatsuse' by a mine, and of the cruiser 'Yoshino' by a collision. In June the 'Yashima' also met with a mishap, which entailed her withdrawal from the fighting line; and several smaller craft were destroyed in the operation of mine-clearing.

These losses, and the resulting weakness of Togo's squadron, should have induced the Russian admiral to engage promptly and with vigour; but the action of August 10 had no such characteristics, and did little credit to the Russian navy. The fight began at 1 P.M., twenty-five miles south-east of Port Arthur; but it was not till nearly six in the evening that the two squadrons engaged on parallel courses, each column in line ahead, at 7000 metres distance. The fire of the Japanese warships almost immediately proved superior; and the Russian flagship 'Tsarevitch,' with Admiral Vitoft on board, was subjected to a destructive fire by Togo's flagship, the 'Mikasa.' A 12-in. shell struck the conning-tower of the 'Tsarevitch' and killed Admiral Vitoft; two other shells of the same calibre caused the Russian battleship to become unmanageable, and she suddenly turned to port, followed by her consorts, who soon fell into a confused group, into which the Japanese poured a heavy fire at 3500 metres range. At about half-past six some other Japanese ships joined in from the north, and the action continued till dark, when the Russians scattered and saved themselves by independent flight. Five battleships and two cruisers returned to Port Arthur; the 'Tsarevitch' and three destroyers reached Tsingtau; the 'Askold' and another destroyer made for Wusung; one

destroyer ran aground near Weihaiwei; the 'Diana' got clear away, and only came to at Saigon; while the 'Novik' made for Vladivostok, but was engaged by the 'Tsushima' on August 20, and driven ashore.

To add to the tale of disaster, the Vladivostok cruisers, endeavouring to pass the Straits of Korea on August 14, were caught and severely handled by Admiral Kamimura, the 'Rurik' being sunk by gun-fire, while the 'Gromoboi' and the 'Rossia' suffered great loss and only escaped by reason, it is supposed, of the failure of the Japanese supply of ammunition when they were on the point of surrender or destruction. From these actions the squadron never recovered; and, though the five battleships and two cruisers which returned to Port Arthur retained a semblance of existence until the first week in December, the capture of 203 Metre Hill, on November 30, enabled the Japanese to discover their hiding-place south of Peiyushan fort, and to destroy all save the 'Sevastopol' during a few days' bombardment. It is probable that the guns and crews of most of the ships had been removed as far back as September last, and added to the rapidly diminishing number of Stössel's garrison.

The end of the siege of Port Arthur came with almost dramatic suddenness. On December 18 the first great permanent fort of the Russian main line of defence, namely, North Keekwanshan, was captured by the Japanese after the explosion of mines under the parapets. Further successes followed on the Japanese right; and on December 28 the great Erhlungshan fort was blown up and stormed. On the last day of the old year Sungshushan fort shared the same fate, and a number of neighbouring works fell into Japanese hands. Stössel had prolonged his glorious resistance to the last. He had lost 11,000 killed during the siege; and out of the 25,000 combatants remaining alive, over 15,000 were sick or wounded and in hospital. Finding further resistance useless, he offered to surrender on the evening of January 1, blew up the sunken warships the next morning, and signed the capitulation the same day, thus bringing to a close one of the most notable sieges recorded by history.

The story of the Pacific squadron is not one of which the Russian navy has any title to be proud. It was not

quite the equal of the combined squadron of Japan at the outbreak of war, but it was far less unequal to its enemy than our own navy has frequently been before victory. It was chiefly in leadership that the Russian squadron failed; nor has there as yet been a vestige of a sign that Russia has fathomed the secret of the sea. Fine ships and brave men do not make a navy. Experience, training, science, dash, and resolution are all indispensable for success in maritime war; and in all these matters the Russian navy proved itself to be utterly inferior to its foe.

The powerful Pacific squadron allowed itself to be destroyed without the loss of a single ship by Japan in action; and no vessel of the Mikado's navy suffered material damage from the fire of the Russian navy during eleven months of war. For the outlay of some 32,000,000*l.* upon her ships alone Russia received no return at all. This humiliating circumstance has been very largely due to the insidious attraction of Port Arthur as a haven of refuge, and to the evil influence of such a harbour upon a navy not bred and nurtured on blue water. The Japanese losses at Port Arthur from August onward were indeed very severe; but Japan could afford to lose men, and could not afford to lose ships. She was right to sacrifice the element of power of which she had a superabundance, rather than risk her precious ships, which she could not replace while the war lasted. These heavy sacrifices were abundantly justified when the last ship of the Pacific squadron sank beneath the waters of the fatal harbour.

While the intermediate phase of the foregoing operations was in progress, Russia's second Pacific squadron, namely, the Baltic fleet, at length got ready for service and quitted Libau on October 16. Four days later, while steaming, on the night of October 21, past the Dogger Bank, this squadron, under Admiral Rozhdestvensky, fell foul of a fleet of British steam-trawlers which were engaged upon their lawful avocations upon this well-known fishing-ground, and carried all their customary lights. Owing to causes which are now under investigation by an international commission of enquiry, fire was opened by the warships upon the trawlers. British

fishermen were killed and wounded; one fishing-boat was sunk and several injured. The Russian squadron steamed away without any endeavour to investigate or atone for their mistake, or to assist the victims of their misplaced zeal. Had they not taken this course, little more would have been heard of a mistake which might well happen to the greatest navy in time of war.

This incident aroused such a storm of indignation in England as our generation has never before witnessed. Many hard and harsh things were said; and, had not the affair happened so suddenly that we were for the moment unarmed, a collision would have been almost inevitable. By the time we were ready to act, the Russians, steaming fast down Channel, were out of reach. The conduct of our Admiralty throughout the war had been open to severe criticism. They had taken insufficient precautions to watch the Russian volunteer steamers issuing from the Black Sea in July; and, when the 'Peterburg' and 'Smolensk' hoisted the Russian naval flag and began a course of unwarrantable depredation upon our merchant shipping in the Red Sea, there was nothing in those waters flying the white ensign to stop them. A Russian prize-crew, placed on board the Peninsular and Oriental steamer 'Malacca,' was permitted to pass through the canal, and to steam away from Port Said for the westward, with the Russian flag illegally flying, without any interference. Subsequently these Russian ships were allowed to quit the scene of their short-lived triumphs and to reappear near the Cape of Good Hope and recommence their activity, without any knowledge on the part of the Admiralty of the direction they had taken.

The whole course of the war had proved that when any Russian warships or auxiliary cruisers were loose at sea, British carrying trade suffered. So much was this the case that at one moment our seaborne trade with the Far East underwent serious diminution, and orders passed into foreign hands because our shippers were unable to accept them owing to the scant confidence placed in the resolution of the Government to give adequate protection to the flag. The sinking of the British steamer 'Knight Commander,' and the seizure of the 'Calchas,' 'Allanton,' 'Arabia,' and many other vessels, caused rates of insurance to rise with great

rapidity, while the cumulative effect on public opinion of these successive acts of disrespect for our neutral rights was menacing. When, therefore, the Baltic fleet issued from Libau and prepared to traverse frequented trade routes swarming with British shipping, experience demanded corresponding measures of precaution at the Admiralty. Yet nothing was done; and the strategic disposition of our ships in commission on the day of the Dogger Bank affair made it impossible for the Government to guard what was the British Channel only in name.

The home fleet was at Cromarty Bay in the north of Scotland; the cruiser division was laid up for repair, and not a single unit was available for immediate service; there was no other body of ships in home waters fit to take up what almost seemed at first to be a deliberate challenge. In the Mediterranean our greatest squadron was engaged upon one of those rounds of social festivities which occupy so much of its time and cause such needless inroads upon the purses of poorer officers. The squadron was at Venice, where the lagoons were brilliantly illuminated; and subsequently there were important engagements at Pola and Fiume which fully occupied the energies of Admiral Domvile until the evening of October 26, when the first move was made towards Malta. Of all the great fleets we held in commission, the Channel squadron, which chanced to be at Gibraltar, was alone available to act and was ready for sea on October 26. The home fleet left Cromarty Bay on the evening of October 25 and reached the Firth of Forth next day; but it was not until October 30 that this solitary fleet in commission in home waters was assembled at Portland.

If the Anglo-Russian agreement to refer the Dogger Bank incident to an international commission of enquiry made it happily unnecessary for us to employ force, it is also true that the disposition and state of readiness of our squadrons on the aniversary of Trafalgar was lamentably deficient, and must not be allowed to recur. It was not the Russian squadron alone that was in question. The Franco-Russian alliance was known to the world, while the benevolent neutrality shown to Russia throughout the war by Germany made it necessary for us to take into account the dozen battleships of the efficient and formidable German fleet lying ready

for sea at Kiel. Had hostilities ensued as the outcome of the Dogger Bank affair, and had either France or Germany been drawn into the vortex, our naval position would have been for the time unequal to our pretensions and wholly incommensurate with the great sacrifices to which British taxpayers have consented during past years.

The naval lessons of the war are still in process of elucidation; and it will not be wise to endeavour to arrive at final conclusions until more ample evidence is placed at our disposal. But, so far as the war has gone, the general trend of evidence is in favour of three main classes of warships, namely, first-class battleships, armoured cruisers, and destroyers, the first for fighting, the second for reconnaissance, chasing, and fighting, and the third for inshore and other duties in co-operation with a fleet. As for battleships of inferior class and power, unarmoured and protected cruisers of the second or third class, and torpedo-boats, none of these have given results fit to be set against the cost of their construction and maintenance. In the battleship the king of weapons has been the heavy gun; and, other things being equal, the fleet with the largest number of heavy guns is the strongest. The decision of the action of August 10 was accomplished by the three 12-inch shells which struck the 'Tsarevitch' in rapid succession; the influence of guns of smaller calibre upon fleet actions has been insignificant. The first-class seagoing battleship has been proved to be the factor upon which all else depends. Moreover, the battleship has proved long-lived. Despite many attacks by Japanese torpedo craft and three encounters which might almost rank as fleet actions, the battleships of the Pacific squadron —all, at least, except the 'Petropavlovsk'—remained afloat for ten months, battered but unsubdued, until finally destroyed by an arm they were unprepared and not constructed to fight, namely, siege artillery. Not a single battleship of Japan, during the same period, has been seriously injured by gun or torpedo.

The greatest losses during the naval war have been caused by mines; but it is an open question whether the effect of these infernal machines has been more damaging to friend or foe. So many mines have been displaced

and set adrift by the storms which sweep across the Yellow Sea that it is by no means certain that all the Russian losses have been caused by Japanese mines, or all the Japanese losses by Russian mines. Certain of the Russian losses were admittedly caused by Russian mines; and it will cause no surprise if the ultimate historian of the war decides that these engines offer no advantage commensurate with the risk to those who use them.

If we take the next type of war-vessel in order of importance, namely, the armoured cruiser, we see that Japan has utilised these ships for all purposes in line of battle, and is evidently prepared to use them in similar fashion against the Baltic fleet. The powerful armament and good protection of these armoured cruisers, combined with the wretched results attained by Russian gunnery and projectiles, have certainly authorised this new departure. Whether, with fleets more evenly matched, the armoured cruiser can safely be trusted to 'lie in a line with first-class battleships is still a matter of doubt, and will probably depend largely upon the future methods of construction of these vessels. But, as against the largest and most powerfully armed protected cruisers, and still more as against unarmoured vessels, the armoured cruiser has manifested such immense superiority that few nations will feel disposed to waste more money over the inferior classes of cruiser craft. The fate of the 'Varyag' and the 'Korietz,' the condition of the 'Askold' on reaching Shanghai, and the manner in which the Vladivostok cruisers were shot to pieces by Kamimura's ships, establish the superiority of the armoured cruiser and give her assured pre-eminence over all other and inferior classes of ships. The great loss of life on board the 'Rurik' and her consorts was not unexpected by sailors, since it was known that the protection of the gun-crews on board these vessels was most inadequate; the fact that these losses have actually occurred will, however, exercise greater influence than all the theory in the world.

A certain number of gun-vessels and river craft will always be needed for inshore operations and for action in shallow waters. We cannot entirely discard them; and we must bear in mind that the success of the attack on the Nanshan lines was largely due to the action of light-draught gun-vessels. But, on the whole, the value of

small warships has been slight; and, except for the purpose of aiding operations on land, they have not been conspicuously useful during the war. The construction of the smaller classes of warships will almost certainly be diminished owing to the experience we have gained. The destroyer flotillas of Japan have proved valuable; and these craft appear to meet nearly all the needs of the typical inshore squadron. They have nullified all the efforts of the smaller vessels at Port Arthur to disturb the watch or to loosen the grip of the blockading squadron, while they appear to have shown a marked superiority over the small torpedo-boat for general purposes and in all weathers.

As an arm, the torpedo has disappointed its most enthusiastic admirers. Not a single warship, save the 'Sevastopol,' has been destroyed by torpedo attack; and, despite the valour and pertinacity of the Japanese crews, and the many good opportunities they have met with for the display of their qualities, no torpedo attack, save that on the night of the first surprise, has been a success. Yet twice at least the Japanese were able to attack the Russian squadron under the shade of night, and at a distance from port; and, on the night of August 10, the battered condition of the defeated and scattered Russian squadron seemed to render it an easy prey. Experience appears to show that there is no justification for the belief of a certain foreign school of naval opinion which has consistently decried the battleship and boasted of the torpedo, the gunboat, and the corsair as arms with which a superior navy can be encountered and worsted. The submarine has not as yet received its baptism of fire. Both belligerents are believed to possess specimens of this latest addition to fighting navies; and, if the naval war is prolonged, there may be occasion for its use.

If we turn from these considerations to the lessons taught us by the operations of the land armies, one fact stands out in prominence much too conspicuous for our comfort. In ten months no less than 250,000 men have been transported from western Russia to Manchuria, over a single line of railway, and across a distance of from 5000 to 6000 miles. This railway has, moreover, proved capable hitherto of maintaining the military effi-

ciency of a total Russian force of 400,000 men east of Lake Baikal, as well as of providing for the wants of the civil population throughout the districts traversed by the line, and of carrying construction materials for the extension and improvement of the line itself. It is clear that the deduction to be drawn from this precedent should be applied to the case of a Russian concentration on the borders of Afghanistan, and that public attention should be called to the fact that Russia has recently completed two lines of railway leading to an eventual line of concentration—Merv-Bokhara-Khokand. The completion of the Orenburg-Tashkend line virtually completes the railway system, which has been established for the express purpose of bringing pressure to bear upon England in Afghanistan. The sword is visibly suspended over our heads, and we shall be constantly asked to observe it.

There is no reason for panic, and still less for any reflections upon Russian motives. From a Russian point of view, and considering the alienation of British sympathies from Russia during a long term of years, these railways are a valuable diplomatic asset; and their application to hostile uses, should the need arise, is plainly within the power of Russia to command. Under Lord Kitchener's watchful guard, India has been the first to awake to the realities of the resulting situation, and has perfected her decidedly cumbrous and antiquated machinery for war so far as lies in her power. By means of a redistribution of troops, and of a diminution of the garrisons to be retained in the interior in case of war, she has doubled her field army, and now hopes to be able to maintain a field force of 150,000 British and native troops on or beyond the frontiers of India. But since the Manchurian precedent discloses that a single line can support a field army nearly 300,000 strong at the Russian rail-head, and since two lines run towards the frontiers of Afghanistan, which are very much closer to the centres of Russian power than is Manchuria, it is obvious that we have a serious military problem before us, and one that we must solve without delay.

Owing to the absence of the machinery recently provided by the creation of the Committee of Imperial Defence, we have in past years failed to realise our military responsibilities in India. We have had no

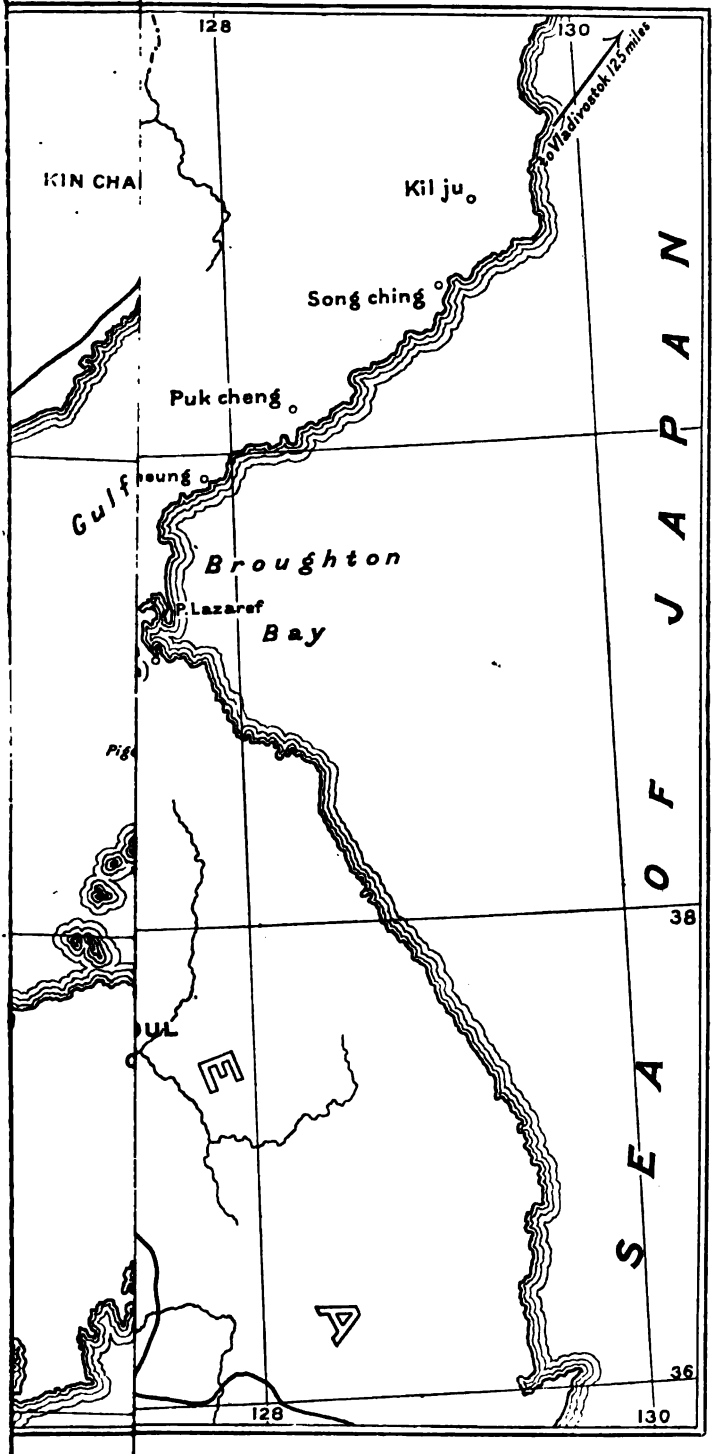
guidance from the higher circles of government; and departmental efforts have been wanting in breadth and grasp. As a consequence, we have voted large sums of money for the furtherance of successive schemes of army reform at home which have been framed without reference to any well-founded conceptions of national strategy, and provide no standard which each of the two great parties of the State can accept as the guiding rule for their actions. We have had the home-defence scheme of 1901, and the short-service scheme of 1902, both of which were unsuited to our special needs. Now we have the scheme of 1904, which in no way meets the demands of India in time of war, breaks up the regular army into two parts unnecessarily, fails to provide a second-line army on a militia basis, and offers no security that home defence can be efficiently performed by the Volunteers.

It is very likely true that Russia will have had such a lesson from her war with Japan that she will be in no hurry to renew a policy of adventure; but it is also true that her military prestige has been tarnished by the many defeats of her armies in Manchuria, and that prestige counts for much with an Asiatic power. It is for us to take care that neither Afghanistan nor India offer a convenient field for the recovery by Russia of her lost prestige. The new situation created by the Russian railways in Central Asia should be duly and maturely considered by all serious statesmen, and careful and well thought-out preparations should be made to meet a danger which is perhaps not imminent, but nevertheless demands prompt and sustained attention. Our governing circles have proved singularly deficient in constructive ability in their handling of questions that concern the army; but enquiry within the charmed circle of the Defence Committee will infallibly have led Mr Balfour and his colleagues to the opinion that India is our greatest cause of military anxiety, and that only when the safety of India is assured by a comprehensive scheme of defence can we regard the chance of foreign complications with anything like equanimity.

The best opinion is inclining to the belief that Mr Arnold-Forster's intention of splitting up the regular army is a mistake, and that the requirements of our very special situation demand a long-service army for the

garrison of India and the Colonies, with about 60,000 men at home and strong reserves; a second-line army of imperial militia and yeomanry, with the liability to serve abroad in time of national emergency; and finally, volunteers for home defence, brigaded with garrison artillery and cyclists. It is felt that a war on the frontiers of India will be long and exhausting, and that we may have to fall back upon some form of compulsory service to fill our ranks in time of war. The establishment of an imperial militia, strictly territorialised and composed of divisions of all arms, with strong cadres, would give us the requisite centres of formation for the large forces we may have to raise, voluntarily if we can, but, if not, then by compulsion. It is probable that we shall be compelled shortly to reinforce the white garrison of India, which is still 6000 men below the minimum fixed in 1858, when no danger existed beyond the frontiers of India; and we shall also be forced in course of time to increase, if we can, our native reserves in India, provided the best authorities concur with the wisdom of such a step. Finally, we must hope that some agreement may be arrived at with respect to colonial assistance, so that we may know how far we can rely upon the military aid of our self-governing Colonies in a national war.

It is too early as yet to attempt to formulate the tactical lessons taught by the great battlefields of Manchuria, since the skilled observers of the British army who are guests at the field headquarters of the two belligerent Powers, have not as yet been able to express publicly all their thoughts, nor to write them untrammelled by the censor's control. But, in their broad lines, the tactics of the war provide a timely antidote for the lessons of South Africa. If the necessity for education, personal initiative, and intelligence has been equally proved by both these conflicts, the conduct of operations has been widely different. We have seen the German theories of infantry attack carried through by the Japanese, with the utmost intrepidity on the part of both leaders and men, with the sole idea of overwhelming the enemy by fire action followed by the shock of wave upon wave of men. On the Russian side the formations appear to have been denser and deeper, and the losses propor-


128
130
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130

tionately higher; but there is no material difference between Russians and Japanese in the intention, namely that of overwhelming the enemy by masses of men hurled against a position regardless of loss.

The Japanese gunnery has been on the whole superior; and, during the phase of mountain fighting, the Japanese army was better provided than its enemy with light artillery. But in the later battles in more open country the superior range, weight of shell, and rapidity of fire of the Russian field-gun have told heavily, and make it an essential matter that any Power considering a war with Russia as a possibility should provide equally powerful modern guns for its field artillery. Both sides have used heavy howitzers with success; and when active hostilities are renewed we shall probably hear more of these weapons.

The mounted troops on both sides have done little, and have been mainly restricted to the task of scouting. Russia anticipated much better results from her Cossacks, and has been proportionately disappointed; but few of those who have studied the Cossacks closely have been surprised to find them fail. The Japanese, on their side, expected little from their cavalry, and, in view of the charac ter of the theatre of war, devoted only a small share of their attention to the arm. Neither side has approached the standard of the Boers in South Africa, or of the Federal or Confederate horsemen in the American Civil War; nor have far-reaching operations by mounted men played any part in the conflict. The generals have kept their horsemen chained to their armies, and have only used them for subordinate and unimportant operations on the flanks of their columns.

If tactical questions can conveniently be relegated to subsequent analysis and discussion, it is otherwise with the very much larger question of the issues of the campaign, and with the situation of England at the close of the struggle. There can be no doubt that the chief interest of the Russian capital, and of all centres of intellectual life in the Tsar's empire, is concentrated for the moment upon projects of internal reform, and that the play and counter-play of reformers and reactionaries occupy a much larger share of public attention than the situation in Manchuria. The war itself is, without doubt,

the most unpopular campaign Russia has ever waged; and from all sides evidence of impatience and disgust, both with the policy that led to the war and with the conduct of the campaign itself, begins to find free and dangerous expression. The constant riots among the mobilised reserves, the total absence of enthusiasm, the vast cost and fearful losses, the numerous desertions, and, lastly, the disheartening failure at the front and the absence of any prospect of immediate or even ultimate improvement in the military situation—all combine to make it the interest of the Russian Government to put an end to the war on the first opportunity that may occur to secure peace without discredit.

Meantime, the absence of any commanding personality at St Petersburg, and the consequent incapacity of the Russian Government to adopt virile decisions, cause the war to drag on; and on the surface nothing is changed. Every day fresh troops enter the trains to swell the totals of the field army in Manchuria. Russia can neither admit defeat nor officially acknowledge that any issue but victory is to be even dreamed of for a moment. Yet it may be that there are some statesmen at the Russian capital who rather anticipate that, after the assembly of a great land force in the early spring and the establishment of the Baltic squadron at some local base within striking distance of Japan, the menace of these joint forces may enable Russian diplomacy to enter the diplomatic field with the material support necessary to secure more favourable terms of peace.

The situation of the respective armies on the Shaho has no parallel in modern times, for we seem to have reverted to the old conception of winter quarters. Each army is covered by extensive fortifications and obstacles; each is frozen up; and the advanced troops of the two parties are in places within pistol shot. How the situation will work out no man will care to foretell; but it is clear that each side will strive its hardest to assemble a larger force than the enemy when military operations become once more practicable on a large scale. There are rumours, at present unconfirmed, that the Russian numbers are already taxing the capacity of the railway; and it is well understood that there is some definite limit beyond which numerical strength will be more near akin

to weakness than the reverse, though what this limit of numbers may be no one can say for certain. On the other side, the alteration in the terms of service in Japan has placed large numbers of men at her disposal; and her means for the reinforcement and supply of the army at the front remain vastly superior to those of Russia so long as the sea is free.

There are some who consider that the arrival of the Baltic squadron in the Far East will change the complexion of the war. If, however, we recall the incidents of the naval engagements fought hitherto, and remember that the best officers and men in the Russian navy were with the Pacific squadron, it is difficult to believe that this fleet from the Baltic will succeed where the other failed. Even if the fates are kind and give Russia the victory in a naval battle, it is reasonably certain that such serious damage will be done to Rozhdestvensky's ships that little more will be heard of them during the year. It is not likely that the Russians will be able to maintain themselves, without a properly equipped base, in the Yellow Sea or off the coast of Japan; so that, even in the improbable event of a Russian naval victory, there will be no assurance that the resulting command of the sea may not be so partial, temporary, and suppositious as scarcely to be distinguished from the contrary situation. The superiority of Japan in minor classes of vessels, and especially in destroyers and torpedo craft, must tell when the larger warships are permanently or temporarily out of action; while the question of coaling, the defensible character of the Straits of Korea, and the moral menace of submarines will make the cruise of a weak squadron in Japanese waters a very hazardous affair. The chances are that, even given a Russian victory in a fleet action, Japan will be able to carry on the war without absolute hindrance to final success. But this Russian victory at sea has yet to be won; and the precedents of the war foreshadow a fresh disaster to Russian arms.

The situation of England at the close of the war must in any event give cause for considerable anxiety. There is, on one side, our alliance with Japan, and on the other the happy restoration of our cordial relations with France, which will with difficulty survive any act of hostility towards her friend and ally. We stand to lose if Japan

is beaten to her knees, and we are scarcely better off if peace leaves Russia humbled and irritated, as must be the case if the war and the hitherto unbroken course of Japanese victories continue. Peace is possible before the spring on terms that may do no mortal injury to Russian pride. Should the war be prolonged into next summer, nothing can compensate for the resulting sacrifice of Japan save terms entailing the eviction of Russia from the Pacific littoral—terms, in short, which can mean nothing more than a truce until such time as the political or military situation allows Russia the opportunity of renewing the struggle on more favourable terms.

It is also necessary for us to remember that our treaty with Japan expires in two years, unless it be meantime renewed, or unless the war still drags on after that lapse of time. Japan is bound to frame her foreign policy upon considerations of our future attitude in this respect. If we decline to renew the bond, and if, as a consequence, the ægis of the British navy, which now shields her from attack by third parties, be removed, a radical change in her foreign relations is inevitable. Nor should we, in such an event, merely relapse into the position in which we found ourselves before the alliance was made. Japan would be forced to make friends elsewhere; and such friendships would necessarily be made with those who are, at least potentially, our enemies. Our interest would suffer from an isolation by no means splendid or hopeful. The navigation of our ship of state through the stormy waters of the concluding phases of this great struggle will tax the patience and the ability of British diplomacy to the utmost; and, if final terms of peace can be arranged which will satisfy Japanese patriotism, not press too hardly on Russian self-esteem, and leave our world-wide interests intact and secure, Lord Lansdowne or his successor will have the right to boast a masterpiece of diplomatic triumph.

Art. XII.—THE PRIME MINISTER'S DUTY.

NEVER since by its formation it delivered the United Kingdom from imminent constitutional peril has the Unionist party faced so gloomy an outlook as that which, in the general opinion, now lies before it. The only point on which most politicians will admit a doubt as to the results of the appeal to the country, now expected to be made within a few months, is the magnitude of the anti-ministerial majority. In 1892 a Unionist defeat was indeed expected at the polls, but not a disaster; and only a slight defeat occurred. As things stand now, anything short of a disaster would be welcomed with surprise by Unionist politicians. And this depressing situation has come about, not only within five years of an emphatic renewal of the popular commission to the Unionists to guide Imperial destinies, but within three years of a series of conspicuous exhibitions of dissension on the part of their opponents, culminating in the announcement of 'definite separation' between the Liberal ex-Premier and the Liberal leader in the House of Commons. At the present moment the Liberals are boisterously rejoicing in their recovered unity and confidently predicting the easy discomfiture of a broken and disunited enemy.

We do not subscribe to the anticipations, whether hopeful or fearful, of which we have spoken, but it is a mere recognition of fact to record their currency. We are not prepared to admit that the game is lost beyond hope, and that nothing can be done to prevent the threatened triumph of a party whose cohesion on questions of first-rate Imperial importance would probably prove, if put to the test, as precarious as ever, and one of whose chief bonds of union lies in an avowed resolve to set the calamitous precedent of reversing the principles of recent legislation. In order, however, to arrive at any rational conclusion as to the measures to be taken to avert a disaster to the Unionist party, involving grave domestic and Imperial dangers, it is necessary briefly to consider the principal causes of the present elevation of Radical hopes.

Unquestionably the cause which far transcends all others is the expectation of being able, as a general

election approaches, to identify the Unionist party as a whole with the policy of Protection and of food taxation. Of this no one can have any doubt who has been at the pains of following the oratorical performances of the Opposition during the present recess. Strike out of the speeches of Liberal and Radical leaders the passages devoted to the exposition, often very well done, of the follies and dangers of Protection, and the demonstration that there is practically no serious difference between Mr Chamberlain and Mr Balfour, and the whole structure of most of these utterances would have to be recast. Relatively to the treatment of the subjects just mentioned, questions connected with the Education Act, the Licensing Act, and Chinese Labour, which in their day engrossed large shares of parliamentary and public attention, occupy quite subordinate positions. They are, no doubt, often briefly mentioned as among the counts of the indictment which is to be laid against the party in power before the tribunal of the electorate. They are duly employed to illustrate the standing charge against Conservatives of legislating, when in office, in the interest of special classes, from whom they have received support in the past, or hope to receive it in the future. And if there were no more attractive subject on which to dilate, we may be quite sure that Liberal speakers would generally be able to expand the treatment of these and other topics so as to occupy the time allowed to platform eloquence. Under present conditions, however, the 'iniquitous' character of the measure which, on equitable terms, arranged for the permanently effective utilisation of the denominational schools as part of the national system of education, the 'perpetual endowment' of the liquor trade, and the introduction of Asiatic immigrants under 'servile' conditions into the Transvaal—all these matters have, as a rule, to be packed away in a few summary sentences in speeches the whole point and essence of which relate to the fiscal question.

The Opposition must be supposed at least to know something of their own business; and if, after extensive experience of by-elections in which they have without doubt achieved remarkable successes in a very widely representative series of constituencies, we find them steadily concentrating on the fiscal issue, it may safely

be inferred that in their opinion such concentration pays. In other words, they must be held to believe that it is dislike of Protection, and fear that Mr Balfour is either practically at one with Mr Chamberlain or is not strong enough to hold out against him, which have chiefly conduced to the manifold electoral reverses suffered by the Government; and that the other questions, on which, sometimes with astonishing want of scruple, they have laid stress, have immeasurably less hold on the popular mind, even when they are all put together, than the one desire to defeat the attack upon Free Trade.

If this is the case, it must be admitted that, on the one hand, there is singularly little to be said for the line of conduct pursued by the Prime Minister during the recess in regard to the fiscal question, as a matter of tactics; and, on the other hand, that a new and strong line on his part in that connexion might still produce a surprising revival in Unionist prospects. If, indeed, there were good reasons to suppose that Mr Balfour was at heart a protectionist, there would still be a considerable case for his declaring himself such in an unmistakable manner. Ambiguity, on that theory, certainly could not be said to have justified itself, having neither prevented division within the Unionist party, nor averted, even temporarily, from the party as a whole the popular charge of having become protectionist.

Mr Balfour's speech at Edinburgh at the beginning of October has been regarded, by Lord Hugh Cecil and others, as negativing any such theory. In that speech—for which it was understood that an occasion was made at very short notice—the Prime Minister was at pains to distinguish between his own fiscal policy, as set forth at Sheffield a year before, and Protection, which, however, he defined in terms not entirely devoid of obscurity. What he laid stress on was the intention. 'A protective policy,' as he understood it, '*aimed* at supporting or creating home industries by raising home prices.' To any such policy he declared himself opposed, and he intimated that if it were to be adopted by the Conservative party as a whole he, though not leaving the party, must cease to lead it. But what he omitted to consider, and what is practically of greater importance than the intention, is the *effect* of heavy duties on trade and industry. For all that he said,

he would be ready to accept such duties, whatever their effect, provided only that they were not called, or meant to be, protective; and herein he remains ambiguous.

Mr Balfour proceeded to advocate the summoning of an Imperial conference as a means of escape from the '*impasse*, dangerous to the empire,' caused by the controversy which had arisen over Mr Chamberlain's statement as to colonial 'offers' of fiscal reciprocity. Of this conference, which should include India as well as the self-governing Colonies, the feature essential to success would be absolute freedom of discussion. On this he laid reiterated stress. The delegates or representatives must be altogether unhampered by special views or special instructions, and, knowing that different economic conditions and views prevailed in the mother-country and in the Colonies, they must do their best, in the light of that knowledge, to determine whether 'any large plan of Imperial union, on fiscal or other lines,' could be hammered out. The phrase, 'other lines,' did not receive any further elucidation from the Prime Minister at Edinburgh; but two months later, when receiving, early in December, an exceptionally weighty deputation organised under the auspices of the Imperial Federation (Defence) Committee, he intimated that the question of a larger co-operation by the Colonies with the mother-country for purposes of common defence must also be regarded as entirely within the field of consideration at the conference which he desired to summon, and of which, as he again observed, perfect freedom of discussion would be a fundamental condition. As 'a necessary corollary, an inevitable set-off to the complete freedom of discussion,' Mr Balfour laid down at Edinburgh that, notwithstanding the delay which might thereby be caused, any large plan resulting from the deliberations of the delegates ought not to be regarded as accepted by any of the parties to the contract until their several electorates should have given their adhesion to it.

To sum up Mr Balfour's declaration of policy—intentional Protection was repudiated; effectual Protection, called by some other name and based on other grounds, was not ruled out. The power to negotiate, and, if necessary, to make and fulfil fiscal threats, with a view to the mitigation of foreign hostile tariffs, was once more

demanded. The wish to develope out of that power a protective tariff for this country was decisively disclaimed. In regard to colonial preference and other matters bearing on Imperial union, a conference was to be called, into which the United Kingdom would go ready to hear and consider any proposals the Colonies might desire to make, but no more pledged in advance to a system of food taxation than the Colonies would be pledged to enhance their naval contributions. And, even if the conference decided in favour of any modification of our existing fiscal system, as part of an arrangement with the Colonies, the ratification of the electorate would be required.

Such, in brief, was the programme put forward by the Unionist chief as that on which his party should go to the country in respect of the fiscal issues raised eighteen months before by Mr Chamberlain. If for a moment we could suppose that this programme had been accepted by Mr Chamberlain as essential to the unity of the Unionist party at the polls, if it had received the frank and loyal acquiescence of Conservative and Liberal Unionist party organisations, and if all Mr Balfour's colleagues had evinced genuine satisfaction with it, the position of the party at the present moment would have been far more cheerful than it is commonly supposed to be. None of these conditions, however, has been fulfilled.

At Luton, two days after the Prime Minister's Edinburgh utterance, Mr Chamberlain delivered a speech which, alike in its assent to and in its dissent from the views expressed by Mr Balfour, was calculated to hinder and, so far as it went, to defeat the attainment of the Prime Minister's obvious aims. Thus, towards the close of a speech essentially protectionist in temper—for example, in its lament over the decline of agriculture under the free-trade *régime*—Mr Chamberlain associated himself with Mr Balfour in repudiating the name 'protectionist,' thereby doing what in him lay to minimise the effect of the Prime Minister's repudiation. Then, while offering a cordial welcome to Mr Balfour's proposal for an Imperial conference—as he could not fail to do, having made a somewhat similar proposal himself some months earlier—he took occasion pointedly to reject that necessity for a subsequent popular ratification of the results of the conference on which the Prime Minister

had so strongly insisted. Mr Balfour had treated this ratification as 'a necessary corollary' of that absolute freedom of discussion—that entire absence of hampering preliminary instructions to the delegates—which on two occasions he declared to be essential to the success of a complicated and difficult undertaking. Therefore, in striking at the corollary, Mr Chamberlain must be held to have indicated his unwillingness to acquiesce in the condition from which it flowed. In other words, he wishes that the voters at the next general election, if they return the Unionist party to power, should be taken as declaring, not for a free conference, but for a conference into which the United Kingdom would enter pledged to a system of colonial preference based upon the taxation of food. Thus the net result of Mr Chamberlain's Luton speech was, so far as might be, to blur the effect of the Prime Minister's declaration against Protection, and to put pressure upon him to alter the issues which he desired to place before the country at the general election.

It was naturally expected that Mr Balfour would avail himself of the occasion offered by the Conservative gathering at Southampton in the last week of October to clear up and emphasise both those aspects of his Edinburgh utterance which it had thus been sought to obscure or to modify. In the interval, however, came the North Sea outrage and imminent danger of war with Russia, with the result that the speech, which otherwise would inevitably have been largely occupied by a consideration of the fiscal policy of the Unionist party, was devoted entirely to a treatment of the acute international crisis. The Prime Minister's statement on that occasion produced, it is true, an impression that more had been obtained from Russia in the way of satisfaction than subsequently appeared to be the case. On the whole, however, there is reason to believe that Mr Balfour and Lord Lansdowne obtained, not, indeed, a brilliant diplomatic success, but concessions as large as any one could have expected to obtain by diplomatic means. Nothing short of a refusal on the part of Russia to submit the matter to arbitration at all would have justified a recourse to violent measures, involving the colossal calamity of war between England and Russia with the probability of a much wider conflagration

That being so, the incident may probably be reckoned as likely to leave on the mind of the electorate no distinct impression for or against the Government.

The acute phases of the Anglo-Russian crisis did not by any means terminate with the reception of the communication from the Russian ambassador, the purport of which was conveyed by the Prime Minister to his audience at Southampton; for two or three weeks later well-informed persons were aware that the danger of a rupture had by no means passed away. It may therefore be plausibly contended that, if Mr Balfour had been contemplating such an utterance on the relations between himself and the protectionist wing of the party as might have led to a party crisis, he was well advised in deferring its deliverance. It was none the less unfortunate, however, that the proceedings at the Southampton conference were such as to be regarded on all hands as amounting to a considerable victory for the protectionist wing. This result was secured, with more ingenuity than loyalty, by the passage, on the motion of Mr Chaplin, of a resolution ignoring the Prime Minister's repudiation of Protection, and emphasising an incidental reference—not in the main body of his speech, but in a series of clever attempts to reduce Lord Rosebery's economic position to absurdity—to the possible necessity of fiscal action for the prevention of dumping. A minority of only some thirteen delegates supported an amendment moved by a 'free-food' Unionist in favour of a general approval of the fiscal declarations contained in the Edinburgh speech. It is probable that the vote taken bore little relation to the actual division of feeling among Conservatives throughout the country on the fiscal problem; but it gave fresh evidence of the extent to which the party organisations had been captured by the tariff-reform section, and of the strange notions of party discipline which prevail in that body.

The same lesson was taught in regard to those Liberal Unionist organisations which had been purged of their anti-Chamberlain element by a correspondence published in December between Mr Ernest Hatch, M.P. for the Gorton division of Lancashire, and Lord Lansdowne and Lord Selborne as vice-presidents of the Liberal Unionist Council. Mr Hatch called the attention of the two

ministers to a circular, at the head of which their names were printed, along with that of Mr Chamberlain, as officers of the council, stating that it was proposed to reorganise and strengthen the Gorton Liberal Unionist Association, and specifying 'closer union with the Colonies on the basis of Preferential Tariffs' as a leading feature of Liberal Unionist policy. Mr Hatch naturally enquired whether this statement was issued with the knowledge and assent of the two vice-presidents, who are also leading members of Mr Balfour's Government. It appeared from the replies that Lord Lansdowne, and probably Lord Selborne also, had not been cognisant of the issue of the particular circular in question; but they both firmly refused to give Mr Hatch any information, beyond what he might gather from their published speeches, as to whether they approved of the inclusion, within a formal and apparently authoritative statement of Liberal Unionist policy, of a feature which Mr Balfour has declared to be beyond the limits to which he desires to commit the Unionist party as a whole in view of a general election. There is not the slightest reason to suppose that the case of Gorton is otherwise than representative of operations being carried on generally throughout the country, under the auspices of the new Liberal Unionist Council, for the dislodgment of Unionist members of Parliament who decline to support colonial preference at the next general election.

These things being so, two consequences are natural and indeed inevitable. In the first place, not only will the Opposition confidently assert, but a large and increasing number of electors will believe, that the policy of the Unionist party is not what was defined in Mr Balfour's Edinburgh speech, to the satisfaction of such good free-traders as Lord Hugh Cecil and Lord George Hamilton, but what is prescribed by Mr Chamberlain's supporters. In the second place the free-trade Unionist organisations will inevitably assume a more and more aggressive attitude. The chief of these, the Unionist Free-trade Club, presided over by the Duke of Devonshire, contains a large proportion of the flower of the Liberal Unionist party and not a few of the most promising of the younger Conservatives. No one can be more fully alive than Mr Balfour to the vast injury to the Unionist cause, and to

thoughtful Conservatism generally, which would result from driving these elements of sober and reasoned progress into definite alliance with the Opposition. The merely numerical defection would be far from inconsiderable, but it would bear no proportion at all to the magnitude of the loss in thought, in judgment, and in qualities of leadership.

Already, at several by-elections, free-trade Unionists have used their influence and cast their votes in favour of Liberal candidates in order to prevent the return of a protectionist; and a published correspondence between the Duke of Devonshire and Mr St Loe Strachey shows that, while there may well be cases in which the fiscal soundness of a Radical candidate would not avail to counterbalance other considerations making him unacceptable to a free-trade Unionist voter, it is certainly anticipated that in the majority of cases the fiscal issue will be regarded as decisive. It is apparently hoped and intended by Unionist free-traders that, if they should feel constrained to form a working alliance with a party against which they have waged ceaseless war for the last twenty years, and in some cases for all their lives, such an arrangement will be only temporary, and they will revert to the Unionist alliance when Unionism is purged of the protectionist virus. In the meantime they appear to anticipate that no serious mischief would result to the State from the predominance which they would help to gain for the Liberal party. We cannot profess to share the former of these anticipations with any confidence, or the latter at all. The story of the Unionist alliance shows how political co-operation, begun for a single object, tends to spread over the whole range of public questions and to become a permanent habit only to be disturbed by some such seismic influence as the revival of protectionism. On the other hand, unless—which seems very improbable—the free-trade Unionists should be returned to Parliament, after an election fought on the fiscal issue, in such numbers as to give them something like the balancing power which the Liberal Unionists enjoyed after 1886, they could not count on being able to restrain their allies from doing mischief in the field of Imperial, Irish, and purely English politics. While clinging to the new connexion which they had formed for the purpose of avert-

ing the national adoption of an unsound economic policy, they might find it altogether beyond their power to guide or restrain, within lines of reason, justice, and patriotism, the body of politicians who carried the second Home Rule Bill through the House of Commons; who furnished from among their numbers the virulent and singularly mischievous pro-Boer party; and who have shown a more than benevolent neutrality towards the essentially anarchical resistance offered in different forms in England and Wales to the Education Act of 1902.

No one can suppose that the prospect of this co-operation is anything but uncongenial to the great majority of the free-trade Unionists, even though, in view of what seems to them at the moment an imperative call of duty, they may endeavour to minimise its inevitable dangers and drawbacks. No one can suppose that the majority of them would not welcome with deep satisfaction the opportunity of maintaining their old party allegiance if they could regard it as compatible with the preservation of this country and the empire from the disasters which they foresee in the success of Mr Chamberlain's fiscal policy. It rests entirely with the Prime Minister to determine whether this opportunity shall be given them, and whether, through the country at large, the Unionist party shall be delivered from disintegrating and paralysing influences. It is possible that history may not blame him for having attempted, during the past twenty months, to hold the Unionist party together by a policy of consideration for Mr Chamberlain. But that policy has conspicuously failed. The party has become both deeply divided in itself and discredited with the country. The one moment when there seemed a chance of recovery from these disasters was the morrow of the Edinburgh speech, which, as was said by one of the minority at Southampton, put fresh heart and hope into many hundreds of those who had been, and would gladly be again, among Mr Balfour's most loyal followers. We have shown how the hopes so raised were dashed; and he has not since then taken a single public step to retrieve them. The severity of the Anglo-Russian crisis and his own illness may be fairly allowed to account for a good deal of his silence. But the time has now plainly come for the definite reassertion of his authority.

Within the past few weeks two of his principal colleagues—the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Secretary for the Colonies—have used language which can only with the utmost difficulty, if at all, be reduced to any kind of harmony with the Edinburgh speech in its leading points. Mr Austen Chamberlain, while still in charge of the finances of the country, has—unless the condensed report of a recent speech did him grave injustice—poured contempt upon both the doctrine and practice of Free Trade in terms hardly distinguishable in effect from those habitually employed by his father. Mr Lyttelton, speaking at Glasgow on an occasion when Mr Balfour himself had been originally expected to be present, used language in regard to the Imperial conference to be called if the Unionists return to power, which was naturally interpreted by Mr Chamberlain's chief organs in the London press as meaning that a mandate from the country for the calling of the conference would be accepted as a declaration in favour of colonial preference. That is the opposite of what Mr Balfour said.

The country, therefore, has a right to know now whether—as we certainly shall believe until the contrary is demonstrated—the Prime Minister's policy is that which he expounded at Edinburgh. If it is, it needs to be restated in such a fashion as will place it beyond possibility of further misinterpretation, whether by party organisations or by late or present colleagues. Only by so doing can Mr Balfour prevent the Unionist party from being regarded by the country as committed to the protectionism which he has apparently repudiated; only so can that party secure any chance of avoiding disaster at the polls. The safety of every cause of importance for which Mr Balfour has fought since he began to take a prominent part in politics is, in one degree or another, involved in averting a Unionist *débâcle*. In Ireland, the progress of the expropriation of the landlords and the spread of the devolution movement imperatively require that the direction of legislation and administration should remain in the hands of those with whom the maintenance of the Union is a matter of vital principle and, not at the best, one of possible opportunism. In South Africa it is of prime importance that the gradual advance of the new colonies towards self-government should not be carried

out under the auspices of the party of which a large and extremely energetic section might be counted on as certain to yield, as matter of conscience, to any noisy agitation engineered by the Boers. In England, the education settlement, which Mr Balfour, to his great credit, carried through the House of Commons, would, in one of its most important aspects, be profoundly disturbed by the accession of the Radical party to power—and that in deference to an agitation which has been conducted with an extraordinary disregard alike for truth and for the first principles of parliamentary government.

Never, in fact, has a statesman had greater call, on grounds of patriotism, to exert himself to rally his followers for the prevention of a party catastrophe. It is true that in so doing he runs the risk of mutiny on the part of an important section. The threat to which he unwisely deferred, in allowing the withdrawal of the Wharton amendment, may be renewed. But, on the one hand, it seems clear that Protectionism is making little way, and that, even in the Midlands, its hold is slight. The number of those politicians, therefore, who would be prepared to stake their future on the chance of the success of that cause must have appreciably declined. On the other hand, we cannot believe that, on a full consideration of the other great issues to which we have referred, many of those who, on the fiscal question, are in accord with Mr Chamberlain would be prepared to take the responsibility of contributing to the wreck of the Unionist party. However that may be, the Prime Minister's course is, in our judgment, clear. To drift in the wake of Mr Chamberlain would involve infinitely greater perils to his own prestige and to every cause which he may be supposed to hold dear than any which might result from a removal of all obscurities and a resolute reassertion of his leadership on the lines which he has himself marked out.

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CONTENTS

OF

Nos. 399, 400, AND 402.

No. 399.—JULY, 1904.

ART.		PAGE
I.	The Meaning of Literary History	1
II.	Giotto and Early Italian Art	27
III.	Recent Lights on Ancient Egypt	48
IV.	European Thought in the Nineteenth Century	76
V.	A Great French Scholar	101
VI.	The Sleeping Sickness	113
VII.	The Laws of the Anglo-Saxons	139
VIII.	The Novels of Sir A. Conan Doyle	158
IX.	The Tsar	180
X.	India under Lord Curzon	210
XI.	The Life and Philosophy of Herbert Spencer	240
XII.	The Japanese Revolution	268
XIII.	The Militia and Volunteers	309

No. 400.—OCTOBER, 1904.

I.	The Panama Canal and Maritime Commerce	329
II.	The 'Advocatus Diaboli' on the Divina Commedia	358
III.	The Palace of Knossos	374
IV.	The Polish Nation	396
V.	The Influence of Kant on Modern Thought	420
VI.	Thomas Traherne and the Religious Poetry of the Seventeenth Century	437
VII.	The Animals of Africa	465
VIII.	The Coming Presidential Election in the United States	493
IX.	British Rule in Egypt	526
X.	Fatigue	556
XI.	French Painting in the Middle Ages	576
XII.	Higher Education in Wales	599
XIII.	The Case of the Scottish Churches	626

No. 402.—JANUARY, 1905.

I.	William Stubbs, Churchman and Historian	1
II.	Horace Walpole and William Cowper	35
III.	Profit-sharing and Copartnership	61
IV.	The Making of the United States	88
V.	Poultry-keeping as a Business	125
VI.	The Tudors and the Navy	145
VII.	Canon Ainger	169
VIII.	The Direction and Method of Education	197
IX.	Matthew Arnold	221
X.	Tariffs and National Well-being	250
XI.	The War in the Far East	280
XII.	The Prime Minister's Duty	309

CONTENTS

OF

No. 403.—APRIL, 1905.

PAGE

ART. I.—LORD DUFFERIN - - - - - - - - 321

The Life of the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava. By the Right Hon. Sir Alfred Lyall. Two volumes. London: Murray, 1905.

ART. II.—THE WANDERINGS OF ODYSSEUS - - - 344

Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée. Par Victor Bérard. Two vols. Paris: Armand Colin, 1902–3.

ART. III.—HIPPOLYTE TAINE, PHILOSOPHER AND CRITIC - 371

1. Hippolyte Taine; sa Vie et sa Correspondance. Vols I and II. Paris: Hachette, 1902–4.
2. Life and Letters of H. Taine, 1828–1870. Translated by Mrs. R. L. Devonshire. Two vols. Westminster: Constable, 1902–4.

ART. IV.—THE CARE OF THE INSANE - - - - 399

1. Report of the Select Committee on Lunacy Law, 1877.
2. Annual Reports of the Lunacy Commission, 1894–1904.

And other works.

ART. V.—THE COLLECTED WORKS OF LORD BYRON - 429

1. The Works of Lord Byron: Letters and Journals. Edited by Rowland E. Prothero. Six volumes. London: Murray, 1898–1901.
2. The Works of Lord Byron: the Poetical Works. Edited by Ernest Hartley Coleridge. Seven volumes. London: Murray, 1898–1904.

ART. VI.—TWO GREAT CHURCHMEN - - - - - 458

1. Life and Letters of Mandell Creighton, D.D., sometime Bishop of London. By his Wife. Two vols. London: Longmans, 1904.
2. Life and Letters of Henry Parry Liddon, D.D. By John Octavius Johnston, M.A. London: Longmans 1904.

PAGE

ART. VII.—PEARLS AND PARASITES - - - - - 485

1. Report to the Government of Ceylon on the Pearl-oyster Fisheries of the Gulf of Manaar. By W. A. Herdman, F.R.S. Parts I and II. Published by the Royal Society. London, 1904.
2. On the Origin of Pearls. By H. Lyster Jameson. 'Proceedings of the Zool. Society of London,' 1902.
And other works.

ART. VIII.—OUR NEGLECTED MONUMENTS - - - 497

1. Reports from Her Majesty's Representatives abroad as to the Statutory Provisions existing in Foreign Countries for the Preservation of Historical Buildings. Accounts and Papers: Miscellaneous, No. 2, 1897. [C. 8448.]
2. La Legislazione delle Belle Arti. By Filippo Mariotti. Rome: Unione Cooperativa Editrice, 1892.
And other works.

ART. IX.—THE EARLY ROMAN EMPERORS - - - 521

1. Cæsar's Conquest of Gaul. By T. Rice Holmes. New edition. London: Macmillan, 1903.
2. Portraitures of Julius Cæsar. By Frank J. Scott. London: Longmans, 1903.
And other works.

ART. X.—PREFERENCE: THE COLONIAL VIEW - - - 546

1. Papers relating to Resolutions passed by Colonial Legislatures since 1890 in favour of Preferential Trade relations with the United Kingdom, 1905. [Cd. 2326.]
2. Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the Liberal Party. By J. S. Willison. Two vols. Toronto: Morang, 1903.
And other works.

ART. XI.—THE CONDITION OF RUSSIA - - - - 581

ART. XII.—WATTS AND WHISTLER - - - - - 607

ART. XIII.—THE UNEMPLOYED - - - - - - 624

1. Report on Agencies and Methods for dealing with Unemployed made to the Board of Trade, 1893. [C. 7182.]
2. Reports of Select Committees of the House of Commons upon Distress from want of Employment. Commons Papers, iii, 253 and 365 of 1895, 321 of 1896.
And other works.

NOTE ON THE SUGAR CONVENTION - - - - - 646

THE

QUARTERLY REVIEW.

No. 403.—APRIL, 1905.

Art. I.—LORD DUFFERIN.

The Life of the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava. By the Right Hon. Sir Alfred Lyall. Two volumes. London: Murray, 1905.

By an unusually happy choice Sir Alfred Lyall was selected to write the life of Lord Dufferin. Sir Alfred occupied a high position in India during the period of Lord Dufferin's Viceroyalty; he returned home, in the same year as his chief, to fill a place of still greater influence in the India Office. In India he had an opportunity of observing on the spot the manner in which Lord Dufferin discharged the duties of the highest office which, in his varied career, he was called on to fill. In England Sir Alfred has had exceptional means of acquiring a knowledge of our policy in the East, with which Lord Dufferin, in the Lebanon, at St Petersburg, at Constantinople, and in India itself, had so much to do. But, if long and varied experience in India, and on the Indian Council, enables Sir Alfred to speak with exceptional authority on those portions of Lord Dufferin's life which made his name familiar to his contemporaries, and will ensure his remembrance by posterity, other qualifications also specially fitted him for the task. A poet of no mean order, a writer whose works are always original, a critic whose judgment is almost always sound, Sir Alfred is admirably constituted to appreciate a man who was not merely a distinguished administrator and diplomatist, but who inherited through his mother the genius of the Sheridans. A few of Sir Alfred's readers may, indeed, think that he might have devoted, with advantage, a little more space to some passages in Lord Dufferin's life.

Six or seven hundred pages are a small allowance for the biography of a man who filled so many important positions. But, in these days of diffuse biographies, we are not disposed to quarrel with a writer who has contrived to be concise without becoming obscure. Sir Alfred Lyall has been fortunate in his subject, and Lord Dufferin in his biographer.

And what a life it was which Sir Alfred Lyall has undertaken to write! Most administrators would consider themselves fortunate if they had crowned a long career by presiding over the destinies of our great autonomous colony in America, or by administering the affairs of our vast and populous dependency in India. Most diplomatists would regard themselves as equally fortunate if they had been entrusted, before their final retirement from the service, with our diplomacy at one of the great European capitals. But Lord Dufferin represented his sovereign in Canada and India, at St Petersburg, at Constantinople, at Paris, and at Rome. No other man who lived in the nineteenth century filled so many high and important offices, or filled them with more credit to himself or with more advantage to the country.

He commenced life, no doubt, in favouring circumstances. Heir to a great estate and to a considerable name, he was introduced to official life, and was even raised to the English peerage, at an age when most men are painfully endeavouring to secure a foothold on the lower rungs of the professional or parliamentary ladder. He leapt into prominence. But he owed his advancement, not merely to accidents of birth and fortune, but to qualities which commended him to his political leaders, and made him the favourite of society. He was born at Florence on June 21, 1826. His father, Price Blackwood, a naval officer who succeeded somewhat unexpectedly to the Irish peerage, died while his only child was a boy at Eton. His mother, Helen Sheridan—one of three famous sisters, who became respectively Duchess of Somerset, Mrs Norton, and Lady Dufferin—was the granddaughter of Richard Brinsley Sheridan. She said herself to Mr Disraeli: 'You see Georgy (the Duchess of Somerset) is the beauty; Carry (Mrs Norton) is the wit; and I ought to be the good one, but then I am not.' Her verdict on herself, however, is not likely to be shared by many

people. Those who look on her portrait will think that she inherited much of the beauty with which her grandmother, Miss Linley, endowed her family; those who read her poetry or her correspondence will give her credit for the wit and genius which distinguished her grandfather; while those who read her letters to her son will think that, whether she was or was not 'the good one,' she was among the wisest and best of mothers. She sent her boy, in the first instance, to a private school at Hampton, removing him in due course, in May 1839, to Eton, where she placed him with Cookesley, 'a tutor who' (Sir Alfred Lyall says) 'had more brains than ballast; whom his pupils liked much more than they respected him; who could make himself popular, but could not make them work.' Admitting that Cookesley's eccentricities made him an unsuitable tutor for many boys, we cannot fully endorse this judgment; nor are we sure that we could not apply Sir Alfred's indictment of Cookesley to other masters who were at Eton at the same time. It is, at any rate, the case that Sir Alfred himself quotes Sir James Stephen's description of life at Eton to justify his remarks on life at Cookesley's. We think he might have recollected that an Eton pupil-room, like other institutions, is to be judged by its results, and that something, at any rate, can be said for a master whose pupil-room contained, when Lord Dufferin was at Eton, a future Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury, and was soon afterwards to admit another distinguished diplomatist, Sir E. Malet.

Blackwood's talk was so copious that Cookesley nicknamed him 'the orator'—Cookesley had a nickname for most of his pupils; but his oratorical powers do not seem to have gained him admittance to the debating society, profanely known as 'Pop,' where many generations of boys, from the days of Mr Gladstone downwards, have anticipated their triumphs at the Union or in the Senate. But the fact was that Lord Dufferin's temperament hardly fitted him for the distinctions at which most public-schoolboys aim. When he went up to Christ Church, one of his contemporaries said of him that he 'neither hunted, nor rowed, nor played games, and his immediate friends were not many.' At Oxford he seems to have pursued the somewhat detached life which he

had followed at Eton. He did not seek such honours as the university confers in its schools, or the undergraduates themselves award on the cricket field or on the river. Shunning the company of the many, he surrounded himself with a few chosen friends, with some of whom he founded the Pythic Club. He justified, however, his old tutor's nickname by taking frequent part in the discussions of the club and in the debates of the Union, whose president he ultimately became.

Lord Dufferin remained at Oxford for only two years, which he afterwards remembered as 'the happiest of his unmarried existence.' In 1849 he accepted from Lord John Russell a Lordship-in-waiting, and in the following year was raised to the English peerage as Lord Clandeboye of Clandeboye. He resigned his court office on the fall of Lord John's administration in February 1852; but he found ample means of occupying his time with the distractions of society, the duties of his estate, and the interests of foreign travel. In 1854, after the commencement of the Crimean War, he took his yacht, the 'Foam,' to the Baltic, and witnessed the siege of Bomarsund from her decks.

'When Sir Charles Napier asked him whether he had a wish to see a shot pass over him, Lord Dufferin closed with the proposal and went on board the "Penelope," a ship that was ordered to run within range of a Russian battery, for the purpose of ascertaining whether it was effectively armed. The "Penelope" not only drew the enemy's fire, but her crew were so busy watching the shots that she was not stopped before she grounded on a rock, and Lord Dufferin passed two hours in perilous exposure. . . . Not content, however, with this trial of his nerves, Lord Dufferin joined a party to visit the trenches of the French army investing Bomarsund. . . . They slipped across from battery to battery, running the gauntlet of fire in the open intervals; and finally, seeing a white flag hoisted on the fort, they walked straight up to the gate, were sharply ordered back by a Russian officer who cried to them that the place had not yet surrendered, and regained cover under a satisfactory shower of balls and bullets.'

Lord Dufferin's adventure probably raised him in the opinion of his political chief, who, more than forty years before, had ridden with Lord Wellington along the lines

of Torres Vedras; and, in the spring of 1855, Lord John asked his young follower to join him on his abortive mission to Vienna. Lord Dufferin thus obtained his first introduction to diplomacy and diplomatists; but he apparently omitted to place on record any of the impressions which he derived from his mission. He returned home to occupy himself with the duties of his court office, which he had resumed under Lord Aberdeen, and with the affairs of his Irish estate, which he was never tired of improving. But attendance at court and alterations at Clandeboye could not satisfy his adventurous nature.

'Like Ulysses, Lord Dufferin could not rest from travel, and heard the call of the sea. So in June 1856 he set off "to sail beyond the sunset" into the Arctic north on his yacht the "Foam," with a bronze likeness of the Duchess of Argyll, by Marochetti, as her figurehead. The story of the voyage has been brilliantly told in his "Letters from High Latitudes," a book which shows him in the prime of his manhood captivating the Icelandic ladies by his lively courtesy, taking frolics and fatigues with equal zest, never flinching before the deep potations of the hospitable Norsemen or among the fogs and icebergs which barred his access to Spitzbergen.'

In the winter of 1858–9, in company with his mother—and having substituted steam for sails—he took another voyage in quieter waters, visiting Egypt, Syria, and Greece. This leisurely expedition occupied the whole of 1859; and he only reached London in the beginning of 1860. The turning-point of his life had come; he was about to hear a more serious 'call' than that which had summoned him to the frozen waters of the North or the blue skies of the Mediterranean. A great duty was imposed on him, which forced him hurriedly to return to the Levant, where he had passed so much time in the preceding year.

The district of Syria lying between the mountain ranges of Lebanon, or Anti-Lebanon, and the coast, is mainly populated on the north by the Maronites, an ancient Christian sect, and on the south by the Druses, a race of Mahomedan schismatics. Each of these was placed under a local chieftain, subordinate to the Turkish Governor of Syria. Hereditary feuds had long existed between the two peoples, who hated one another as the Guelfs hated the Ghibellines, or the Montagues the Capulets. The Turkish

government unhappily encouraged dissensions which it was its business to allay; and in April 1860 the feud broke out in bloodshed and fire. The Druses attacked the Maronites; the Maronites retaliated on the Druses; the Turkish garrison, instead of repressing disorder, joined in the slaughter. In the course of May thirty-two villages were burned down; and Lord Dufferin himself found in Damascus 'upwards of 2000 houses utterly destroyed, and their inhabitants buried beneath their ruins.'

When news of these ghastly outrages reached western Europe they excited a thrill of horror. France has always regarded herself as the protector of the Roman Church in the Levant; and Napoleon III, much to his credit, at once proposed that the great Powers should send a joint commission to Syria, and that the commission should be followed by French troops, instructed to restore order. The proposal was received with some coldness by this country. The Emperor's Italian policy, and the proposed annexation of Savoy and Nice to France, were exciting distrust; and, though French and British soldiers were again acting together in the Far East, there was no longer any real cordiality between the two peoples and their rulers. Accounts, however, of further massacres compelled Lord Palmerston to assent to the Emperor's proposal; and Lord Dufferin was selected to represent this country on the joint commission.

If there was no real cordiality between France and England, there was some divergence between their views. The French, as the special patrons of the Maronites, were disposed to lay the entire blame of the massacre on the Druses; the English, on the contrary, as a great Mahomedan power, were inclined to regard both Druses and Maronites as equally guilty. While there was this divergence in their views, there was also a difference in their aims. France, despatching 8000 troops to Syria, desired that her own soldiers should win credit in restoring order. England, on the contrary, nervous of any fresh symptom of French aggression, was anxious to secure the withdrawal of the troops on the earliest opportunity. The French desired to place the whole district under a Maronite chief; the English, or Lord Dufferin, suggested that it should be turned into an in-

dependent Viceroyalty on the Egyptian model. The compromise which was finally adopted was to place it

'under a Christian governor nominated by, and directly subordinate to, the Porte, . . . unconnected with the tribes and a stranger to the province, to be appointed for three years, and to be removable only on formal proof of misconduct.'

It may be possible to argue that Lord Dufferin's own proposal would have afforded a more radical and more complete remedy for Syrian disorder than the compromise which the commissioners adopted. But the latter, at any rate, succeeded; and Lord Dufferin had the satisfaction of hearing, some years afterwards, from a correspondent at Damascus that the settlement was still a success. 'There is no province in Syria, none, I believe, in the Empire, so well governed as the Lebanon.'

In fact, in the melancholy history of the Ottoman Empire during the last fifty years, the shadow is relieved by the single ray of light thrown upon it in 1860 and 1861. For once the Concert of Europe had been made to work; and that it was made to work was largely due to Lord Dufferin's tact, ability, and good manners. He won the confidence, not only of the wretched people whom he had come to protect, but of his fellow-commissioners whom he had so often to oppose. As his mother wrote,

'His departure from Beyrout was a universal sorrow: rich and poor, merchants, sailors, and soldiers—everybody seemed to love and look up to him; and he was tenderly kissed on both cheeks by the French general, his principal political adversary.'

We have dwelt at some length on Sir Alfred Lyall's admirable account of the mission to the Lebanon,* because it was not merely the turning-point of Lord Dufferin's career, but in some respects was the most successful piece of work which he ever accomplished. But we must pass over more rapidly the succeeding seven or eight years of Lord Dufferin's life. During these years, indeed, he was introduced to official duties at home, having

* Sir Alfred has had the good sense to consult, and to master, the French view of the case; and, in consequence, he writes, throughout his chapter on the Syrian mission, with an impartiality and knowledge which unhappily are not always shared by other English writers on the subject.

accepted the under-secretaryship at the India Office. During these years he lost the mother who—so he wrote himself—'was one of the sweetest, most beautiful, most accomplished, wittiest, most loving, and lovable human beings that ever walked upon the earth.' During the same period he married the lady who still survives, and to whom he was able to say, in the last year of his life, 'You have been everything to me in my prosperous days, and they have been many; and now you are even more to me in my adversity.' But, with such exceptions, there is little to chronicle between his return from Syria and his appointment to Canada. His duties at the India Office, at the War Office—to which he was transferred in 1866—and at the Duchy of Lancaster—to which he was appointed in 1869—however largely such work may loom in the lives of other men, count for nothing in a career so full and varied as that of Lord Dufferin.

During this period, however, he was engaged in his chief political controversy. The recrudescence of rebellion in Ireland drew new attention to Irish questions. Mr Gladstone commenced his task of attacking the three branches of the famous upas tree; and men like Mr Mill and Mr Bright formulated rival schemes for dealing with Irish land. Lord Dufferin, in 1868, entered into the lists against Mr Mill; and perhaps the few surviving persons who have read their respective pamphlets will form the conclusion that he got the better of the contest. The part which he had taken in the controversy, and his position and experience as a great Irish landlord, naturally induced Mr Gladstone to consult him when he was preparing the Irish Land Act of 1870; and traces of Lord Dufferin's advice may be found in the measure itself, and still more clearly in the speech with which Mr Gladstone introduced it in the House of Commons. Yet Lord Dufferin was, in fact, radically opposed to the ideas which were inspiring Mr Gladstone, and which were, indeed, permeating political society at that time. For, while almost every reformer on both sides of the House thought it necessary to give the Irish tenant some greater interest in his holding, Lord Dufferin was in favour of gradually abolishing the interest which custom had given to the Ulster tenantry. The legislation which Mr Gladstone initiated in 1870, moreover, tended to create a dual ownership in land,

while Lord Dufferin's whole policy was based on vesting the landlord with complete control of his own property.

In so writing we have no desire to reflect on Lord Dufferin's conduct in the management of his estates. On the contrary, from the day on which he came of age—at a period when many large Irish proprietors were unhappily neglecting their duties and living away from their property—he was impressed with a sense of his responsibilities as a great landlord. His first act, on attaining his majority, was to grant his tenants (Sir A. Lyall says rather imprudently) an abatement of 2000*l.* a year of his rental for twenty-one years. He was able to say in 1870 that leases had been the ancient rule on his property, and that there was not a tenant at will on his estate. Further, with a lavish generosity worthy of the Sheridans, he spent, in twenty-five years, some 150,000*l.* on improvements; and more than half of this sum was devoted to the benefit of his tenants, whose rental, notwithstanding, was not increased by a single sixpence. His prodigal liberality in this respect partly contributed to the embarrassments of his closing years; for it was a desire to restore the noble fortune which he had seriously impaired that induced him to undertake duties in the City for which temperament and training equally disqualified him. But, if Lord Dufferin must be regarded as a model Irish landlord, he signally failed to appreciate the real difficulties of the Irish land question. His own excellences blinded him to the misconduct of some landed proprietors; and, though he was induced to support the Act of 1870, which for the first time invested the Ulster custom with the sanction of law, he defended it

'for the same reason that I would sentence the murderer of an illegitimate infant to be hanged. I do not approve of adultery; but the creature being there has the right to the protection of the law.'

It is not altogether surprising to learn that ministerial silence indicated disapproval of these sentiments, or that Lord Dufferin, conscious of the difference between himself and his colleagues, thought it right to offer to retire from the Government. It is perhaps not much more surprising that, in the few years which followed the Act of 1870, he sold two thirds of his Irish estates. He was, of course, strongly opposed to the Act of 1881.

Mr Gladstone and his colleagues had no desire to lose their brilliant lieutenant; but some of them were already considering whether other and more suitable work could not be found for him. On Lord Mayo's assassination in 1872, the Duke of Argyll, as Secretary of State for India, evidently desired to confer the Viceroyalty upon him. The Cabinet, however, preferred Lord Northbrook; but immediately afterwards decided on sending Lord Dufferin to Canada as Governor-general. The prize was undoubtedly a great one. By an Act of 1867 'the four provinces of Upper Canada, Lower Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick had been united under the name of the Dominion of Canada.' The territory of Manitoba, purchased from the Hudson's Bay Company, had been added to the Dominion in 1869: British Columbia and Vancouver's Island joined the confederation in 1871, the year preceding Lord Dufferin's appointment. He was therefore the first Governor-general who ruled over the vast territory of British North America, from the shores of the Atlantic to the shores of the Pacific ocean. The experiment of confederation was first tried in its integrity under his auspices.

The political matters, indeed, which occupied much of Lord Dufferin's time in Canada need not detain us for many sentences. The allegations of corruption which ultimately destroyed Sir John Macdonald's Government, and led to the formation of Mr Mackenzie's Ministry and the trial and pardon of Lepine,* who had been accessory to the murder of an Englishman named Scott, raised

* Two constitutional questions were raised on these matters which perhaps deserve notice. (1) Sir John Macdonald was forced to assent to the appointment of a parliamentary committee to enquire into the allegations of corruption, and to a Bill empowering the committee to examine witnesses on oath. Lord Dufferin, we think rightly, gave his assent to the Bill, which was, however, disallowed by the Home Government as *ultra vires*. We very much doubt whether the Home Government would have so acted twenty years afterwards. (2) The execution of Lepine's sentence would have excited so much opposition among the French Canadians that Lord Dufferin obtained authority from the Colonial Office to commute it 'in consultation with his ministers.' Lord Dufferin commuted the sentence but dispensed with his ministers' advice, and the Colonial Office approved his conduct, but gave instructions to prevent a repetition of it. We are inclined to think that the Colonial Office was wrong. The commutation of a sentence for a crime associated with party politics is one of the few things which a constitutional governor may, and perhaps ought, to take upon himself to do.

issues, difficult and delicate at the time, which have long since been consigned to the lumber-room of history. The true service which Lord Dufferin rendered in Canada was that he impressed on the Canadians the value of their connexion with the mother-country; and that he taught the people of the United Kingdom to estimate at its worth the importance of their great transatlantic dominion. It must be recollected that the year in which Lord Dufferin went to Canada was the year which followed the treaty of Washington; that, in the negotiations which had preceded the treaty, American statesmen had hinted that the true solution of the dispute lay in the cession of Canada to the United States; and that, if American authorities are accurate, the suggestion had not been repudiated with any warmth by the British minister at Washington. It must also be remembered that one of the foremost members of the British Cabinet, Mr Lowe, had actually told Lord Dufferin that he ought to make it his 'business to get rid of the Dominion.' It may safely be said that, when Lord Dufferin returned home, some six years afterwards, no British statesman of either party would have ventured to give such a hint.

This change of thought may no doubt be attributed to other causes, but it was largely assisted by Lord Dufferin's conduct. In the first place, the Queen had never been represented in Canada with anything approaching the pomp with which Lord Dufferin invested his office. He gave splendid balls and magnificent dinners; his expenditure was so lavish that the Duke of Argyll declared that people were saying that he would be 'entirely ruinated.' Nor was it only the splendour with which he surrounded his office that ensured his popularity. Wherever they went, Lady Dufferin and he were the centre of society; and the Governor-general was holding levees, patronising Lacrosse matches, attending university convocations, receiving addresses on all possible occasions, and delivering happy impromptu replies. The magic of his presence disarmed opposition; and the town which, on his entrance, showed neither interest nor curiosity, turned out its whole population to display their appreciation of him on his departure. But Lord Dufferin did more than this. His restless love of travel carried him through the length and breadth of the vast Dominion,

exploring its great lakes, investigating the capabilities of its still unoccupied territories, and threading its 'interminable labyrinth of watery lanes and reaches' on the Pacific coast, which promised endless 'facilities for inter-communication for the future inhabitants of this wonderful region.' Other travellers, after the fatigues of such a journey, accomplished without the luxuries of modern travel, might have been disposed to rest. Lord Dufferin's enthusiasm impelled him to communicate to others what he had seen. His eloquent language taught the Canadians themselves for the first time the value of the great territories which British enterprise and British statesmanship had secured to them. His words, brought home to England, impressed the British people with new ideas of the vast heritage which their fathers had been led to regard as a useless encumbrance. Thenceforward there was no more talk of cession or independence.

After six years' residence in Canada Lord Dufferin, not unnaturally, desired some rest at home. As a matter of fact he hardly reached England before Lord Beaconsfield proposed to him a new and difficult duty. Russia, in 1879, was brooding over the decisions of the Congress of Berlin, which had deprived her of some fruits which she had hoped to gather from the war with Turkey. She was concurrently pushing forward her advanced posts in Central Asia, and already occupying positions which British statesmen thought the safety of India required to be in neutral keeping. Questions of the utmost delicacy, therefore, awaited solution; and Lord Dufferin was well qualified to deal with them. We do not gather, however, from Sir A. Lyall's pages, whether any real progress towards an agreement was made during Lord Dufferin's stay at St Petersburg. He was certainly in close communication with the ministers at home. Though he only reached St Petersburg in March 1879, he was in England in the following May. He returned to London in August, and he was specially detained by Lord Salisbury, and not allowed to leave England till the following December. We confess we should have liked to ascertain, from so competent an authority as Sir A. Lyall, something of what passed between Lord Salisbury and Lord Dufferin. We long for a little seasonable indiscretion. But Sir A. Lyall, instead of satisfying our

curiosity, merely gives us a picture of Lord Dufferin's 'Sheridanish' liberality, which turned the British embassy into a court, and made Lady Dufferin and himself 'the most charming and popular diplomatists who had ever been at St Petersburg.' This brilliant picture, indeed, is enclosed in a dark setting. Lord Dufferin had not been two months in Russia when he had to report how the Emperor, 'walking in the square before his palace, was met by a respectably dressed man, who saluted him, stepped aside, and fired several shots' at him; in the following February an attempt was made 'to blow up the Emperor's apartments'; in March Count Melikoff, who had been invested with unlimited executive authority, was fired at and wounded; and finally, in March 1881, the fatal bomb was thrown which terminated the Emperor's life.

At this time, Mr Gladstone's Government, which had succeeded to power the year before, had decided on transferring Lord Dufferin from St Petersburg to Constantinople. Sir Alfred again is provokingly discreet; and we get no indication of the reasons which suggested the transfer at a time when difficult and delicate negotiations were in progress at the Russian Court. It is probable, however, that Mr Gladstone's Government may have concluded that the disorganisation of the Ottoman Empire and the failure of the Sultan to carry out the reforms in Asia which he had promised Lord Beaconsfield to effect, necessitated the appointment of the strongest available man to the Porte, and even suggested the nomination of the statesman who, twenty years before, had done such good service in the Lebanon. At any rate, in the beginning of 1881, Lord Dufferin was hurriedly transferred from St Petersburg to Constantinople, from an atmosphere charged with Nihilism and conspiracy to 'the turbid and chaotic politics of the Osmanli Empire.' It is hardly necessary to say that he failed to introduce any real order into the Sultan's affairs. The apathy of the Porte and the indifference of all his diplomatic colleagues would, in any case, have deprived him of any prospects of success. But, as a matter of fact, his attention was almost immediately diverted from the affairs of Turkey to the affairs of Egypt; for the deposition of Ismail Pasha, and the installation of Prince Tewfik in his stead, paved the way for the military revolt

under Arabi which led, directly or indirectly, to the bombardment of Alexandria and to the campaign of Tel-el-Kebir; and Mr Gladstone's Government, which had drifted into a position of considerable difficulty, decided on sending Lord Dufferin to Egypt to enquire into and report upon the whole situation.

The task which was thus set him we may at once say was impracticable. The work of replacing chaos by order, whether it is undertaken in a great country or a great department, requires above all else time; and time was the one thing which the British Cabinet was not disposed to grant. It was anxious—and no doubt it had good diplomatic reason for its anxiety—to withdraw from Egypt at the earliest possible opportunity; and Lord Granville sent despatch after despatch to his agent asking for his immediate opinion on various subjects. Lord Dufferin very sensibly asked this minister in a hurry to allow him breathing time. But he so far complied with the wishes of his employers that he actually made his final report within three months of his arrival at Cairo. This report foreshadowed 'the creation, within certain prudent limits, of representative institutions, of municipal and communal self-government, and of a political existence untrammelled by external importunity, though aided, indeed, as it must be for a time, by sympathetic advice and assistance.' Representative institutions Lord Dufferin proposed to found by allowing village constituencies to elect members of provincial councils, which councils were in their turn to elect a majority of the members of a legislative council; and by forming a general assembly, rather more than one half of whose members were to be delegated by the spokesmen of the villages. Sir A. Lyall claims that 'no material alteration has been made in these institutions during the twenty years that have passed since they were founded by Lord Dufferin in 1883'; and, in a certain sense, Sir A. Lyall is right. In theory the institutions which Lord Dufferin founded still exist. Egypt is still provided with a legislative council, which does not legislate, and with a general assembly that does not assemble. As Lord Cromer writes, with quiet sarcasm, in his latest report, 'Although the Legislative Council and Assembly have existed for some twenty years, suffi-

cient experience has not yet been gained of the working of these institutions to justify any confident forecast being made as to the services which in the future they may possibly render to Egypt. "The metamorphic spirit of the age," to use an expression employed by their distinguished author, operates slowly.'

In writing thus we have no desire to criticise harshly Lord Dufferin's famous report; on the contrary, it is clear that he understood the situation much better than his employers at home. While they were announcing that 'British troops will be withdrawn from Egypt as promptly as may be permitted by a prudent examination of the country,' he had the prescience to foresee that they could not be withdrawn. It was

'absolutely necessary to prevent the fabric we have raised from tumbling to the ground the moment our sustaining hand is withdrawn. The administrative system must have time to consolidate, in order to resist the disintegrating influence from within and without, and to acquire the use and knowledge of its own capacities. Above all, the persons who have staked their future on its existence must have some guarantee that it will endure. . . . Unless they are convinced that we intend to shield and foster the system we have established, it will be vain to expect the timid politicians of the East to identify themselves with its existence.'

In these words, at any rate, Lord Dufferin showed that he grasped the main condition of the problem that he had been deputed to solve. Egypt, in 1883, had much more need of firm guidance than of a legislative council or a general assembly; and it is to Lord Cromer's administrative capacity, and not to Lord Dufferin's elaborate report, that she owes her regeneration.

We need not loiter over the months during which, after his return from Egypt, Lord Dufferin continued to occupy the British embassy at Constantinople. In our judgment there is something inexpressibly painful in the position of a distinguished diplomatist sincerely anxious to promote the welfare of the populations of the Turkish Empire, but thwarted at every turn by the indifference or opposition of his brother ambassadors, and the cunning and procrastinating tendencies of Turkish statecraft. In August 1884, a little more than two years

after his arrival at Constantinople, he was happily summoned home to discharge more important duties. Lord Ripon was laying down the Indian Viceroyalty; and Lord Dufferin was chosen to succeed Lord Ripon.

Sir Alfred Lyall, with the natural predilections of a distinguished Indian official, says that, 'for an Englishman, the grand climacteric of honour and power is attained when he enters upon the Governor-generalship of India, and has been passed from the hour when he resigns it.' This is perhaps excessive, but we readily admit that there is no other position under the British Crown, outside the limits of the United Kingdom itself, so worthy of the ambition of a great Englishman. Lord Dufferin, years before, had undoubtedly aspired to this great office. But Lord Northbrook had been preferred to him in 1872, and he had been sent to win distinction elsewhere. In 1884, when he was finally chosen to preside over the destinies of our great eastern Empire, he had attained an age when most men think it wiser to retire from the heat of an Indian climate; he had completed his fifty-eighth year; and, during the preceding twelve years, he had been continuously occupied with labour in Canada, St Petersburg, Constantinople, and Egypt, which would have strained the strength of many a younger man.

Lord Dufferin, however, on his arrival at Calcutta, showed no symptom either of the fatigue which results from work, or of the lassitude which attends age. He threw himself into the multifarious duties of a Governor-general; and his singular capacity for assimilating and explaining the views of other men, who had thoroughly mastered the subjects on which they were called on to advise, enabled him to make his mark on Indian legislation. He showed, moreover, the same desire which he had displayed ten years before in Canada, to make himself personally acquainted with every part of the country; and he not only visited Madras and Bombay, but he travelled from the farthest west to the farthest east of the Indian Empire. In this article, however, we have no space to consider the domestic matters which engrossed Lord Dufferin's attention. We must confine ourselves to those questions of foreign policy which thrust themselves to the front immediately after his arrival in India.

The foreign policy of the Indian Empire is necessarily

affected by the attitude of the Foreign Office at home to other Powers; and in 1884 the relations of this country with other European nations were not too friendly. The proceedings at the Congress of Berlin had naturally irritated Russia; the occupation of Egypt was equally distasteful to France; and Russia on the north-west and France on the north-east were near neighbours of our Indian Empire.

Disputes with Russia in Europe had always created anxieties on our Indian frontier. Distrust of Russia in the thirties had led to the first Afghan war; the Crimean war had been largely responsible for the Persian war of 1856–7; and the Russo-Turkish war of 1877 had been followed by a renewed occupation of Afghanistan, by the dethronement of Shere Ali, and the installation of Abdurrahman at Cabul. But these events had not allayed the prevailing uneasiness. The constant advance of Russia towards Afghanistan, and the occupation of Merv, had created the anxiety which the Duke of Argyll had called 'Mervousness'; and Lord Dufferin's immediate predecessor, Lord Ripon, had formally assured the Amir that the British Government, 'admitting no right of interference by foreign powers in his country, undertook to aid him in repelling unprovoked aggression, provided that he followed our advice in regard to external relations.' Wisely or unwisely, therefore, we had undertaken to defend the vague and ill-defined frontier of a kingdom hundreds of miles from our own territory. There seemed every prospect that we might be called upon to redeem the pledge which we had thus given; for exactly the same influences which had carried our own army to the Himalayas were stimulating the advance of Russia to the south; and at last, in March 1885—a few months after Lord Dufferin's arrival in India—Russian troops occupied Panjdeh, a fertile valley within the Afghan frontier, and created by so doing the crisis which Lord Ripon had undertaken to meet in arms.

It fortunately happened that, at the moment when news of this occupation reached India, the Amir himself, in response to Lord Dufferin's invitation, was the Viceroy's guest at Rawal Pindi. Lord Dufferin soon found that, while British statesmen and the British people were disposed to regard the occupation of Panjdeh as an affront which

might require to be avenged by war, Abdurrahman looked upon it 'as one of those not intolerable irregularities which occasionally happen on a rough unsettled frontier, and which are not supposed to have any necessary connexion with formal hostilities.' Lord Dufferin also ascertained that, in the Amir's opinion, a new advance of a British force into Afghanistan, for the purpose of defending the Amir against the Russians, was a much greater calamity than the loss of a few square miles of disputed territory. The Amir, in fact, was determined that Afghanistan should not be made the battlefield of other nations. His refusal of military assistance 'came as an unexpected relief from the liabilities arising out of the territorial guarantee.' It paved the way for an understanding with Russia; and, through the efforts of the British Foreign Office and the energy of Colonel (now Sir West) Ridgeway, both at St Petersburg and on the Afghan frontier, the boundary of Russia and Afghanistan was successfully delimited, and one effectual step was taken to secure the peace of the world.

The preservation of peace, however, on this occasion was due neither to Lord Ripon, who had guaranteed the safety of the Indian frontier, nor to Lord Dufferin, who might have found it necessary to redeem Lord Ripon's pledge, but to Abdurrahman's sensible conclusion that the loss of Panjdeh was preferable to a British army in Afghanistan. But, because we ascribe the preservation of peace to the Amir, we must not be supposed to underrate the merit of Lord Dufferin's conduct. A less ready man might have failed to divine the Amir's views; a less sagacious man might have failed to take advantage of them. Lord Dufferin had hardly paved the way for a settlement on the north-west before new difficulties arose on the north-east of India. Between the possessions which the French had acquired in Tonquin and our Indian Empire lay the still independent portions of Siam and the remnant of the Burmese Empire known as Upper Burma. The relations between Burma and India had never been friendly; and in 1879 it was thought advisable to withdraw the British Resident from Mandalay, the capital of the kingdom. In 1885, when Lord Dufferin was preparing to meet the Amir,

a report was passed up to headquarters from British Burma that King Theebaw had executed a treaty with the French

Government, under which special consular and commercial privileges were accorded to France. The news came at an awkward moment, for England and Russia were just then on the verge of a serious dispute over the Afghan boundary, and it raised a question of extreme gravity.'

In fact, so long as war with Russia was possible, common prudence suggested a policy of abstention in Burma. But the arrangement with the Amir, which removed the danger of war in the north-west, left Lord Dufferin free to deal with the new difficulty on the north-eastern frontier of India.

The troubles which had thus successively arisen in Afghanistan and Burma were fundamentally similar, although the circumstances were very different. Sir Alfred Lyall tells us—and Sir Alfred has probably studied more closely than any other Englishman the policy of buffer-states—

'Just as a fortress or a line of entrenchments requires an open space around or in front of it, so it is manifestly advantageous for the security of a kingdom to be surrounded by a ring of territories with which powerful neighbours must not meddle. . . . The kingdom of Burma, which marched with Lower Bengal on its eastern frontier, had always been reckoned as part of the glacis that encircles our Indian lines of defence.'

Nothing can be clearer than this statement. Yet, as we shall show almost immediately, Sir Alfred Lyall himself throws, in another passage, some doubt upon it. Lord Dufferin, at any rate, seems from the first to have had no faith in the buffer policy.

'If' (he wrote) 'the French proceedings should eventuate in any serious attempt to forestall us in Upper Burma, I should not hesitate to annex the country; and, as at present advised, I think that this mode of procedure would be preferable to setting up a doubtful prince.'

He wrote still more strongly in the following October.

'As to the relative advantages of placing a protected prince upon the throne, or of annexation pure and simple, I have no hesitation in saying that the latter is the better course. It is quite enough to be worried by a buffer policy on the West without reduplicating it on the East. Moreover, elasticity and a certain power of intermediate resistance are the essen-

tial qualities which constitute a "buffer," and to a certain though limited extent they may be said to exist in Afghanistan; but Burma is so soft and pulpy a substance that she could never be put to such a use.'

On the refusal, therefore, of the Burmese Government to receive a British mission, General Prendergast was ordered to march on Mandalay; and the conquest of Upper Burma was accomplished with as much ease as the conquest of Scindh had been effected, with even less justification, nearly fifty years before.

The annexation of Upper Burma added to the British Empire an area larger than that of France, and a population roughly computed at 4,000,000. But, far from removing the real cause which had led to it, our boundary was carried nearer to the French possessions. Some years afterwards, when Lord Dufferin was himself ambassador at Paris, the French advance in Siam led to a renewal of the old trouble. The British Government desired to neutralise, as a buffer-state or intermediate zone between Burma and French Tonquin, a small outlying tract lying on both sides of the Mekong river. Under Lord Dufferin's guidance at Paris the policy of the buffer was abandoned; and the Mekong became the frontier of France and England. Sir Alfred Lyall adds the commentary:—

'The project of maintaining an independent tract on the Upper Mekong eventually proved not worth the trouble that had been expended over it. Both parties had at first agreed to it; yet neither appears clearly to have understood that the system of neutralising petty independent states lying between powerful rivals, jealous of each other's ascendency . . . is not applicable to Asia.'

A conclusion which we believe to be sound, but a conclusion which we fail to reconcile with Sir Alfred's apology for the buffer system, with which he introduces his Burmese chapter.

We must pass over the other and minor questions with which Lord Dufferin was concerned in India. We cannot even dwell on the projected mission to Lhassa, which he abandoned, and which Lord Curzon has carried out. Lord Dufferin's services in India gained him a marquisate:

he had been raised to an earldom in 1872. His own advancing years, and his natural desire to promote the interests of his children, induced him to seek employment nearer home before his full period of service was over; and, at the end of 1888, he returned to take up the embassy at Rome.

Lord Dufferin had still eight years of public work before him as ambassador at Rome and at Paris. At Rome he did good service in settling difficulties which had arisen between Italy and this country in north-east Africa. At Paris, where he was first received with suspicion and attacked with venom, he outlived his unpopularity and did something at a difficult time to soften the relations between the two great Powers of western Europe. At the end of 1896 he finally laid down the burden of office which he had borne so long. The few remaining years of life which were left to him were embittered by a catastrophe to which we need make no further reference. But, with this deplorable exception, he had passed a life which had been as happy and prosperous as it was useful and honourable.

It is not easy to sum up in a few sentences the merits of a statesman who filled so many offices, or the character of a man who showed such versatility, as Lord Dufferin. Greatly as he distinguished himself in many prominent positions, we are not, indeed, sure that he stands quite in the first place in any one of them. As a ruler of India, for example, he ranks below Lord Dalhousie; as a diplomatist he ranks below Lord Ampthill. But Lord Dalhousie could not have made the Canadian speeches; and Lord Ampthill could not have conquered or pacified Burma. It is not, however, the eminence which he attained in any one position, but the versatility which enabled him to do so many things well that impresses the imagination. And this amazing versatility was evident in small things as well as in great. For the man who pacified the Lebanon, who won the loyalty of the Canadians, who taught his own fellow-countrymen the value of Canada, who laid down the principles on which the government of Egypt should be based, who saved us from war with Russia in Afghanistan, and who gave us Upper Burma, was the same man, who could make a fluent speech in dog-Latin in Iceland, who

could reply to a Greek address in Greek at McGill University, and who could hold half an hour's conversation with the Shah of Persia in Persian.

As an orator, Lord Dufferin stands on a pedestal by himself. Other men had more capacity in debate, and more skill in expounding a difficult subject; but none of his contemporaries excelled him in the qualities which—whether he wrote or spoke—enabled him to attract and command attention. Severe critics may indeed think that Lord Dufferin put too much colour into his speeches, too much metaphor into his despatches; but it may be replied that these very qualities ensured their being widely read at the time at which they were written or delivered. A more subdued tone might have seemed more suitable for an official document or an official utterance; but, if the Toronto speech had been couched in ordinary language, it would not have been read from one end of Canada to the other, or have been carried across the Atlantic and reproduced in this country.

The literary qualities which Lord Dufferin's speeches and writings display might have made him, in other circumstances, a distinguished man of letters. Pierre Loti himself, in his great novel, 'Pêcheur d'Islande,' has no finer description of a storm in the northern sea than that which Sir Alfred quotes from the 'Letters from High Latitudes.' But we are not sure that the readiness with which Lord Dufferin spoke and wrote did not occasionally induce him to speak when he had better have kept silence. Ambassadors, it is said, were once known as orators; but oratory is the last art which the modern diplomatist should cultivate. Lord Dufferin's annual speeches in the British Chamber of Commerce in Paris may have been useful, but they were—to use the word which he himself applied to the first of them —'risky.' Nothing but inconvenience would result if our ambassadors to the great countries of the Old and New Worlds were to think it within the lines of their duty to make public speeches in the capitals in which they reside either on their own position or on their country's policy.

Lord Dufferin's public utterances were, no doubt, partly inspired by the knowledge that, in the capacity for public speaking, he had few superiors. Most men take a natural pleasure in doing those things which they

know they do exceptionally well. The love of displaying his own personality—which, in an inferior man, we might be tempted to call by the harsh term 'self-advertisement' —probably also accounted for the magnificence with which Lord Dufferin liked to surround himself. His expenditure, both in Canada and St Petersburg, must have seriously crippled an estate whose value had already been diminished by the cost of unremunerative improvements and the effects of the Irish land laws. It seems ungenerous to condemn an expenditure undertaken in the public service for public objects. But it is undesirable that our diplomatists and our colonial governors should largely outspend the incomes attached to the posts which they fill, for, by doing so, they make it difficult for the Ministry of the day to select the best possible men for these posts; they restrict the choice, not to the best men, but to the best men of ample wealth.

When all this has been said, however, Lord Dufferin will be recollected as a statesman who filled many high positions and who discharged their duties with credit to himself and advantage to his country. In private life he will be remembered as the best of friends and the most agreeable of companions. We wish that Sir Alfred Lyall could have told us a little more of the social qualities of a man whom he knew so well, and who endeared himself to so large a circle of his contemporaries. We derive some idea of what Lord Dufferin was in his youth from his mother's admirable letters to him; but we get no adequate account from Sir Alfred Lyall of the qualities which made him, to the very end of his life, the most agreeable of companions and the most sympathetic of friends.

With this one exception, we have nothing but praise for Sir Alfred Lyall. He has given us an excellent life of one of the most distinguished men of his time. He has succeeded in reducing his narrative to dimensions which we cordially recommend as an example to inferior and more diffuse biographers, and he has given us a book which the ordinary reader will read with pleasure and the historian will consult with profit.

Art. II.—THE WANDERINGS OF ODYSSEUS.

Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée. Par Victor Bérard. Two vols. Paris: Armand Colin, 1902–3.

THE highest qualifications which a commentator can hope to possess are perhaps two. First, he should have read his author with close and vivid understanding, so that each word and each sentence mean more to him than to the ordinary reader. Here he is simply serving his author. Secondly, he should have a wide knowledge of the outside subjects which have in various ways influenced his author's mind or expression or personal history. In this he is not exactly serving, he is rather standing outside and, in a way, above his author; and the work he produces has a substantive value apart from mere commentary. M. Victor Bérard's great book on Homer, with its rather misleading title, 'Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée,' possesses both these qualities to a remarkable degree. He is a most acute reader of Homer's text; and he knows certain subjects of vital importance to Homeric study with a clearness and, so far as one can judge, a profundity which have perhaps never been equalled in the history of scholarship. Above all, M. Bérard knows the Mediterranean. He knows it as a scientific geographer; he knows it as a sailor and explorer; he knows the reefs, the winds, the islands, the deep bays and the shallow bays, the sailing-boats and the rowing-boats, the discomforts and the dangers; and he knows the history, the true sailor's history, of this oldest of seas. From Hanno, Scylax, and Avienus, down to the medieval travellers and the seventeenth century corsairs, he has mastered the literature of the Mediterranean and brought to it a keenness of interest and imagination which is rare among learned men. It is this quality which constitutes, in our judgment, the extraordinary value of his work, and makes it, in spite of obvious weaknesses and grave errors of method, not only a delightful book for any cultured reader, but also an almost indispensable one for a specialist.

M. Bérard, like most scholars, regards the 'Odyssey,' or at least those parts of it which comprise the adventures of Telemachus and the return of Odysseus to

Ithaca, as one of the 'Nostoi,' or 'home-comings of heroes,' which formed a recognised subject of epic legend. The theory which he is concerned to prove in these two large volumes is that this part of the 'Odyssey' is formed by 'the integration in a Greek "Nostos" of a "Periplus"' or Pilot's Guide to the Mediterranean, written in a Semitic language, and in use upon Phœnician ships (ii, 577). These 'Periploi,' or guides, form a branch of literature not very familiar to most readers. The guide that M. Bérard himself constantly quotes is the French official publication, 'Instructions Nautiques.' The editors of this work say:—

'We have used the "Mediterranean Pilot" of the English Admiralty, the work in use on board the Italian fleet. For the isles of Malta and Gozo we have translated verbally the instructions of the "Mediterranean Pilot" (vol. i, 1885), completing them with the aid of information since published by the Hydrographic Office in London.'

At present, therefore, the English 'Pilot' sets the standard. But from 1702 to 1830 all nations followed or copied the 'Portulan' of Henry Michelot, the French chief pilot. Before Michelot, the French copied the Dutch 'Mirrors of the Sea'; the 'Mirrors,' in their turn, were copied from Spanish and Italian 'Portulans,' which were descended from the ancient 'Periploi' of Rome and Greece. The Greeks and Romans, as we know from the 'Periploi' of Hanno and of Himilco, translated the guides of the Carthaginians. We cannot trace the whole series; but we are told in the Greek version of Hanno that his 'Periplus' was inscribed in public in the temple of Kronos at Carthage; and we actually find inscribed on the walls of Dair-el-Bahari a contemporary account of a voyage down the Red Sea long before the date of the 'Odyssey.'

The present writer believes that on this main thesis M. Bérard has almost proved his point, and that a 'Mediterranean Pilot' of Phœnician origin will probably find a place in any future enquiry into the sources of the Homeric poems. But it should be stated clearly that the value of the whole book does not depend very greatly on the rightness or wrongness of the final results obtained. There are a thousand results by the way that are in any

case true and illuminating; and no one can read the book without having his eyes opened to many things in Homer which he has missed before.

It will be convenient, for purposes of criticism, to divide the book into three main heads—(1) contributions to the geography and history of the ancient Mediterranean; (2) theories about the Phœnicians; (3) identifications of Homeric sites. We will take instances to illustrate M. Bérard's method in each case; but it must be confessed that illustrations will not do justice to the book. A great part of its charm and power depends on the richness and dexterity with which the author piles one upon another his acute observations, suggestions, and surprises, and on the accumulative force of similarities and coincidences which might in small numbers seem accidental.

M. Bérard starts by laying great stress on the comparatively new study of topology, the science by which, from the consideration of geographical facts about a locality, one can draw deductions as to its history. (He is influenced here by G. Hirschfeld's 'Zur Typologie Griechischer Ansiedelungen,' published in 1884.) We find the older maritime towns of Brittany, for instance, all built on rivers, and rather far up, above the last bridge; the new towns, which have outstripped them, are on the sea. We conclude that, when Nantes was built, the sea was dangerous; when Saint-Malo was built, it was safe. There was no longer a perpetual fear of the raids of the English. It is much the same with the old towns in Greece, which, as Thucydides tells us, were built, not on the shore, but on hills some way off, for fear of pirates. If, therefore, we find, as we do, that several places bearing the name of 'Astypalaia,' or 'old town,' are built, not in this way, but close down to the sea on low, long promontories and places shut off from the mainland, we conclude that these were not indigenous Greek 'old towns,' but were built by people to whom the sea was safe and the land dangerous—those whom M. Bérard calls 'thalassocrats.' To take a different case: the position of Mycenæ has always been something of a puzzle. At the entry of a defile, a day's march from the coast, provided with good water, but with no rich territory or visible re-

sources, protected by rocks and ravines, crouching behind enormous fortifications, stands Mycenæ, 'rich in gold.'

'On se demande' (say Perrot and Chipiez) 'à quoi a pu servir sur ce faîte tout cet appareil de murs et de portes. . . . Il semble que les Mycéniens, accoutumés à entasser les quartiers de rocs, aient bâti ce fort pour le plaisir de bâtir et qu'ils aient pris une peine vraiment inutile. En revanche c'était là un site merveilleusement choisi pour une tour de guet.'

In reality Mycenæ was a *dervendji*, a fort, such as the caravans of the eighteenth century met at every *dervend* or pass of the Balkans, of Pindus, Taurus, and Lebanon. Mycenæ commands the great pass between the two gulfs of Argolis and of Corinth. It lived on the tolls it drew. In the *dervends* of modern Turkey the tolls are levied mostly by ill-clad mercenaries in the employ of some pasha. But there have been, even in recent times, independent holders of forts, like the great Ali Pacha, 'the bey of beys,' corresponding, not so very remotely, with Agamemnon, the king of kings. Ali Pacha flourished when the insecurity of the seas compelled merchandise between Central Europe and the East to follow the mountain passes. But later in the nineteenth century the seas became safe. Steamers began to go round the peninsula, and the forts and fortunes of the Albanian beys crumbled away like the ramparts of Mycenæ.

The mention of these passes leads us to an important principle in ancient seafaring which M. Bérard calls 'la loi des Isthmes.' The primitive merchant in his small, light, and generally uncovered boat, with no cabin accommodation, made his long journeys with a maximum of land travel and a minimum of sea. Instead of sailing round a point he preferred to disembark and cross an isthmus. Consider the occupation of Deceleia by the Spartans in the Peloponnesian war. Deceleia is an inland fortress, equally distant from all the Athenian coasts. What effect can its occupation have had upon the food supply of a power which still held the seas? Thucydides tells us. Corn used to come from Eubœa across the strait and then by land across Attica, passing through Deceleia. To us, looking at the map, it seems almost incredible. But the fact remains that, to the ancients, it was convenient to pack the corn in boats, take it across

the strait from Chalkis to Oropus, unpack it, repack it on mules and donkeys, and then march it across the mountain passes to Athens, rather than carry it in the same boat round the peninsula to Piræus. Thucydides says so explicitly. And Dicæarchus in the third century B.C., and Paul Lucas early in the eighteenth century A.D., mention, as a matter of course, that in coming from Egripo (Chalkis) to Athens they first crossed the strait and then travelled on horseback.

Again, how do we explain the wealth and power of Troy—a town on a hill, surrounded by poor country, mostly marsh. Where did it find its riches? Why, among other things, is it built so far from the sea, much farther than was necessary for safety? A detailed map and the 'law of the isthmuses' will explain all. The plain of the Scamander is in reality an isthmus, reaching from Besika Bay in the archipelago to Koum-Kaleh in the Dardanelles. It is a broad, squat, and flat isthmus, between two stretches of hill, the chain of Mount Sigeum on the sea side and the high ground of Ilion on the other. The river almost stagnates; and branches of it flow south as well as north. In Homeric times the ground must have been less silted up, and the isthmus consequently less broad—ten kilometres at most. Just above this isthmus, equidistant from the two seas, Ilion fixed its acropolis. It was not a great distance—it was almost no distance—for ships to go round Cape Sigeum, yet, as a matter of history, merchandise must have followed the land route. The 'Instructions Nautiques' will explain why. The wind and the current are both unfavourable to northward-bound vessels. The Etesian winds are predominant for nine months of the year.

'In winter . . . navigation is impossible for sailing-ships. . . . In summer, the N.E. winds are constant. They generally rise in the morning and fall at night. It is not rare to see in the channel of Tenedos and other harbours two or three hundred ships waiting a favourable wind. With every puff from the south they put up sail, but only to go from one anchorage to the next. And they only reach the sea of Marmora after traversing in little stages all the distance between.'

Once in the Dardanelles things are much easier, especially if you hug the Asiatic coast.

In Priam's days nearly the whole of the trade bound northwards for the Dardanelles, the Propontis, and the Euxine, was unshipped under his gates and carried across his isthmus by his porters and carriers, after paying the tolls that he considered due to his dignity. (The southward traffic very possibly preferred to go round Cape Sigeum.) This throws light, not only on the wealth and importance of Troy, but also on its extreme unpopularity, on the two expeditions of united Greeks to destroy such an oppressive *douane*, and on the various thefts of Laomedon—the dog, the horses, and the golden candlestick. It was perilously easy for the Lord of Troy to detain any merchandise that specially attracted his fancy.

A curious point, for instance, emerges about the habit followed by Homeric ships of starting in the night. When Telemachus, at the end of the second book, is setting out in search of tidings of his father, the proceedings are described as follows. Athena went through the city and told the crew to be ready at the ship 'in the evening.' Then she got the ship from Noêmon. Then 'the sun set and all the ways were darkened.' The men dragged the ship to the sea and put the tackle in, but not the provisions or cargo. Then they 'set' her—towed or rowed her—to the extremity of the harbour. Then Athena returned to the palace, where the suitors had already gone, under divine influence, to sleep, and called out Telemachus. Telemachus and Athena went down to the ship and brought the crew up to the palace to collect the provisions which were there prepared in secret. They carried these on board and loosed the cables; a good north-west wind, 'Zephyros,' filled the sail and drove them on all the night. The men lay about in the ship and drank wine and poured libations.

It is at the same time, the dark of night, that Odysseus leaves the isle of the Phæacians; at the same time that the Phœnician corsair leaves the isle of Syria. The 'Mediterranean Pilot' gives us the reason (iv, 470; cf. iv, 7). 'During the summer, and also in fine weather in winter, regular land and sea breezes prevail in the various gulfs and deep bays . . . the sea-breeze usually commencing about 10 A.M. and lasting until sunset, the land-breeze beginning about 11 P.M.' (This passage refers to the mainland; but the same is said at greater length

about the islands.) The hostile sea-breeze was blowing throughout the day; at sunset it fell, and the men drew their ship out to the end of the harbour. Three or four hours of calm; and then, about 11 P.M., the land-breeze rose, and they sailed out to sea. Once out at sea, they fell in with the prevailing wind of the summer season, which is, according to the same 'Pilot,' the north-west, exactly the 'ἀκραῆς Ζέφυρος' which they needed to take them to Elis. All that remained was to touch land soon after sunrise. This is surely convincing. There is almost no thesis to maintain or deny. M. Bérard has merely made us understand the exactness and reasonableness of details which seemed meaningless before.

One of the most striking chapters in the book is that entitled 'La Course,' that innocent-seeming word denoting in reality the profession of a corsair. The memoirs of three 'Frankish' writers of the seventeenth century in especial are used for comparison with the narrative of Odysseus. Thévenot and Robert, the latter an Englishman, were both of them corsairs against their will, while Paul Lucas adopted the profession from taste. These Franks, though with a lower standard of morality, managed their raids just as Odysseus did. They carried on all business by means of solemn oaths, which they observed fairly well. They generally obtained, by fraud or force, accomplices among the people they were attacking. They were often starved and pestilence-ridden at sea. They gorged themselves on 'wine and flesh unspeakable' when they got the chance, a certain de Saumery remarking, after one such occasion, 'I could scarcely breathe for twenty-four hours.' They chose the same localities for raiding, affecting particularly the land of the Cicones and the Egyptian delta. Occasionally, from carelessness or over-eating, they stayed too long on shore; and then the people from farther inland surprised them, as the Cicones surprised Odysseus. We hear incidentally why the inland Cicones were ἅμα πλέονες καὶ ἀρείους. It was because the coasts were almost depopulated by these corsairs. The well-to-do people lived in walled towns away from the sea; only the poorest folk stayed to be murdered.

To take one point more in detail: what a clear light does the following account of Lampeduza throw upon the problem of the rise of Delos—a barren rock, inhabited by

quails, with nothing to recommend it except a harbour, a good spring of water, and a shrine.

'Lampeduza is a little island or rock . . . deserted, but full of rabbits . . . about 100 miles from Malta. As there is good water, ships go there frequently. The harbour is very good. There is in this island a little chapel with an image of the Virgin, greatly respected by both Christians and infidels. Every vessel leaves there some gift or other of money, biscuit, wine, oil, gunpowder, bullet, sword or musket. When a sailor wants any of these articles he takes it and leaves money or something else in its place. The Turks observe the rule as well as the Christians. As to the money, no one touches it; and the galleys from Malta pass by every year, take the money on the altar and carry it to Notre Dame de Trapano in Sicily.' (Thévenot, ii, 88.)

Delos was almost exactly the same, except that it had quails instead of rabbits. The vital difference was that the gifts on the altar of Delos were not taken away each year, but allowed to remain under the care of priests, and grow into a rich temple-foundation.

So far we have nothing but praise for M. Bérard's work. Now we proceed to more ambiguous ground. He has entitled the whole, 'Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée'; and his Phœnician theories are evidently precious to him. His book, like his previous study of 'Les Cultes Arcadiens,' represents a reaction against the undue neglect of Semitic influences which has been usual in Greek historians and archæologists during the last twenty years. Much of his work will, we believe, prove on examination to be valuable and even true; but there can be little doubt that, as a whole, it is open to two adverse criticisms. The theory of Phœnician influence is stated in so exaggerated a form that it cannot be reconciled with known archæological facts; and the methods followed are often arbitrary and unscientific.

One cause of misunderstanding lies, we think, in M. Bérard's fondness for the convenient but rather dangerous term 'thalassocratie.'

'Throughout all recorded history the Mediterranean has been, as it were, an empire in which there reigns one sea-power (*marine*) as almost absolute mistress. This dominant power

maintains law and order, levies tributes or benevolences, imposes its habits and its language, and produces the result that the sea is, turn by turn, an English, French, Italian, Arab, or Greek lake. . . . At all periods the various sea-peoples go humbly to school, under the rod and subject to the exploitation of the thalassocrats, navigate like them, count and pay like them, dress like them, and often speak like them' (i, 15).

This in itself is surely a considerable exaggeration. The Mediterranean has never, except for a period under the Roman Empire, actually been a 'lake' in the possession of any one power. It has only once or twice been in danger of becoming so. At present England is the thalassocrat. Yet in Ægean waters French money predominates over ours. Italian influence, in matters of seamanship and habits of life, is fully as strong as ours. England is very far from the position of an 'absolute mistress,' and it may be doubted whether any of the other thalassocrats have ever been much nearer. But this exaggeration is not the only one. Having shown—as we think he succeeds in showing—that Phœnician influence was great in marine matters, M. Bérard sometimes speaks as if this proved the existence of a Phœnician empire, and even implies that this empire was like a civilised power among barbarians.

'Les Phéniciens arrivaient avec des vaisseaux pleins de camelote, c'est à dire de marchandises pour Barbares, de verroterie pour nègres. . . . Il est inutile d'insister sur le vin et les autres boissons fermentées. Les Phéniciens "intoxicaient" alors les sauvages de la mer Intérieure comme nous intoxiquons aujourd'hui les sauvages des mers africaines ou malaises.'

Now this, one may fairly say, is demonstrably a false conception. Twenty years ago such a view might have been possible. But of late years a long series of excavations in various sites, now culminating in Crete, have shown the existence of a high civilisation in the islands and western shores of the Ægean—a civilisation which can be traced, stage by stage, sometimes city by city, from the very beginnings of the bronze age; which was not imposed by one ruling power, but seems to have grown up contemporaneously in some dozen different centres; which, by whatever name we call it—Mycenæan,

Pelasgian, Ægean, or Minoan—seems, by its race-characteristics, to be Aryan, not Semitic; and which certainly cannot be the work of alien thalassocrats.

Mr. A. J. Evans has shown that certain stages, and those by no means early ones, of Cretan civilisation are contemporary with the twelfth dynasty in Egypt. This in itself takes us, so far as the known data go, considerably earlier than the beginnings of any sea-borne influence from Sidon. Mycenæan pottery, again, cannot be in origin Phœnician, because it is made of local clay in the various centres. The celebrated 'island stones' of steatite, with their characteristic ornament of the ἄγριμι or wild goat, cannot have been made in Phœnicia. Phœnicia possessed no steatite and no wild goats. The goat in question is peculiar to Crete and Melos; the steatite is specially abundant in Crete. Nor are Phœnicians likely to have made the glass objects found at Mycenæ. The glass-worker's moulds have been found, and are made of Ægean steatite. The glass itself has all the marks of being home-made, being uniform in fabric, and totally distinct from any glass found in Egypt or elsewhere. Even the history of the alphabet tells against any theory of a preponderant influence of Phœnicia in very early times. The absence of Phœnician inscriptions earlier than 1000 B.C. seems to show that, during the period of the eighteenth dynasty at any rate, the peoples of the Syrian coast still wrote in cuneiform. Mr Evans has found in Crete a script which has all the appearance of being the prototype of the Phœnician letters, and quotes Diodorus to the effect that, according to local Cretan tradition, the Phœnicians did not invent their letters, but adapted symbols already existing to the uses of an alphabet. The whole of this evidence, which might be largely increased, seems to point in the same direction, viz. that Phœnicia before 1000 B.C. was not the originator nor the centre, but a recipient and a point upon the fringe, of Ægean civilisation.

The evidence from Cyprus, as Mr J. L. Myres has shown, is of crucial significance here. That island stands so close to the Syrian coast, and eventually fell so completely under Phœnician power, that, if Phœnicia were the mother-land of Ægean civilisation, or even if there had been in early Mycenæan times a strong Phœnician

thalassocracy, Cyprus could not have escaped its influence. It would have been more full of Mycenæan-Phœnician remains than any of the islands. As a matter of fact, it is just the reverse.*

Again, the course of discovery in Palestine and Egypt gives us some clear glimpses of the course of events on the Syrian coast during the years 2000–664 B.C. Egypt supplies contemporary accounts of the coast towns during the eighteenth dynasty protectorate and the anarchy which followed, showing persistent aggressions of the western, non-Semitic 'peoples of the sea.' Palestine, like Cyprus, gives us a picture of the permeation of the Levant by Ægean culture and colonisation.

These considerations must modify fundamentally our conception of the Phœnician sea-power. M. Bérard's language on the subject is at times studiously correct; but at other times most readers will feel that he has given the rein to fantasy, and admitted something mythical and almost miraculous into his conception of the wealth, wisdom, daring, and omnipresence of these primeval thalassocrats. There was at no time a Phœnician sea-empire over the Mediterranean. What there was at a certain date in the sixth century we can see from the great passages in the Hebrew prophets, from Isaiah xxiii and Ezekiel xxvi, xxvii, xxviii.† The whole of the greatness of Tyre is set forth in Ezekiel xxvii; but it is the greatness of 'the merchant city.' Commerce with the east and west, from Tarshish to Asshur, is there mentioned; ships, merchandise, and private riches, cloths and fine linen, spices and precious stones and gold, wisdom and high walls and 'perfect beauty'; but never a word of empire, present nor past. It is not as to a fallen queen, nor a strong tyrant at last overthrown, that Isaiah speaks his great words: 'Take an harp, go about the city, thou harlot that hast been forgotten; make sweet melody, sing many songs, that thou mayest be remembered.'

This was, of course, many centuries later than the Mycenæan period contemplated by M. Bérard. We shall

* Cf. J. L. Myres in Classical Review, x, 350 ff.; Ridgeway, Early Age of Greece, i, 270 ff.

† Cf. Isaiah ii, 16; probably eighth century.

consider the question of dates later. Our present point is that Phœnician influence in Greece, whenever we find it, is always the permeating influence of petty trade, not the ruling and guiding influence of a great civilising power. If we take, and take in a liberal and unsceptical spirit, the words in Greek that are sometimes alleged to be drawn from Phœnician sources, they point to the same conclusion. The first that occur are the names of spices and unguents—*κιννάμωμον*, *κασία*, *μύῤῥα*, *νάρδος*, etc.; of cloths and fine linen—*κιθών*, *ὀθόνη*, *φᾶρος*, *λῖτα*; of gold, *χρυσὸς*, and perhaps *φᾶσις*, and terms connected with the purple fishery. There are some, it is true, recently put forward by Assmann in 'Das Floss der Odyssee,' which go deeper into common life. These are—*ἀγαπάω* (*agab*, love), *γάμος* (*gam*, together), *μαζός* (*matzah*, suck), *πάλλαξ* (*pillegesh*, concubine), possibly *εὐνή*; *μάχομαι* (*machah* and *machats*, both early words); the stem *λαθ-* (*lâṭ*, secrecy); *βωμός* (*bâmah*, altar), and possibly *θάλαμος* and *θησαυρός*.

Now these words are words of common life. They seem at first sight to indicate a profound permeation of language. Yet I venture to think that most travellers who have noticed what sort of words, English and French, are first picked up by the natives in eastern ports, will draw a much slighter conclusion. The first five in the above list refer to relations between the sexes. (The word *γάμος*, it should be remarked, in answer to Max Schmidt's recent criticism of Assmann, does not exactly mean *Ehe* in Greek, but merely *zusammensein*.') The next two ('fight' or 'thrash,' and 'secrecy' or 'on the sly') are only too often their concomitants. There remains *βωμός*, altar, which affords no difficulty, since the Phœnicians were in the habit of building a 'bâmah' at each of their stations.* These words then, even if the suggested derivation is in each case right, show, not a profound Semitic influence in the heart of Greek life, but only a certain amount of borrowing of the terms used by sailors on shore in foreign ports. The sailors in question need not belong to superior races; the same kind of interchange is said to take place

* Since the above was written, Miss J. E. Harrison has shown from the evidence of monuments that the *κηρυκεῖον*, or herald's staff, was probably Phœnician in origin. This is very important, but only points to the same conclusion as the word *βωμός*. The *κηρυκεῖον* was regularly carried by a boat in strange waters, as a sort of white flag or sign of peaceful intentions.

between Chinese and Malay, and between the divers languages of the South Sea islands. It is curious, certainly, that in Greek the foreign words were eventually adopted in preference to native words; but this may merely be due to the tendency, strong in all languages, to avoid the plain native word in all subjects where people are likely to feel shy.

But M. Bérard produces weightier evidence. He claims to have shown the existence in Greek lands of a whole network of routes, trading-stations, and factories, which, for geographical reasons, must have been formed by a foreign sea-power, and for linguistic reasons must be the work of Semites.

He relies greatly on an argument from what he calls 'systems of doublets.' All over the trade-routes of Homeric history, and especially among the islands of the Ægean, he finds that there exist places called by a Greek name and a non-Greek name at the same time; and that, further, the non-Greek name will, if treated as Semitic and referred to some known Semitic root, surprisingly often yield the same meaning as the Greek name. For instance the island Kasos is also called Achnê. Ἄχνη is Greek and means 'spray' or 'chaff'; 'Kasos' is not Greek, but the word *qas* in Hebrew means 'chaff blown before the wind.' And travellers have remarked on the great drift of spray that flies up from the S.E. shores of Kasos. Thasos, we are told by Pliny (iv, 12), was originally called Ἀερία, 'aërial.' 'Thasos' is meaningless in Greek, but the root *ṭôs* in Hebrew is applied to the swooping of a bird. Rheneia was also called Keladoussa; and the Hebrew substantive *rinnah* = κέλαδος, 'din.' Kythêra was also Scandeia, a Greek word meaning 'a kind of head-dress'; and *kether* is the Hebrew for 'bonnet.' (The reason of the name was a certain mitre-shaped rock at the entrance of the harbour.) Thouria was called Aipeia, 'high,' and *ṭur* = 'a high rock.' To take some slightly different cases: the various islands called Samos are all high, and Strabo tells us 'the ancients called heights Samoi.' The root *shâmah* means 'high,' commonly occurring only in the pl. *shâmaiim*, 'the heavens.' In the Homeric epithets of places and persons—who are often only places personified—M. Bérard finds similar doublets. Aiaie is Νῆσος Κίρκης, 'the isle of the she-hawk' and that would be the meaning of

ai-aie (more correctly, *'i-aiia*) in Hebrew. A famous rock is known as 'the Skulla,' or else as the abode of 'the Skulla,' because *s'qoulah* is, or at least by analogy is likely to have been, the Phœnician for 'stone' or 'stoning.' And since *s'qoulah* suggested the word *σκύλαξ*, 'dog', the 'Skulla of the rock' is made into a sort of dog-monster with the 'voice of a young whelp.' In the same way a certain heap of stones, used as a steering point on the Hellespont, which the Greeks called *σῆμα*, a 'mark,' and the Phœnicians *s'qoulah*, has become in the end a 'dog's mark' (*kynos-sema*); and, since legend says that Hecuba was buried there, the fancies of sailors add that Hecuba after death was changed into a dog.

This list is a mere selection from a very large collection of doublets which M. Bérard has got together. And it must be admitted that he has in every case shown geographical and historical reasons for the existence of a Phœnician name. The result is certainly most impressive at first sight, and remains so, we think, after certain necessary criticisms have been made and considered. Semitic philologists, as a rule, are somewhat scornful of these alleged doublets, on two grounds. First, they do not conform to known philological laws, such laws, for instance, as can be deduced from the equations of Tyros = Tsur, Sidon = Tsidon, Byblos = Gebâl, Karchêdon = Qartchadast, and others. But surely this is natural. The doublets often represent, not regular transcriptions, but rough shots. The sailors who find a strange name, to be mastered somehow, deal with it, as M. Bérard says, in one of three ways. They transcribe it unchanged, or as nearly unchanged as they can—as in such names as Syria, Egypt, Cyprus; or they translate it, like 'Apes' Hill' or 'Gulf of Lions'; or, having a difficulty in translation, and not being content with mere transcription, they in various ways knock the name about until it feels comfortable in their mouths; very often until 'ils arrivent, par quelque calembour, à faire sortir un sens apparent de ce vocable incompris.' This is the method by which the 'Bellérophon' became the 'Billy Ruffian,' by which Malöeis (accus. Malöenta) became Beneventum (since Maleventum was an obviously undesirable name). It is in this way that the Greeks turned various Phœnician rocks (*solo*) into foundations of Solon, their capes (*rôs*)

into settlements of Rhodians. A curious instance is that of Mount Hymettos. The Italians turned it to Il Matto, 'the fool'; and the Turks and modern Greeks call it by translations of this name. The present writer was once directed by an English sailor in a Portuguese town to go down 'Rainy Street' and across 'Rolling Ocean Square.' The street was, of course, a street 'della Reina'; but 'Rolling Ocean Square' was a puzzle till one observed that the square in the right position had a pattern of coloured stones in its paving which rolled like great waves at sea. No philological rules would have helped one here; nor would they explain such a form as the Tongan word for dog, 'Kom-i-sa,' had not history, by a rare chance, preserved the memory of the first introducer of a dog into Tonga, and recorded his habit of addressing it with the words, 'Come here, sir!' In the same island anything bovine is known as a 'bull-a-ma-cow,' the reason being that those who introduced the animals spoke of importing 'a bull and a cow.' We may conclude from such instances—which are easily multiplied—that the transformations of foreign names are very tricky and uncertain things, and that much of M. Bérard's results may be mere guess-work; but we cannot reject them for their lack of adherence to philological rules.

The other objection is, we fear, well grounded, and we must state it roundly and boldly. It is that M. Bérard has the defects of his qualities; and the tricks which he plays with his innocent and fascinated reader are enough to make a sound scholar turn cold. If there is a word that will suit his purpose in any Semitic language, he takes it as Phœnician. If not, he invents, according to analogy, a hypothetical Phœnician form. For instance, in the midst of a brilliant argument about the names in the plain of the Alpheüs, he wishes to derive Phigalea from the Hebrew root which occurs in *piggul*, 'corruption.' He invents a word—*phigalea* (with *e* representing the Heb. *h*)—a form which neither exists nor, so far as one can see, is possible. We occasionally find references to 'the Semitic form' so-and-so, or so-and-so, the one being a known form, but not suitable to the author's purpose, the other a non-extant form which suits it exactly. The word *s'qoulah* ('stone') is itself an instance.

Then his system of transliteration is, to say the

least, rather licentious. Lewy, the author of 'Semitische Fremdwörter,' complains that he represents Heb. *he* (=*h*) by the vowels ε or ι, or ει or αι—a very odd equation in any case, but made the more so by the consideration that the Hebrew feminine ending *-ah* stands for an old *-at*, which would be represented in Phœnician by either *-ât* or *-o*: He transliterates the letter *'ayin*, generally represented by a rough breathing, in several ways: by a smooth breathing, by a rough breathing, by nothing, by *g*, and by the vowel *o*. For instance, the island Ὠλίαρος was also named Τλήεσσα; he therefore derives it from the Hebrew for 'mountain of the forest,' *ôl-jar*. This may well be right; but the form would really be *'âl-ja'ar*. Similarly, he speaks of Hebrew *Solo* or *Salo* as the origin of Σόλοι; but the Hebrew word is *Sela'*. To explain Naxos he employs the Hebrew word for a signal, which he calls *nax*. It is actually *nês* (with a *samech*) for original *niss*. On many of these points, it should be said, he acts openly and on professed principles. For instance, he attaches great importance to the position of a letter in the alphabet, so that *he* = ε, *'ayin* = ο, *samech* = ξ; but at times he yields to the temptation of silently representing a parallel or a derivation as rather neater and clearer than it is. (Cf. Aἰ*αίη* above.)

However, when all deductions are made, the doublets present a remarkable chain of evidence, and we are disposed to admit in general terms the thesis which they are meant to prove—the co-existence of Greek and Semitic names at many points of the Ægean and on the trade-routes of the mainland. So the English have given names to many places on the Korean coast which have their Korean or Chinese equivalents; and, to come nearer home, there are Norse and Celtic doublets on the shores of Scotland. But we cannot infer more on behalf of the Phœnicians in the Mediterranean than we can for the Norsemen or the English in other localities, namely, that they were at one time the chief seafaring foreigners in those parts.

Yet the date at which these double names arose remains curiously obscure. M. Bérard pushes it far back. He supposes, if we understand him aright, that the routes and stations in Greece and Greek waters were established during the long Egyptian protectorate over Phœnicia,

about 1530–1400 B.C. Phœnicia represents the Egyptian empire on the seas. Crete and the island powers are vassals of Egypt; their civilisation is the work of Phœnician invaders. It is not clear what effect he attributes to the anarchy which followed the end of the eighteenth dynasty (B.C. 1400); but as to the second anarchy, after the thirty-first dynasty, about 1100 B.C., he follows Maspéro. The weakness of Egypt led to the first establishment of a Greek mercantile marine, imitated from and taught by the Phœnicians, which gradually, by the cheapness of the wares it carried, drove the Phœnicians out of their own waters. Hence came the daring expeditions of the Phœnicians towards the West, the founding of Gades in 1100 B.C., of Tarshish, and presumably of Carthage.

There are great dfficulties in this conception. An early empire was not such a well-organised concern. Even Amenophis III, in the strongest period of his rule, and in the midst of the 'Paix Égyptienne,' made a good many expeditions to keep order quite close to his borders in Asia, and was perpetually warring against his vassal Ethiopians. It seems much more likely that the good times for Tyre and Sidon were, generally, when the hand of Egypt was removed; and that we should look for the date of their great expansion in the two periods of Egyptian collapse, either after the eighteenth dynasty or after the thirty-first. Then the position assigned to Crete in this scheme is, as we have seen, scarcely a possible one. Again, Greek shipbuilding must have had a separate development of its own, and cannot have been learnt from the Phœnicians, because all the nautical terms in Greek are native words; none are Semitic. We may contrast the Latin terms, which are nearly all Greek, because the Romans learnt navigation from the Greeks. Again, the date 1100 B.C. assigned for the founding of Gades rests only on the authority of Pompeius Trogus, and is, on its merits, scarcely credible. The dates of all Phœnician colonies are very uncertain. Timæus, a good authority on most things, gives B.C. 814 as the foundation of Carthage; and it is surely most unlikely that Gades, any more than Utica, can have been earlier, not to say centuries earlier. As for Tarshish, the earliest mention of it seems to be in Isaiah, especially chap. xxiii, which

takes us to the eighth century, not the twelfth. And the Samians, it is worth remembering, found the market of Tarshish *ἀκήρατον*, 'virgin,' so late as about 630 B.C. (Herodot. iv, 152; cf. i, 163). Again, there are great difficulties in believing that any large Phœnician settlements in Sicily were earlier than the Greek. Factories or stations there probably were, since Thucydides says so; but they must have been weak and lacking in influence. The Greeks settled wherever they wished in Sicily, checked sometimes by natives, but never by Phœnicians, until the very end of their period of colonisation on the extreme west coast. It is also noteworthy that the Romans, Etruscans, and south Italians can scarcely have known the Phœnicians before the Greeks; on the contrary, they must have known them through the Greeks, for they call them by their Greek name, and, as remarked above, have borrowed Greek words, not Phœnician, for the nomenclature of their ships. Lastly, Professor Ettore Païs reports of the excavations in Sardinia, that no Phœnician remains in that island seem to be earlier than the sixth or at most the late seventh century.

In accord with this general result is the important fact that all mentions of the Phœnician or Sidonian merchants in Homer come in the latest strata of the poems. In 'Iliad' vi, 290, it is Paris who goes to Sidon in his own ship; and the same holds for the passages in the 'Telemakheia' ('Odyssey' iv; cf. xv, 118). The argument that, because Homer uses the name Sidonians, the Greeks must have been familiar with Phœnician merchants before the fall of Sidon, B.C. 1100, falls to the ground since the discovery that the name Sidonian was used by the coast-town Semites as a general term. Even Hiram, king of Tyre, speaks of himself in an inscription as 'King of the Sidonians' ('Corp. Inscr. Sem.' i, 5).

Granted, then, that M. Bérard may have established the existence of Phœnician settlements for mining, purple-fishing, and trading in various parts of the Ægean; granted that he has admirably explained the *raison d'être* of a Phœnician settlement at Thebes, the centre of the isthmus routes of *Βοιωτία ἡ τριθάλαττος*; granted that he has made very probable the reality of trade-routes across the Peloponnese, the Megarid and Bœotia, bearing traces of Semitic names; the next question is, at what period

the Phœnicians were able to establish themselves so widely. It was probably at a time when the Ægean powers were weak, and certainly when the Greeks of the mainland were weak. Was it after the first 'Achæan' invasion which gradually began to destroy the Mycenæan states, or after the later 'Dorian' invasion? Was it after the thirteenth century B.C. or after the tenth? If we choose the earlier date we are at a loss to explain the silence of the older parts of Homer and the comparative fullness of the later, and we are confronted by the numerous historical difficulties indicated above. Everything points to the later date. It is quite early enough, after all, to satisfy such expressions as the *πάλαι* and even the *τὸ πρῶτον* of Herodotus and Thucydides.

This 'Tyrian' or 'post-Sidonian' period (1000–700 B.C.) seems, from the Jewish and other Semitic accounts, to have been one of concurrent enterprises, Tyrian and Semitic on the one hand, Greek and Philistine on the other. (The Philistine cities may best be regarded as derelict Ægean colonies.) This is the time when M. Bérard's doublet nomenclature would naturally come into existence. The islands and stations frequented by Greeks and Semites would have both Greek and Semitic names, but it does not follow that the Semitic was the earlier. Where the name was indigenous it would be Pelasgian or Greek. Where the name was one given by sailors, sometimes the Greek may have come first, sometimes the Semite. In the case of Samos and of Thasos, it is worth remembering, we are definitely told by Strabo and Pliny that the Greek name was the earlier of the two. In the special case of the 'desert islands and isolated capes,' which are said by Thucydides to have been settled by 'Carians and Phœnicians,' the Semitic name was no doubt the first.

It would not be fair to criticise this book without attempting to give some idea in detail of its quality and its style of argument. For this purpose we will select the discussion of 'Odyssey' x, 80–130, the adventure with the Læstrygonians. Not that it is the best of such discussions. It has not the extreme beauty of the chapter on Circe, for instance; but it is full of new and acute observations, and it will perhaps suffer less from com-

pression than any other. Odysseus has just left the island Aiolië or Stromboli.*

'De là nous voguons au plus tôt, le cœur navré; le moral de mes hommes était brisé par le dur *travail de la rame;* grâce à notre folie il ne nous restait plus la certitude du retour. Six jours et six nuits, sans arrêt, nous naviguons. *Le septième jour,* nous arrivons à la ville haute de Lamos, *Télépylos* de *Laistrygonie,* où *le berger interpelle le berger en entrant, et le berger sortant lui répond.* Là un homme sans sommeil gagnerait les deux récompenses, à faire le métier de bouvier et à garder les blancs moutons, car *les chemins de la nuit et du jour sont proches.* Nous sommes venus à un *port célèbre qu'encercle une margelle de pierre abrupte; à droite et à gauche, des falaises projetées se dressent face à face et s'avancent pour former la bouche; l'entrée est fort étroite.* Toute ma flotte entre dans ce port creux et s'amarre en ligne; *pas la moindre houle,* grande ni petite; mais tout autour des vaisseaux, calme blanc. Moi seul je restai en dehors et, tout au bord du goulet, *j'attachai mon navire à un rocher.* Puis je montai sur *une guette escarpée* où je me tins debout. Rien n'était en vue; aucune trace d'humains ni de bétail; seulement, nous apercevions une fumée qui montait de la terre. J'envoyai donc mes hommes à la découverte, pour savoir quels étaient les *mangeurs de blé* de cette terre. Deux hommes, détachés avec un héraut qui les précédait, débarquèrent et, sur une route plate, par où, du sommet des montagnes, *les chars descendaient le bois vers la ville,* ils rencontrèrent une jeune fille, la forte fille du Laistrygon *Antiphatès,* qui venait chercher de l'eau aux portes de la ville, et *qui descendait vers la source de l'Ours* au beau courant.'

The Spring of the Bear, the fountain Artakie: it is a curious name. One fountain Artakie is well known, the spring on Bear Island in the Sea of Marmora, where the town of Cyzicus once stood. But that is, from an ancient standpoint, at the other end of the world. The scholars who think that the spring near Cyzicus is meant, proceed at once to divide the story of Odysseus into two parts, an eastern wandering and a western wandering, originally separate and awkwardly joined together at this point by some simple-minded ancient editor. But is there another Bear Spring in the west, and one of

* We put in italics those words in M. Bérard's translation of which we shall have to take special notice hereafter.

sufficient importance to navigators to be recorded in the Phœnician 'Periplus'? The 'Instructions Nautiques,' in describing the Straits of Bonifacio, between Corsica and Sardinia, mention a certain Cap d'Orso.

'This cape forms the end of a bare mountain having the same name; at the summit are some prominent rocks, so disposed that they represent pretty exactly the form of a bear. Hence the name of the mountain and the cape.

A photograph of the Bear shows us that he is an unmistakable bear; and all sailors of these regions know him. But is he ancient? May he not really be due to some accidental and recent displacement of the rocks? Well, he can be traced back some two thousand years; for Ptolemy, in his handbook, mentions this particular promontory under the name of Ἄρκτου Ἄκρα, 'Bear's Point.' He is a polar bear, of hard white granite, and he was probably there, equally hard and white, a thousand years before Ptolemy.

But it is a spring, not a promontory, of the Bear that we are seeking; and this granite coast is terribly waterless. The 'Instructions' mention sedulously every little spring. As it happens, the only large ones, three, are close to the Bear, and the largest and best lies just at his feet.

'Water.—In the west angle of Parau bay there is a spring. . . . It has for long formed the water supply of the archipelago of Maddalena.'

So it did in the time of Homer, and has done always until, of late years, the island of Maddalena built artificial distilleries.

We have, then, a Bear Spring of great value to sailors and landsmen who happen to be in the neighbourhood of the Straits of Bonifacio. But are the Straits of Bonifacio themselves important enough to be recorded in a Phœnician 'Sailor's Guide'? History gives the answer. These straits form the doorway of the Italian seas, and have always been of cardinal importance to the 'thalassocrats' of various ages. From 1410 to the present day there has been a constant struggle between France, Aragon, Genoa, and Sardinia itself, for their possession; and in primitive times, apart from their great uses for war and piracy, they formed a junction of two regular

routes—east and west, between Italy and Spain, north and south, between Sicily or the Lipari islands and such stations as Marseilles and Monaco. The Bear Spring would be likely to find mention in all guides for sailors travelling from the east.

But there was also a 'famous haven,' and one of a peculiar shape: a long 'hollow harbour,' with a 'very narrow entrance,' surrounded by a 'shore of steep unbroken rock'; also we hear, in a later passage, that it had 'much deep water inside.' Now most of Sardinia is very ill-provided with harbours or anchorages; but just in the neighbourhood of the Bear there are several. The coast is a series of refuges for ships. The one that would first appeal to mariners coming from Stromboli is Porto Pozzo, the 'Pit,' as it is called from its depth and narrowness between high granite sides. Between the high conical hill, Monte Rosso, and the island 'delle Vacche,' say the 'Instructions,'

'lies a long, narrow arm of the sea, called Porto Pozzo. The entrance is less than two cables broad.* It grows larger inside. . . . It is nearly two miles long. Though the entry is open to the north, there is never much sea inside. At the entry of this arm of the sea the rock or reef Colombo is situated, a cable and a half from the nearest land.'

The description suits: the rocky sides, the narrow entrance, the absence of swell inside, the long narrow shape. The 'guette escarpée' is there too; for Monte Rosso is one of a series of 'guardie' or watch-points from which the natives of this pirate-ridden and fish-eating land kept watch for their enemies and their prey. Lastly, Odysseus's scouts went along 'a level road whereby the wains drew down timber from the high mountains to the town.' The end of Porto Pozzo is sandy marsh, leading to the gently rising valley of the Liscia, which forms the easiest road to the mountains; and the forests of Sardinia have always, down to the last century, formed a great source of timber for the ships of Spain, Provence, and Italy. On the west side, it is true, the difficulties of carriage almost prevented the trade till the advent of modern engineering; but on the north 'the slopes of

* ἀραιὴ δ' εἰσοδός ἐστιν. (Od. x, 90.)

the Gallura and the valley of Liscia make a natural road, which the waggons of the natives must have followed at all times.'

We need not follow the special reasons for rejecting other ports which would suit our passage almost as well as Porto Pozzo: none would suit quite so well. But let us look for further details of agreement. The most conspicuous objects to a ship coasting from the east along this shore will be, first, Bear Point, next, perhaps, Il Colombo, the 'Rock of Doves.' Is there any trace of this last in Homer? One would expect it, for small islands near a coast, especially a coast of unfriendly natives, were of the utmost importance to primitive mariners. Cases have been given where a whole land bore a name derived from an island or rock of curious shape that had become a mark to sailors. Corcyra ('ship') was perhaps so called from the reef 'la barchetta'; Cythera-Scandeia from its mitre-shaped rock (above, p. 356). After all, what does the name Laistrygonia mean? Scholars talk of the intensive prefix λα- and of some root τρυγ-, whence τρύχειν, etc., 'very-devouring land.' But is it not simpler to take λᾶας, λεύς or λαῖς, a 'stone' or 'rock,' and τρυγονίη, the adjective from τρυγών, dove, so that the name simply means 'Doves' Rock'? Then the whole region of almost unknown and untrodden mainland opposite the Doves' Rock was simply 'the region of the Doves' Rock.' It is now the province of Gallura. The whole coast is, as a matter of fact, alive with pigeons; all holes, caves, deserted buildings, are filled with their nests and their noise. There are two places called 'Colombo' now on the north coast, and two called 'Falcone'; for the doves, who have for ages nested on these rocks, have had with them always their hereditary enemies the hawks.

The harbourage behind Doves' Rock was nearly perfect. But in the land of the bloodthirsty Læstrygones a deep harbour became a mere trap. Odysseus himself knew well that it was better to be troubled by surf and fear of storms than to venture inside such a harbour. The scouts were led by the daughter of Antiphates to the high house of her father. They saw his monstrous queen, and shuddered. Word was sent to Antiphates himself, in the 'agora'; and he devised for the strangers a cruel death. He seized and tore one man: the others fled,

'Then he made a cry through the city, and the valiant Læstrygones gathered in their thousands, more like giants than men, and from the top of the cliffs hurled great rocks, each of them a man's burden, upon the Greeks; and anon there arose from the fleet an evil din of men dying and ships shattered withal. Then, harpooning my men like fishes, they bore them away for a loathsome feast.'

There is nothing in this tale to contradict our identification; but at first sight there would seem to be nothing that could possibly confirm it. Yet, if we know the Homeric method, there is something. We find in other instances that the poet had a way of drawing into his narrative phrases, allusions, or even stories, suggested by various peculiarities of the places or neighbourhoods mentioned in the Phœnician 'Guide.' The Achæans were 'harpooned like fish, and carried off for food.' There is practically only one fish in the Mediterranean that is harpooned and carried off for food, the tunny or albacore; and, when Æschylus describes the destruction of the shipwrecked Persians at Salamis, he compares them specifically to tunnies. Now the tunny-fishing is the great event of every summer in Sardinia, and amounts to the national sport. From April onward two men are always stationed on watch-points looking out for the tunnies. When they are seen, then 'there is made a cry through the city, and the valiant Læstrygones gather from all sides in their thousands.' The vast trap with seven chambers, *mandraga*, has been prepared beforehand. The fish are driven farther and farther in till they are in the last or 'death' chamber. Then the net is dragged up towards the surface of the water. It rises slowly, crowded with its almost solid burden of fish, the best specimens being ten feet long, and weighing over a thousand pounds. Then comes the word 'ammazza,' 'kill,' and there follows the harpooning of the thousands of immense struggling monsters, till the sea is covered with red foam, and the men and women are drunk with butchery. Further scenes follow, ending with a 'loathsome feast,' which La Marmora, from whom the above is taken, shrinks from describing. There is no book about Sardinia which does not devote some pages to the description of this tunny-fishery. Is it, perhaps, some such

description that suggested to Homer the harpooning of Odysseus's men?

Nor is this all. Was there not also another very small but important detail in the 'Guide,' which has reappeared in the incident of Odysseus waiting outside the harbour, 'with his cables fastened in a rock'? The lowest point of Corsica, on the other side of this strait, is called Pertusato, the 'pierced rock.' In Sardinia itself, just to the south of Pertusato, is Porto Longone, or Longo Sardo. One thinks at first that it is so called because it is a long headland. But it already bore the name 'Longones' in the itinerary of Antoninus; and 'longones,' λογγῶνες, are perfectly definite things—'the pierced stones in harbours, which they pierce in order to fasten the cables of ships in them.' So says the 'Etymologicum Magnum.' It looks as if there had been such 'pierced stones' here from the remotest antiquity. The mention of them in the 'Guide' would be just enough to suggest to the poet to make Odysseus use one.

Bear Spring, Dove Rock, deep narrow harbour, watch-point, road to the mountain, timber waggons, harpooning place, and pierced stone—it seems that this Sardinian coast gives us all the sites, and, at the same time, all the incidents of this Homeric adventure. Let us take it that Odysseus's men landed at Porto Pozzo. They must have gone up the only existing natural road toward the high ground; for of course, in these early ages, the city of Antiphates was built on high ground away from the sea. It must have been in much the same position as the modern capital of the province of Gallura—Tempio, but, unless the 'Sailor's Guide' was inaccurate—as it often was about inland matters—a good deal nearer to the sea. From Tempio there is but one possible road seaward, as far as a place called Luogo Santo. There the road divides, the left branch going to the upper end of Porto Pozzo, the right to the Spring of the Bear. The Greeks must have met the princess somewhere above Luogo Santo. Telepylos must have been a place rather like Tempio, if the common derivation of its name, 'big-gated,' is correct. Gallura is a land of granite, and the primitive buildings are largely composed of enormous granite blocks. Besides, there are curious remains of early ages; stones seven yards high, bearing such names as 'Perda Lunga,' 'Long Stone';

tombs of giants, of which the name is 'Perda Latta' or 'Nouraga.' These last have very low and massive doors. Did Antiphates live in a Nouraga?

Lastly, the geographical position of the Bear's Cape suits accurately with the Homeric account of the voyage from Stromboli. Odysseus and his men arrived there on the seventh day after leaving the isle of Æolus. Presumably they followed the coasts in the ancient manner. They would go either by the Italian coast up to Monte Circeo and then across to the straits, or else by Didyme and Ustica to the south of Sardinia and then up the Sardinian coast. In either case the distance would be about eight hundred or nine hundred kilometres. In fair weather a Homeric ship would never have taken a week over such a voyage. But then Homer specially tells us that the weather was not fair. 'The men's spirit was worn out with weary labour at the oar.' The poet had evidently learnt from his 'Guide' the fact that north winds are predominant in these waters. In the circumstances a week was just about the right time.

Now, unless this summary of the argument has been very inadequate, a reader must feel almost dazzled by the brilliancy of the above identification. The words of Homer are so closely understood and so constantly kept in relation with real fact; the reasoning is so original, so little influenced by ordinary scholastic methods, so replete with surprise after surprise; and there is in the French such a charm of style, such dexterity, such—the truth will out—such consummate cunning amid such apparent candour. M. Bérard is a real artist, almost a poet; and his book, as it lies before us now, surrounded by ordinary works of sound learning, wears the unprincipled and seductive air of a Tannhäuser among the Minnesingers. Observe the calm way in which, without a word of argument, he translates 'Artakie,' 'the Spring of the Bear,' as if we all knew that; whereas in truth we know nothing of the kind. He does, indeed, give a reference to 'Paully-Wissowa, *s.v.* Kyzikos'; but their article on Cyzicus (not 'Kyzikos') contains no mention of the derivation in question. 'Bear' is ἄρκτος, not ἄρτος. The κ is part of the root: the τ is not. No derivative is known which drops the κ, though a few drop the τ: e.g. Arkonesos = Arktonesos, and Arkobadara, said to mean

'Bärensprung.' It is still possible that dissimilation from the ensuing κ may have caused Ἀρκτακίη to change into Ἀρτακίη; and it is a fact that the island of Cyzicus, in which the spring was, bore the name Ἄρκτων Νῆσος, 'Isle of Bears.' This is something, but not much. Considering the immense frequency of names beginning with 'Arto' all along the Asiatic coasts, the probability is that 'Arkton Nesos' is a mere rough Grecising of some native and unintelligible name, a name which remained untranslated in Artake and Artakie, Artakoi and Artakioi. If M. Bérard had only argued this question openly he would have had readers ready—nay, quite unduly anxious—to agree with him. It will be a real sorrow to lose faith in the Bear.

It is almost the same with the Doves' Rock, Λαιστρυγονίη. We are told to derive it from λᾶας, λεύς or λαῖς, 'a stone,' and the adjective τρυγονίη, which is used by Oppian. Now there is a word λᾶας, and there is a word λεύς, which are not what we want. What we want is the third form, λαῖς. There is no such word. We tacitly assume it, and pass on.

In points of strict scholarship also the book is not impeccable. The piece of translation quoted above has a certain dashing looseness running through it In vol. ii we have noted, on p. 235, the hypothetical adjective τηλὸς treated as if it were as real as μακρός. On p. 452 σύβοτος is proposed as an emendation for βούβοτος, without any mention of the *prima facie* difference of quantity. On p. 556 κλειστὸν is suggested as a possible variant for κλυτὸν, in utter defiance of metre. It is much rarer to find a lapse from common-sense in argument. M. Bérard has a strong head, and is seldom intoxicated by his own speculations. Yet such lapses do occur.

It would be mere blindness of admiration to deny the existence of blemishes such as these. The whole work, as is natural considering its vast range and its wealth of suggestion, has many faults as well as many merits. But the faults are such as one finds in many books; the merits are quite individual, and indeed extraordinary.

GILBERT MURRAY.

Art. III. — HIPPOLYTE TAINE, PHILOSOPHER AND CRITIC.

1. *Hippolyte Taine; sa Vie et sa Correspondance.* Vols. I and II. Paris: Hachette, 1902–4.
2. *Life and Letters of H. Taine*, 1828–1870. Translated by Mrs R. L. Devonshire. Two vols. Westminster: Constable, 1902–4.

THE publication of Taine's letters is an event of special interest to Englishmen. The historian of English literature, the author of the 'Notes sur l'Angleterre,' the admirer of English society, the friendly critic of English institutions and manners, deserves neglect at our hands least of all; and we, as well as the nation of his birth, have cause for much gratitude to Madame Taine, in thus supplying his admirers, the whole body of those liberally interested in literature, art, and psychology, with this self-drawn portrait of a great mind.* Few men have possessed an intellect so logical and acute, an imagination so vivid and consecutive, a sensibility so tender and refined; and, although he cannot be held to have laid to rest the questions with which he dealt, yet his influence has been profound. Perhaps more completely than any other man, he typified in his own person the varied mental life of the half-century which has just closed.

But Taine's life has another and intrinsic value. It has a unity which we often find in the lives of philosophers and scientists; but it has also a completeness which is almost unique. The early part of his life was spent in the search for abstract truth; he gave as little of himself as he could to the sordid affairs of practical life; his teaching, with the exception of his lectures on art, was the analogue of Spinoza's lenses. Like Spinoza, he never thought, never cared to think, how his theories might affect existing things. He did not know whether he was a conservative or a revolutionist. The chief aim of his work was to resume all the sciences into a single science, a single formula. This involved a certain superficiality, but it gave him a lofty outlook over life. When

* The translation by Mrs Devonshire is, in general, both accurate and well written. That it has the charm of the original cannot be said, and will hardly be expected.

he had found his formula, when he had tested it in many ways, when he had at last convinced himself that he had definitely grasped the essential nature of man and his intelligence, he turned, as no other abstract thinker had ever quite done, to actual life. He devoted the fruit of half a life-time's thought to his country; he spent the rest of his life in the endeavour to determine what was the wisest course of action for the men who surrounded him; and he died with this last task incomplete. As he himself had said with happy premonition when, scarcely more than a boy, he was planning out his life:

'Action will have its place, but at the proper time, and when I know how to act; social philosophy will be for me the commentary and corollary of the philosophy of history and of metaphysics.' ('Vie,' i, 82.)

Hippolyte-Adolphe Taine was born at Vouziers, in the Ardennes, in 1828. His family belonged to the solid middle class, which, in this case, at least, does not seem to have been at all lacking in general culture. It is, perhaps, somewhat chimerical to attempt to deduce the general basis of his mind from the mixture of races that inhabit the district in which his family had long been settled; but we may trace a general resemblance between Taine and the people among whom his ancestors had lived. Michelet has a passage of great interest in this connexion. In his description of the Ardennes, he says:

'The race is strongly marked; it has something more than usual of intelligence, sobriety, and thrift. These people's faces are dry, as it were, and rough-hewn. This characteristic of dryness and severity is by no means peculiar to the little Geneva of Sedan. It is the same almost everywhere. The country is not rich, and the enemy is near at hand. That makes people think.'

Taine's early childhood was placid and happy. Looking back, he must have remembered an almost ideal home, with its calm, regular and modest life, as M. Giraud has so truly said, uniting labour and tenderness, and inspiring the sweet familiarity of domestic life with intellectual joys and interests.

'What famous river,' he wrote many years after, 'equals the little stream where for the first time you saw the ripples

interweaving their arabesques, fringed with silver at the touch of a drooping willow branch? What noble park surpasses the charm of the poor meadow where you have paused in childhood to pick the convolvulus or buttercup?' ('Derniers Essais,' p. 43, *et sqq.*)

His father died in 1840; and, although the boy was too young to feel very profoundly, the grief of others seems to have made a deep impression upon him. He had no brothers; but his sisters, and above all his mother, were supremely dear companions. They remained so throughout. In after-life, when he was living in a provincial town, with no congenial friend near, he wrote to his mother: 'I am tired, but can find nothing so refreshing as your memory.' Before his father's death he had been sent to a boarding-school at Rethel, kept by an old priest and his sister. But it was soon decided to seek some more regular instruction for the boy; and he was entered at a school in Paris, where his mother soon came to live, at her father's house in Les Batignolles. From this time onward, until his entrance to the École Normale, Taine lived with her and his sisters, working as few English boys work, with an excursion to the Forest of Saint-Germain, a visit to the Louvre, or a swimming lesson from his uncles, as his chief amusements.

When he was just twenty, a few months before he entered the great training school, he wrote an account of his intellectual life during the previous five years, which is remarkable for the self-knowledge and meditative spirit which it displays.

'There [are certain minds,' he writes, 'which live shut up in themselves, whose passion, sorrow, joy, and action are all internal. I am of their number; and, if I should desire to review my life, I could only recall the changes, the uncertainties, and the progress of my thought. If I write this now, it is in order that I may find it later, and know then what I was at this time.'

Here, already, is that preoccupation with the phenomena of the mind which was to show itself so strongly afterwards. He goes on to describe an early religious crisis; and it is pathetic to find this scarcely-trained, precocious intellect confusing itself with questions which maturity

cannot solve. He entered early on the long labour of thought.

'What fell first was my religious faith. One doubt provoked another; each belief dragged another down in its fall. . . . I valued my reason too highly to believe in any other authority. . . . I grew angry with the virtue which springs from fear and the belief which arises from obedience. . . . Pride and love of liberty set me free.'

The next three years, he tells us, were spent in the search for general truths, in efforts to grasp the totality of things, to know what men and society really are.

'I went to the extreme limit of doubt. . . . I was sad then. . . . I had denied the authority of that reason which I prized so highly. . . . Then, wearied out with contradictions, I devoted myself to the service of the newest and most poetical hypothesis; I defended pantheism with all my might. . . . That was my salvation. Thenceforward metaphysics appeared intelligible, and science serious. I arrived, by dint of seeking, at a height from which I could embrace the whole philosophical horizon. . . . I set to work with eagerness; the clouds broke; I understood the origin of my errors; I saw the unity and the totality of the universe. . . .' ('Vie,' i, 20 *et sqq.*)

In November 1848 he was admitted, first of his year, to the École Normale. The Revolution of '48 seems to have made little impression upon him, certainly none at all comparable with that made by the *coup d'état* of 1851, or by the insurrection of the Commune; and he entered the School with a mind devoted to high philosophical speculations. His first experience of collegiate life seems to have been unfavourable. It was the first time that he had been really separated from his family. 'I have no friend at the School,' he writes; 'a great sadness and great hopes overwhelm me.' There was no one to whom he could speak in this 'moral solitude' of the thoughts which lay nearest to his heart.

This first experience of men coincided with the beginning of a certain pessimism, so common in early manhood, which never quite deserted him.

'Amid the immeasurable disgust and discouragement which assailed me,' he wrote to his early friend, Prévost-Paradol, 'I should have given way except for beliefs supported by a few

powerful arguments. I needed these fixed points to steady me in that tremendous fall which everyone who has been brought up on learning and art must experience when he sees for the first time the world, life, and that sad, vast tract of thirty or forty years which he has still to pass through before he can end his toil, and sleep.' ('Vie,' i, 47.)

Already he had found the narcotic quality of thought, and fingered that 'unconquerable breviary, I mean the geometry of things.'

In spite of hours of weariness and depression, he continued to work with extraordinary eagerness and assiduity, studying history, literature, and philosophy, independently of his regular courses of reading; and, in spite too of his constant labour, he found time to cultivate friendships, with Prévost-Paradol, his old friend of the Collège Bourbon, Édouard de Suckau, and Edmond About, in particular. He used to join in *trios* of Mozart and Beethoven; and in his more serious moments of leisure he would discuss all sorts of subjects, literary, religious, social, philosophic, with that eagerness and independence so characteristic of young minds as yet undulled by life.

Amid such occupations Taine's three years passed away very pleasantly, very profitably. At his entrance in 1848 the School had been frankly liberal, under the direction of M. Dubois and M. Vacherot. It seemed for a time as if it was to remain an oasis of free thought amid the reaction which began in 1850. But Taine himself was to be made a scape-goat. In 1851 he presented himself in the regular course for the *agrégation* in philosophy. To the surprise of all, of his masters as much as of his fellow-students, he was refused. The cause of this failure would seem to have been that the study of Spinoza and Hegel, combined with his own audacity of thought, gave rise in his papers to ideas which seemed revolutionary to the adherents of the official philosophy. 'You love the ideas which you have discovered for yourself so much,' he wrote a few years later, 'that you cannot help thinking aloud.' He must have thought aloud; and his ideas alarmed the jury. The president, Portalis, reported that 'his lesson had been a revelation against the teaching of the School, and that it was impossible to get rid too soon of professors who formed such pupils.' For the time being, thought,

so far as was possible, was going to be restrained within certain limits. When Taine soon afterwards criticised the 'authoritative philosophy' of Royer-Collard and Victor Cousin, and demanded that the single aim of science and education should be the disinterested propagation and discovery of the truth, he was vindicating modern ideals on whose behalf he himself had suffered.

In spite of the consolations which his friends and masters attempted to give him, his refusal must have been a severe blow. The following year was to be fertile in disappointments and labour. Mainly through the kind offices of M. Guizot, he was appointed to fill a temporary vacancy of the chair of philosophy at Nevers.

'At least, in being a professor,' he had written to Paradol early in his school career, 'I shall be free for all but eight hours a week; when I lecture I shall be occupied with matters of pure thought, lofty and free from all the sordidness of practical life. . . . Forced to sell myself, I sell as little of myself as I can, and I will try to live with what remains over to me.' ('Vie,' i, 90.)

He entered hopefully on his duties at Nevers in October 1851. He worked at his thesis on sensations, the first rude sketch of the 'De l'Intelligence.' He studied Hegel anew; he shrank from society, in order to plunge himself in his beloved philosophy and psychology.

'There would be plenty of houses open to me if I cared about them. But I scarcely do; I enjoy solitude and liberty too much. . . . I bury myself in philosophy, and (forgive the impertinence) I find myself good enough company not to be bored when alone.' ('Ib. i, 141.)

He was happy when he could feel that 'his own observations were pushing him every day towards more definite theories and more original formulas,' and that 'the more he lived the more he became himself.' (Ib. i, 162.)

But the sordidness of practical life would intrude. In November 1851 there came the *coup d'état*. The student of pure ideas must always find much to disgust him in practical politics, in the love of compromise, the short-sightedness, the self-seeking of politicians. They disgusted Taine.

'Right' (he says) 'counts for nothing; there are only passions and interests. . . . Only science, literature, education, the slow

progress of ideas, can drag us out of the mire. I must resign myself for many years to being of no party, hating them all, and eagerly longing for the victory of the only one that can be followed, the party of science and honour. . . . Napoleon, the Bourbons, Louis-Philippe, M. Louis Napoleon, are but so many compromises born of circumstances. Ideas themselves in '89 and '48 only reigned by accident and for a moment.' ('Vie,' i, 168, 171.)

It maddened him to hear men, who had been pouring out insults against Louis Napoleon, say they would vote for him because otherwise they would lose their places. It was still worse to hear such conduct elevated to the rank of principles. 'How hideous politics are!' he exclaims—'La laide chose que la politique!'

He was to be brought for a time into still closer contact with this unlovely side of things. The rector of the college sent round a circular letter approving of the *coup d'état*, for signature by the professors.

'I refused,' Taine wrote to his sister Virginie a couple of days after. 'I did not wish to enter on my professorship with cowardice and falsehood. It is my duty to teach respect of the laws, fidelity to oaths, the worship of eternal Right; I should have been ashamed to approve of perjury, usurpation, and murder.' (Ib. i, 176.)

Strange to say, he does not seem to have suffered owing to his courageous refusal.

Nor were these his only sources of disquietude. His sensibility was too delicate for him to be able to live among uncongenial people without severe suffering. His last months at Nevers were marked by a profound depression, which arose in great part from his loneliness, partly also, no doubt, from his constant habits of overwork. 'The conversation of the people who surround me is intolerable; I can speak of neither lofty nor intimate things. But I still prefer my free and lonely weariness to the constrained weariness of society.' At the end of March 1852 he was transferred to another temporary vacancy at Poitiers, this time in *rhétorique*, not philosophy. As the Minister of Public Instruction, Fortoul, wrote to him, it was a course of instruction 'less perilous to his future.' Although in his lectures at Nevers he had endeavoured to shelter himself behind

famous names quoted by the orthodox, it was of little more use than Luther's quoting St Augustine. He remained at Poitiers until the end of the summer. His mind seems to have been somewhat easier.

'For the last eight months disillusionments have fallen so thickly and have made such progress that I am beginning to understand Spinoza's practice as well as his theories.... To think, to arrange your thoughts, to write your thoughts, is delicious; the less you think of the public the happier you are.' ('Vie,' i, 284.)

The thoughts which it was such pleasure to think and arrange and write were, of course, his psychological theories, which were being set in order for his doctor's thesis. But these theories involved such startling departures from official psychology that Garnier, one of the judges, concluded that he had 'too much imagination for philosophy, and that he would find in literature and poetry more legitimate and fortunate employment for his brilliant qualities.' Hegelianism in any form was regarded as dangerous; and Taine had studied and assimilated Spinoza and Hegel too thoroughly for him to avoid the unconscious expression of a philosophy similar to theirs. The establishment of the Empire marked the beginning of a period of repression in the state educational machine. Taine was not allowed to give his pupils permission to read 'Les Provinciales,' 'L'École des Maris,' or Lamartine. The German philosophers might only be studied *en cachette*. 'Our history is that of Julien at the seminary,' he says, referring to his favourite novelist, Stendhal.

Taine himself had no scruples in taking the oaths to Napoleon. 'I refused to approve on December 2,' he wrote to his mother; 'his action was unjust and illegal and violated my great principle of the sovereignty of the nation. But now this man has a legitimate power, conferred by the general will.' Many of his friends, however, found themselves obliged to resign all connexion with official teaching, as he himself was to do shortly. 'All my friends are ruined,' he wrote. 'One can only curl oneself up in a hole and live like a rat-philosopher.'

In August his term at Poitiers was up. There was no possibility of an *agrégation* in philosophy; and his

psychological thesis had been rejected. As some sort of consolation, he was slowly forming that plan of the treatise, 'De l'Intelligence,' which for nearly twenty years was never quite out of his thoughts. But for the moment he had need of all his courage. The appointment which was offered him at the *lycée* of Besançon was impossible for one who was selling as little of himself as he could help, and furthermore would have involved too great a tax on his nerves. 'I shiver with horror,' he wrote, 'at the thought of ten classes a week of fifty grumbling, grunting, stamping urchins. I was not made to be a tamer of wild beasts.' He went up to Paris, demanded a temporary release from his duties (*congé de disponibilité*), and set to work to find private lessons sufficient to supply his slender wants while he accomplished the programme which he had traced out for himself—the writing of his doctor's theses, in French on La Fontaine, and in Latin 'De Personis Platonicis,' and the serious pursuit of his studies in psychology. His plans were conceived with courage, but their execution seemed at times above his strength.

'Will is not lacking; I don't think it ever will be; but perhaps something is broken in my moral machine; this "something" is hope. I am beginning to see life as it is, to understand what it is to get on in the world, or to introduce a new idea into it.' ('Vie,' i, 310.)

But in spite of momentary depression and hesitation he worked on bravely, writing his theses, attending lectures in physiology and geology, studying anatomy, and visiting the wards of the Salpêtrière, where one of his relations, Dr Baillarger, was chief physician. This time he succeeded. He received his degree in May 1853.

But he was not yet satisfied. His next work was the Academy prize. The subject was Livy; and for the following six months, in addition to his scientific studies, he was reading at the libraries and collecting notes for his new enterprise. 'I pass my days at it,' he wrote to his mother, 'only coming out for meals or just to shake hands with Suckau or Planat.' The greater part of his time Suckau himself was lecturing at Bourges; and Taine's closest friends were Woepke and Planat—the Marcellin of the 'Vie Parisienne.' These were the

leaders of the 'five or six young men who loved reading, who passed their days in libraries and dissecting rooms, and amused their evenings with argument,' of whom we read in the 'Philosophes Classiques.' The result of his diligence was that Livy was finished at the end of the year, but at the expense of much weariness. 'I curse the time I have put into it, the day I conceived it, the day I shall be delivered of it,' he wrote half seriously, half jestingly. He had a severe attack of laryngitis, from the effects of which he suffered for the next two years. To recruit from it he visited some of the watering-places in southern France. The result was one of his most charming books, the 'Voyage aux Eaux des Pyrénées,' his first without an academical origin.

But the earlier part of 1854 was melancholy indeed. In January he had presented his study on Livy to the Academy, which, after long discussion, decided to put the prize off till the next year. He was reproached with lack of respect for Livy and great men in general, with heaviness of style, with too great an inclination to modern historical ideas. He wrote to Guillaume Guizot, the historian's son, who had been unlucky enough to congratulate him prematurely:—

'You recognise the fortune of Carthage. As a matter of fact, when you announced my success to me, I was quite astonished, being unaccustomed to such events. I thought that Fortune had made a mistake in my favour. You see that she has quickly corrected her clumsiness.' ('Vie,' ii, 59.)

His friends urged him to rewrite his essay. For a short time he hesitated. He knew, he said, that his offspring was lame, but, if he had rightly understood the Academy's criticisms, he would have to break its sound leg also. On reading it over he found it dull. He turned its pages with an effort of will, not from interest. The execution was of that respectable mediocrity which he disliked in others but detested in himself. But with final courage he made up his mind to recast it, and by a supreme effort to change the fortune of Carthage. It must have needed great resolution in his state of health. His doctor forbade him all sorts of work; and he was thrown back on Voltaire and Beyle, two writers of whom he never tired. About the middle of July he set out on

his trip to the Pyrénées. He went to Saint-Sauveur and then to Eaux-bonnes. There he spent his time between reading 'Faust' and climbing rocks, 'leading the life' (he said) 'of a Pythagorean goat.' He went back to Paris, but slightly better, however, and spent the rest of the year in making descriptions, dialogues, and fantastic Pyrenean diabolical legends for his 'Voyage,' which was published by Hachette in April 1855.

It was at this period that his literary career really began. His connexion with Hachette opened to him the 'Revue de l'Instruction Publique'; and soon afterwards he began to contribute to the 'Revue des Deux Mondes' and the 'Journal des Débats.' From this time onwards there appeared his remarkable series of essays, some of which were republished in the 'Essais de Critique et d'Histoire.' In May the Academy crowned his Livy. Thenceforward he received no serious check from anything but ill-health. In July he was at Eaux-bonnes again on account of his throat and frequent neuralgia. Natural objects always delighted him, and he looked on them with no undiscerning eye.

'To-day, after having watched the mountain behind which the sun was setting, I discovered that it was the energy of its black colour which gave to the long, broken line the life which pleased me so. The rocky mass *existed* only because this blackness was extreme, and increased as it arose against the pure, soft blue of the West. It emerged from the common ordinary state. It assumed a threatening appearance; it seemed invincible, immovable; it drew my eyes to it, and crushed all that surrounded it. . . . Colour, then, is the passion of inanimate objects. . . . The opposition of tints makes, not bouquets, but tragedies.' ('Vie,' ii, 104.)

When he came back to Paris he began to write his articles on the official philosophy, published as the 'Philosophes Classiques.'

'My third misfortune is M. Cousin,' he wrote, apologising for a long silence. 'I have buried myself in that man; . . . and I have written five enormous articles, which will come out in the "Revue de l'Instruction." I was given complete liberty, and I have made use of it.' (Ib. ii, 111.)

Cousin must have reflected bitterly on Taine's 'lack of veneration for great men' when he found himself dis-

sected as a beetle is by an entomologist. If it was bad when Livy was explained as an 'orator who made an historian of himself,' what was it when he, the great Cousin, was explained as 'an orator who made himself a philosopher!' These articles attracted much attention; and their appearance in book-form led to wide discussion of the merits of the doctrines which they expressed. At last Taine was definitely placed 'out of the crowd'; Sainte-Beuve honoured him with a couple of articles; he had no more to fear from recalcitrant editors.

In the meantime the idea of his 'History of English Literature' had been gradually springing up. At first he had intended to do no more than a study of Shakespeare's psychology, which he had proposed to Hachette so early as 1854; but his researches had led him further than he had expected. In January 1856 he wrote: 'I think I have been unwise to undertake this history of English literature. It is too long a road by which to arrive at philosophy. It is like going to Versailles by way of Strassburg.' It was, indeed, a long road; he devoted seven years of his life to his English studies; but philosophy was to be found, not only at the end of his journey, but all the way along his path. The 'History of English Literature' is a great experiment in philosophy, in the sense of the disengagement of the broad general principles underlying human life.

The first half of this period was unhappily marked by such ill-health as effectually forbade all connected work and thought, except at rare intervals. He writes to his friend Suckau, for instance:—

'I am very far from being well, as you guessed; I work from two to three hours in the morning, with great precautions; the rest of the time I rub myself with cold water, I sleep, I sit long over my meals, I pay a few visits, and I give one or two rare lessons; I go to bed at nine, and I only go into society in cases of extreme necessity.' ('Vie,' ii, 162.)

It was the severest trial he had had or was to have; and the patience with which he bore it is sufficient evidence of the sweetness of his true strength.

'I am a steam-engine without a boiler,' he wrote, pathetically enough; 'and I am rusting or rotting out. . . . I live oyster-wise; I give no more lessons; I avoid thought and

conversation; I can only shake your hand. My condition and outlook at first made me very sad; but I moralised for a while, and now have recovered my balance.' ('Vie,' ii, 181.)

Happily the crisis passed, and by the beginning of 1860 he was at work once more rewriting 'La Fontaine' and advancing with his 'Littérature Anglaise.' However he realised how inadequate mere book knowledge was. Three years before he had written to Suckau, who was about to visit England: 'I envy you your journey; you will see with your bodily eyes what I have been compelled to guess at.' In June 1860 he paid us his first visit. His early impressions are not uninteresting.

'This great London tires and saddens me; I am actively fulfilling my duties as anatomist, but that is all. Everything is too big, too dark, too crowded together; everywhere you see the results of overmuch work and effort. The very contrasts wound me.' (Ib. ii, 200.)

A little later he wrote to M. Guillaume Guizot:—

'All I will say is that I am beginning to value literature and the information which it can give. I think that the judgments which it suggested to me at Paris were not false. Actual experience has not falsified the expectations of the study; it has confirmed them, made them more precise, developed them; but the general formulas remain, in my opinion, quite true. I conclude that the opinions which we may form on ancient Greece and Rome, on Italy, Spain, and England, of the Renascence, are exact, and that an historian possesses in books a very powerful instrument, a sort of faithful photography almost always capable of replacing the physical sight of objects.' (Ib. ii, 204.)

In the same letter he endeavours to remove a popular misconception.

'There is a point on which I must try to refute you; your article in the "Débats" spoke of English stiffness. You seem to think that each man is surrounded by a sort of hedge which cuts him off from his neighbours. Well, for my part I have found them as affable and communicative as the French. I am not speaking only of those to whom you have given me introductions. They may have been agreeable for your sake or out of good breeding. But everywhere, on the boat and in the omnibus, in town and country, people seem to me polite

and friendly. I have asked my way hundreds of times in the streets, and they have always told me, and even put themselves to some trouble over it. . . . I do not find them more melancholy than the French; they are certainly as civil. On the whole, I think they have stronger nerves than we have; they are less emotional, fonder of coarse pleasures, noise, and physical enjoyment.'

This was only the first of a series of visits which he paid us, returning with note-books full of varied observations, selections from which his friends persuaded him to publish as the 'Notes sur l'Angleterre.' In connexion with the select contents of these note-books, it is curious to compare England, as seen by Taine in the nineteenth century, with that seen by Voltaire, whom Taine admired so much, in the eighteenth. To each we offered a political ideal with which each endeavoured to indoctrinate his countrymen; but by a strange irony the two ideals were very far apart. To Voltaire England seemed the paradise of Liberalism. While he was still smarting from the stripes of the Chevalier de Rohan's servants, he saw a society where men of letters were not cudgelled but caressed, not put in the Bastille but given offices of state. He saw the royal barge on the Thames followed by a crowd of wherries, and 'not one of the watermen but showed, in face, garb, and figure, that he was free and living amid plenty.' In the political world he especially notices that noblemen have no legal authority in the places from which they take their titles, and that, 'because a man is a noble or a priest, he is not therefore exempt from paying taxes; all the taxes are regulated by the House of Commons, which, although the second in rank, is the first in importance.'

To Taine, on the other hand, just arrived from the 'pays de l'égalité' of the nineteenth century, England seemed the paradise of Conservatism. He finds the people accepting the decisions of authority without question. He never wearies of describing the great country-houses and their magnificent surroundings, the care of the owners for their dependents, and the respect of the villagers for their hereditary leaders. 'The upper classes' (he writes) 'have performed their duties well; and, in local as in national life, their ascendency is deserved and uncontested' ('Notes,' p. 215). For him the

essential fact was a continuity of life which had never broken with its traditions. Speaking of the benefactors of Oxford, he says:—

'These old men seem still living, for their work survives them and endures. . . . This is not a dead or sleeping city; the modern completes and magnifies the ancient work; the men of to-day, as of old, add their buildings and their gifts. . . . We have destroyed and been compelled to build anew from the foundation. Here the following generation does not break with its predecessor; reforms are grafted on institutions, and the present, supported by the past, continues it.' ('Notes,' 168.)

Here, too, is profound truth; yet what a difference between 1727 and 1860!

At times, unhappily, he still had to give up work; in one of these intervals of enforced rest he attempted his unfinished novel, 'Étienne Mayran.'

'I have written twenty pages of a novel which will be finished or not as heaven wills. . . . I believe that every cultivated and intelligent man, by collecting his experiences, could make one or two good novels, for, in fact, a novel is only a collection of experiences.' ('Vie,' ii, 209.)

The story, we are told, is that of a poor orphan of precocious intellect and morbid sensibility; and the completed portion, his school life, is full of reminiscences of Taine's own early days, mingled with suggestions of Julien Sorel at his seminary. We can only regret that the work was given up. Very likely it would not have been an artistic success, but it would have been as interesting to the psychologist as the 'Volupté' of Sainte-Beuve. At this time, when he was frequenting drawing-rooms, 'as he would frequent dissecting-rooms,' with the object of studying for his novel, Taine lived somewhat less as a recluse than before. He was in touch with the literary and artistic world; he was often at the dinners at Magny's, where Sainte-Beuve presided; Édouard Bertin, the artist and director of the 'Débats,' Renan, Berlioz, Flaubert, and many other well-known men, were among his friends and acquaintances; he was a welcome visitor in the political *salon* of M. Guizot, the literary *salon* of the Comtesse d'Haussonville, and the cosmopolitan assemblies of Princess Mathilde. So when, in 1863, his

friend Planat founded the 'Vie Parisienne,' the 'Notes sur Paris' published in it, under the pseudonym of Frederic Thomas Graindorge, were the fruit of keen and varied observation.

When he had at last finished his 'Littérature Anglaise' Taine thought that he might grant himself a little holiday, and early in 1864 he went to Italy. He found it somewhat disappointing.

'The finest works of art do not touch me nearly as much as natural scenery,' he wrote from Rome. 'The decay of the frescoes of the greatest painters robs them of three quarters of their effect.' And again: 'I must confess that I have found things more beautiful in engravings than in reality.' ('Vie,' ii, 280, 284.)

A few months after his return from Italy Taine was appointed professor of æsthetics and of the history of art at the 'École des Beaux-Arts.' His predecessor, Viollet-le-Duc, was supposed by the students to have been concerned in some very unpopular changes that had recently been introduced, and he had been compelled to resign owing to the showers of roast apples which fell about him when he attempted to deliver his lectures. In January 1865 Taine delivered his first lecture, and was warmly received—in quite another manner. After the lecture was over, the students, in spite of heavy rain, ran shouting after his cab until it finally stopped in the Rue Bretonvilliers, where Taine was then living. This friendly feeling was preserved all through the twenty years that he held the chair; and the lectures, which were condensed into the 'Philosophie de l'Art,' were listened to with a respect that was almost reverential. M. Bourget has an admirable passage which shows us plainly what Taine symbolised to the rising generation of that day.

'I remember how, on the morrow of the war, we students, scarcely escaped from college, crowded, with beating hearts, in the great hall of the 'École des Beaux-Arts,' where M. Taine lectured during the four winter months. . . . The Master spoke with a somewhat monotonous voice, which stamped the words of his little sentences with a vague foreign accent; even that very monotony, those rare gestures, that absorbed expression, that great anxiety not to add to the real eloquence of documents the fictitious eloquence of stage properties—all

those little details completed our conquest. This man, so modest that he never seemed to suspect his European reputation, and so simple that he seemed to care for nothing but the service of truth, became the apostle of our new faith. He, at least, had never sacrificed on the altar of official doctrines. He had never lied. It was really his thought that he offered us in those little phrases, which were at once so short and so full of meaning, his thought, profoundly, unconquerably sincere.' ('Essais de Psychologie Contemporaine,' p. 170.)

In 1867 he found himself sufficiently free and sufficiently strong to take up his great work, the 'De l'Intelligence.' As he wrote to Sainte-Beuve, 'It is the root of all my historical and moral ideas.' It filled all his time for two years, although he had never quite ceased to think about it since his professoriate at Nevers and the preparation of his unsuccessful thesis on the sensations. It was published in 1869. He said, on its completion, 'The book will be read by a hundred people in France, and about as many in the rest of Europe.' His anticipation proved somewhat unfounded. The publication of the 'De l'Intelligence' may be taken as marking the conclusion of the first period of Taine's life. Until then he had endeavoured, with all the consistency that is given to man, 'to live outside time and space.' He had studied philosophy, literature, painting, and, above all, both through and apart from these media, man, his nature and his destiny; but from a point of view that was almost detached. As one of his early masters had said of him, 'His motto will be that of Spinoza, "Live to think." ... I believe his delicate, exceptional nature is ignorant of any passion except that of truth.' So far he had lent himself to real life only, as it were, in the guise of observer. Social life was to him little more than 'an aping of pleasure, a comedy of weariness.' He was armoured with pride. He writes of Lamartine's confidences, 'Thirty million companions are too many to my way of thinking.' He recommends his sister not to reveal her love of art, literature, or science. He shrank from the public eye. 'I desire, above all,' he wrote to his friend Planat about a proposed complimentary article in the 'Vie Parisienne,' 'that my personality should escape the public.'

But complete detachment is impossible. We have seen

him brought into contact with political life; readers of his notes on Paris, on the provinces, on foreign countries, will remember what an undertone of sadness runs through them all. 'Perhaps all my impressions have a fault,' he writes somewhere; 'they are pessimistic.' And in his 'Voyage en Italie' he writes again:—

'What a mass of ruins, what a graveyard, history is! . . . When a man has passed through half his career, and when, looking within, he counts the ambitions he has stifled, the hopes he has torn out, the corpses he carries buried in his heart, then the magnificence and the ruthlessness of nature appear to him together.'

To a man of acute sensibility the detachment of abstraction ultimately becomes intolerable.

'Ideas are abstract; you can only lift yourself to them with an effort. However lovely they may be they cannot suffice a man's heart.'

Taine was fortunate in that when he had just finished his inquest on human nature from an objective standpoint, when, after long meditation, he had definitely formulated his conception of man and of the universe that is presented to him, events drew him from his lonely abstraction—the cares and joys of married life, the responsibilities of fatherhood, and the troubles and convulsions of his country. He saw the need of a justification of his principles; if they were all he believed them to be, their application might save his countrymen from a repetition of the horrors of 1871, which had entered so deeply into his soul. The result was the 'Origines de la France Contemporaine,' a work in which he sought the true principles of political action, as much for his countrymen as for himself. It was the fitting termination and application of the psychological theories which he had formed and tested in the last twenty years. Let us briefly, then, consider what were these theories of man and of the universe.

Taine's biographer, M. Giraud, has reproached him strangely enough with thinking at forty as he had thought at twenty. This is partly untrue. It would be very easy, with the material now before us, to trace the stages by which he came to value principles according to

their applicability to actual life, and to perceive that not mere truth, but useful truth, should be the object of philosophic search. But, if it be the case that Taine believed in the same general doctrines at forty as he did when he was twenty, it is difficult to see how that impairs the truth of his conclusions. If there is no possibility of reasonable certainty in these matters it does not matter whether a man changes his opinions or not; they are all equally valueless. If, on the other hand, the possibility exists, a man may find the truth at twenty as well as at forty, and, once having found it, he will not give it up. Taine was a pantheist and determinist at twenty: he remained such. Some form of monism was natural in the generation which saw the disappearance of immutable species, as to-day we are seeing the disappearance of what so many have looked on as irreducible elements. But the essential postulate of Taine's system was determinism. Free will, in the natural sense of the words, is inconsistent with any positive psychological theories. We must either resign any attempt at discovering the laws of mind, or we must accept Hobbes' old simile, 'As in the water, that hath not only liberty, but a necessity of descending by the channel; so likewise in the actions which men voluntarily doe.' Pantheism is no more than opinion.

'When I watch the long ripple of the trees, the play of the light, the richness and abundance of all these forms and colours, when I listen to the low, uncertain, continuous, harmonious sound rising and falling in the trees, I *feel* the presence of the universal life.' ('Vie,' i, 29.)

But determinism is the starting-point of all organised psychological thought, an inevitable, if not always a conscious assumption.

'So far as I can see' (he wrote), 'the denial of the absolute determination of human volitions involves the destruction of moral science and of all power of prevision.' (Ib. ii, 353.)

But this monism and determinism were the limits of Taine's metaphysical postulates. He was no metaphysician; and his system was built, not on irresponsible intuitions, but on broad inductions. He would reduce metaphysics to a mere analysis of the partial sciences.

His true inspiration was science; his instruments, observation and analysis; his object, the human mind.

'True, free psychology' (he wrote) 'is a magnificent science, which has founded the philosophy of history, vivifies physiology, and is the key to metaphysics.' ('Vie,' i, 187.) 'For forty years,' he said, at the close of his long life, 'I have worked at nothing but pure or applied psychology.'

Although he borrowed from Spinoza and Hegel the enveloping idea of pantheism, his philosophy itself was founded on psychological observation. Indeed the essential difference between the method of metaphysics and the method of science is that the former deduces the particular from the general, the latter infers the general from the particular. Hence the persuasive power of science, which enables us constantly to refer to experience as the test of truth. It was the establishment of this position which was the great contribution of the nineteenth century to human progress; but it had been prepared from afar. A long train of philosophers—in England, Bacon, Hobbes, and Locke; in France, Condillac and the sensational school—had asserted it against all true metaphysicians. Taine in some sort was their successor, in spite of fundamental differences; and there have been those who accused him of a materialism as crude as that of Cabanis. But to do so is surely as gross as to confuse Hobbes with Spinoza. Whatever else he was, Taine was an idealist in philosophy, though, strange to say, he found the germs of much of his thought in Condillac.

The latter, as we know, attached a great importance to words, even describing science as no more than a well-constructed language. Indeed his whole system seems based mainly on verbal distinctions. But he made one fortunate guess, which Taine analysed and developed. Our general ideas, he said, are really no more than signs, consisting of the images of words which are substituted for the sensations of general qualities which we cannot directly perceive. Analysing this position, Taine points out that a proper name stands for a group of images, a concept—in psychological terminology—which it tends to evoke. Very often, however, this group is not evoked. We can very well think of a proper name without being conscious of the group of characteristics which make up

the individual. In that case the image of the name becomes the equivalent or substitute for that group of images which correspond with the individual's characteristics. Still more is this the case with the names of a class of objects. We can have no single, definite image of them; their individual differences would inevitably blur the outline of the image. But the common part of a series of sensations is accurately and definitely represented by the image of the name which we give to the series. And still more again is this true of the names of general qualities. Of a general quality there is no possible image. But instead of this image we have the image of the name given to the quality, and that becomes its exact equivalent in thought. We cannot think, for example, of a pure number except through the name we give it.

He then passes on to consider the nature of the image in itself. Just as the abstract noun is a substitute for the abstract quality and enables us to think of it, so too the image, in its simplest form, is a repeated sensation, and a substitute for its corresponding sensation in thought. It would become a hallucination were it not counteracted by the actual sensation of the moment and other opposing influences such as are supplied by memory. We are thus brought to sensations, of which those of hearing and seeing certainly, and the rest probably, are composed of simpler elements which themselves are not present in consciousness. Here, it appears, is the central point of Taine's whole system.

In the sensation we first meet definitely with the dual aspect of life, moral and material. On the one side we have certain more or less definite nervous changes, which may ultimately be resolved into modes of motion; on the other, we have consciousness. These two are quite distinct and mutually irreducible. But nevertheless these two may be ultimately produced by a single cause, perceived through two mediums, just as we may apprehend an object diversely by two different senses. Taine therefore objects to Leibnitz's theory of prearranged harmony as involving an unnecessary hypothesis. There remain the materialist and idealist hypotheses. In the first place, he says, we know the moral side directly and the material side only indirectly; which should lead us to conclude that the material aspect is only a sign of the moral aspect.

This conclusion is rendered inevitable by the conclusion of his psychological analysis. As we have just seen, simple elements of consciousness are themselves extra-conscious. But, if they possess a moral value when taken together in consciousness, they must have a moral value when taken separately apart from consciousness. That is, phenomena lying beyond consciousness may possess an independent moral value. If we cannot deny this to some, it is clear that we cannot deny it to any. And he illustrates his meaning by a striking comparison of nature with a book containing an original text and an interlinear translation, whose successive chapters correspond with the various orders, passing from inorganic things to man. At the beginning of the book the translation is printed in clear, legible characters, but as we advance they become obscure; new characters appear which seem disparate from the simpler, earlier type; at last, especially in the final chapter, it becomes indecipherable, although a number of indications show that it is still the same language and the same book. This is the universe seen from its material side. With the original text it is just the reverse. Very legible is the last chapter, the ink fades as we go backwards; although you guess the words that have been there you cannot read them. At the beginning every trace has disappeared. Here we are compelled to infer the text from the translation, the existence of the moral from the existence of the physical aspect ('De l'Intelligence,' i, 334–5).

Such is Taine's theory of the universe. There is nothing new in idealism, but it was a novelty that it should be reached through physical research instead of through metaphysical speculation. And in considering his theory of man we find Taine's work to have been very similar. Starting from the position that 'every human state of mind is a product having causes and laws,' he sought the general qualities which lie within them, treating sentiments and ideas as one treats functions and organs, believing that 'the two orders of facts have the same nature, are submitted to equal necessities, and are but the obverse and reverse of the same individual, the universe' ('Vie,' ii, 183). The mind translates into its own terms phenomena of an apparently disparate nature. Taine analyses its ideas and finds that their content cor-

responds more and more precisely with exterior objects in proportion to the continued observation of man. Even in those cases where we evidently deceive ourselves—memories for instance, phantoms which *seem* past but *are* present—he concludes that 'Nature only deceives us in order to extend the limits of our mind, and that she only casts us into error in order to lead us to the truth' ('Vie,' i, 261), an idea of which much of the 'De l'Intelligence' is only a brilliant amplification.

Certain knowledge is therefore possible. But, if Taine is eager to indicate the power of human judgment, he is a destructive critic of the human personality.

'Beneath the phenomena which compose us' (he writes) 'have been placed two sorts of explanatory beings, first of all the powers or faculties which experience or produce them, and then the subject, substance, or soul, possessing them. These are metaphysical beings, pure phantoms engendered by words, which vanish as soon as the sense of the words is scrupulously examined.' ('De l'Intelligence,' i, p. 338.)

He analyses them; and the result of his analysis shows that 'power' or 'faculty,' applied to the mind, only means that, under certain circumstances, the will to do will be invariably followed by the action of doing; they only express a constant relation between two terms, the antecedent and the consequent. The ego, he says, has no powers or faculties, and in itself is only a continuous chain of phenomena; our personal identity is nothing more than the repetition of the same elements in the series of phenomena.

Here, too, there is nothing that we can call really new. It is in general the psychological theory founded by Hobbes and Locke, and developed by Hume, although Taine expanded and amplified it with new force and lucidity. Just as we saw in his theory of nature, so, too, in his theory of the mind he has employed, so far as possible, the method of physical research, but he has arrived at conclusions which others had reached by meditation and introspection.

But minds may be classified into general types, according to the series of ideas and the variety of emotion most commonly predominant in them. Some of these minds possess ideas of unusual energy and emotions of unusual

depth. These are the minds of great men, each of whom belongs to a particular type according to his predominant kind of idea and emotion.

'Analysis,' Taine wrote to Sainte-Beuve about the latter's criticism of the 'Littérature Anglaise,' 'is powerless to represent completely and in all its shades the absolutely special and personal, the infinitely multiplied and variable, imprint which constitutes the human character. But notice that this difficulty occurs everywhere, with an animal, a plant, a shell. Art itself, the most detailed painting, a portrait of (Clouet?), only gives an outline, a rough representation. No, analysis is not powerless if you only try to note the great characteristics which range the individual in his variety and species, to mark the generating and regulating forces of his action, and to indicate the degrees of these forces.' ('Vie,' ii, 309.)

The theory of the 'race, the environment, and the moment' was not intended to be more than an analysis of these forces. As he wrote in the letter already quoted, 'I have never intended to deduce the individual, or to show that a Shakespeare or a Swift should appear in such an age or in such a country.' Every individual is composed of general qualities of varying extent, qualities which he shares with all mankind, with all the men of his race, with all the men of his generation, with all the men of his class, and finally, qualities which he possesses with no one else. To the man enamoured of broad general views these latter are of the least interest; and those who attempt to judge Taine's worth by the completeness and vividness of his evocations have failed to understand his point of view, and condemn him for the absence of qualities which he himself of set purpose had rejected. He nowhere aims at any illusion of life; he is scientific at heart, and artistic only by his style; he does not evoke but explain. His explanation may be mistaken; if so, he must be controverted by analyses more searching and arguments more cogent than his own. General views necessarily sacrifice detail; and all that can be required of them is not to violate detail. How can the historian of a nation's life pause to examine the development of a single individual? To say of him that 'he takes man at a given moment of his life; he does not trouble about the different epochs of his thought; he examines his work

in its totality, as if it had been produced whole on the same day; movement, development, life perhaps, escape him'*—this is as fruitless as to judge the Elizabethan drama by the canons of Boileau. The race, the environment, and the moment do not explain why Pierre Corneille was a genius and his brother Thomas was not; what they do explain is, given the genius of Corneille, why it developed on certain general lines.

Let us look for a moment at the great example of Taine's method, the 'Littérature Anglaise.' Curiously enough, just after he had completed this work, an English critic was writing:—

'It is needless to dwell on the fact that the history of a nation's poetry has seldom been written with much reference to the national life from which it springs. It is the study of botany apart from geography.'†

At all events, this does not apply to Taine, for the 'Histoire de la Littérature Anglaise' is really a history of the English spirit. It is not so much a series of æsthetic appreciations as a series of solutions to problems in applied psychology. Given a writer, it is required to discover his dominant faculty and to show how far the three great forces, the race, the environment, and the moment, have influenced his work. And the problem which a literature offers is the same, except that here the dominant faculty and the race are identified.

What then is this predominant quality of our race? Fierce energy and obstinacy in labour, he answers, which, in union with the wild, fantastic, vehement imagination of a northern people, finds its true artistic expression in poetry fierce, sombre, and mysterious.

'Struggle,' he writes of the primitive Saxons, 'tenacious, painful struggle, inspired by exalted enthusiasm, is their favourite condition. Carlyle well said that in the sombre obstinacy of the English worker there still subsists the silent fury of the ancient Scandinavian warrior. To strive for the sake of striving is their delight. With what sadness, fury, and desolation such a nature overflows we shall see in Byron and Shakespeare; with what success and with what services

* M. Giraud, 'Essai sur Taine,' p. xxii.

† E. S. Dallas, 'The Gay Science.' London, 1866.

it restrains and employs itself we shall see in the Puritan.' ('Engl. Lit.,' i, 27.)

On the whole this is true; it does not, perhaps, contain all the truth, but at least the essential truth. The sentiment Taine describes does run through all our national life and cause the greater part of our national actions. The system which formulates thus may well be forgiven if it neglects the accidental and the ephemeral.

The illustration of this sentiment is the purpose of his book, and an exaggeration of this sentiment its fault. Sometimes he seems to strain facts somewhat in order to bring it out the more clearly—in his account, for instance, of the excesses of the Elizabethan drama, or of the moral purpose of the eighteenth-century novel. But after all it is only the exaggeration of one a little too much inclined to see the general in the particular, and besides, probably unavoidable in a man of acute sensibility, to whom all things seem greater than to other men, and a foreigner, to whom things appear under an aspect of strangeness that is unknown to ourselves.

As a critic he is interested in the conditions which limit the production of a work rather than in the work itself. Such conditions act in a twofold manner, first, through heredity, to form the dominant faculty of the writer; secondly, through environment, to determine the manner in which it shall be exercised. The same general causes which have gone to mould a man have gone also to fashion his contemporaries; and, where all the forces concur to the same end, where the particular accidents of birth and education act in the same direction as the general tendencies of the time, to develope a talent which is completely capable of expressing the sentiments of the age, the result is art in which the age itself is reflected with incomparable precision. We cannot doubt that this is generally true; the danger lies in endeavouring to apply it too narrowly. The tendencies of one age are always prolonged into the next, and there meet with the embryonic sentiments of succeeding periods; so that in each we find, not only the dominant sentiments of the present, but also the waning sentiments of the past and the waxing sentiments of the future. Sometimes all these meet in the same individual. Spenser looks back

to scholastic, medieval thought; he reflects the half pagan sensuousness of the Renascence; he anticipates something of the Puritan revolution. Here we meet with the great difficulty of all moral science. We must isolate before we can analyse; and isolation is artificial.

But nevertheless we can trace a close and constant relation between an author's work and his environment. He can only praise or blame, idealise or execrate the things he knows. His writings form the satire or the eulogium of the sentiments among which he lives, just so far as he himself is in or out of harmony with them. Let us take one last illustration from the 'Littérature Anglaise'—Tennyson and his audience. Taine shows us the latter, living mostly in the country, their houses surrounded by pleasant trees and gardens. Where there is an ancient building it has been preserved, and with it the new has been harmonised. Without and within all is calculated to increase the material well-being of the inhabitants. Their minds are balanced; their faith and laws are good, useful, moral, broad enough to give shelter and employment to every sincere mind.

'Such is this elegant, sensible world' (he goes on), 'refined in point of well-being, self-restrained in point of conduct, which is shut by its dilettante tastes and moral principles in a garden full of flowers, out of which it cannot look. Could there be a poet more suitable than Tennyson for such a world? He is moral without being pedantic; . . . he has never revolted against society or life; he speaks of God and the soul nobly, tenderly, without ecclesiastical prejudice. . . . You close the book with no troubled feelings; putting it down, you can listen with no sense of incongruity to the grave voice of the master of the house reading family prayers.' ('Engl. Lit.,' v, 459–461.)

Here again we find the same omission of detail which would disturb the harmony of the whole; but, in the main, is it not true of mid-Victorian society, and of Tennyson—true, at least, as far as it goes?

These are the essential features of Taine's work as a psychological critic of literature and painting. He had not sought with Sainte-Beuve the determination of the precise shades of individual genius; but he had attempted to trace the broad lines of development of the human

spirit, and to analyse these forces which control and modify its development. He had found his formulas; he had tested them in the study of literature and art; he had gauged their applicability by foreign travel and the conversation of men. And now the time had come for him to use these formulas in more serious matters than the science of æsthetics. He was to spend the rest of his life in attempting to trace in detail the manner in which his fellow-countrymen had reached their hazardous position, and to indicate the manner in which it seemed to him that they might escape from it. But that is matter for the second part of his life, his work as a moralist, for an estimate of which the materials are still wanting.

We know with how bitter an antagonism a certain class of mind has assailed his teaching, not only in literature and art, but still more in politics. It is possible that the impersonal, scientific treatment of moral subjects may be replaced and deemed as valueless as the system of scholastic philosophy which it has banished. For with tragic vehemence man after man, generation after generation, has struggled with the facts of nature, straining fine intellects to devise some theory elastic enough to contain them, not only as they are known, but as posterity is to know them. Theory after theory disappears; and, if our theories stand higher than our ancestors', it is because they rise upon a pile of ruins. To-day Taine's conclusions seem less sufficient, less convincing, less consolatory than they did to his own generation; but nevertheless the even beauty of his life remains, and will remain. 'To pursue an end which you approach slowly, therein lies health; the rest is nothing but disease.' This saying of his young courageous manhood is the most fitting life-motto of one who, from the beginning to the end of his career, pursued his object with labour which was never checked, except by ill-health—an object untouched by low ambition or paltry desire; an impossible ideal, it may be; but what can better show the nobility of the human mind, the pathos of human fate, than such unceasing effort to understand, and to frame our actions in accordance with our knowledge?

H. HERBERT DODWELL.

Art. IV.—THE CARE OF THE INSANE.

1. *Report of the Select Committee on Lunacy Law*, 1877.
2. *Annual Reports of the Lunacy Commission*, 1894–1904.
3. *Chapters in the History of the Insane in the British Isles.* By D. Hack Tuke, M.D. London: Paul, 1882.
4. *The Insane and the Law.* By G. Pitt Lewis, Q.C., R. Percy Smith, M.D., and J. A. Hawke. London: Sweet and Maxwell, 1895.
5. *Lunatic Asylums.* 'Quarterly Review,' No. 202. London: Murray, 1857.
6. *The Journal of Mental Science.* Vols 86, etc.

In England and Wales the care of the insane belongs to the sovereign. Such it was ordained to be, nearly six centuries ago, and such it is to-day. It is as the special deputy of the King that the Lord Chancellor is at the head of the Board of Lunacy. When he receives from the monarch the Great Seal, the general charge of the insane is committed to him by a separate and special process which has to be witnessed by a secretary of state. It is a charge distinct from that of the control of 'Chancery lunatics,' which devolves on him *ex officio* as the head of the Court of Chancery. It is as the direct representative of the King that the Lord Chancellor is the custodian of all other idiots and insane persons. The fact deserves special emphasis, because it is the explanation of what has seemed to many so anomalous—that a lawyer is at the head of the body which has the care of so vast a province of disease.

The right of the Crown to have custody of the lands of the insane is first legally stated in the famous document called 'Prerogativa Regis,' which is supposed, though without full warrant, to have been passed as a statute in the year 1324. The custody of their lands almost necessarily involved the charge of their persons, as is plain from the provisions of the 'Prerogativa'; and the charge of their persons followed, in fact, much the same lines as the rules governing the succession of minors, women, and aliens. The profit which the Crown drew from such a charge may be regarded as a sort of exalted perquisite. The apparent anomaly to which we have

referred becomes less when we examine the words of the 'Prerogativa,' and perceive all they signify. They run, in English, as follows:—

'The King shall have the custody of the lands of natural fools, taking the profits of them without waste or destruction, and shall find their necessaries of whose fee soever the lands be holden; and after the death of such idiots he shall render it to the right heirs, so that such idiots shall not aliene nor their heirs shall be disinherited.

'Also the King shall provide, when any that beforetime hath had his wit and memory happen to fail of his wit, as there are many with lucid intervals, that their lands and tenements shall be safely kept without waste and destruction, and that they and their household shall live and be maintained competently with the profits of the same, and the residue, besides their sustentation, shall be kept to their use, to be delivered unto them when they come to right mind; so that such lands and tenements shall in no wise be aliened; and the King shall take nothing to his own use. And if the party die in such estate, then the residue shall be distributed for his soul by the advice of the Ordinary.'

The King thus took the superfluous income of idiots, but not that of those with acquired insanity.

The 'Prerogativa' is a document which, whether enacted as a statute or not, probably stated what, at the time of its composition, was regarded, at least by the Crown lawyers, as being within the competence of the Crown, either by law or ancient custom. Some of the statements which it contains are based on previous statutes, e.g. that touching the King's right to wreckage. Others, including those touching idiots and lunatics, do not appear to have any such statutory basis. There is, however, indirect evidence that the right in question existed in earlier days. The records contain clear proof of the King's charge of idiots, of which, strange to say, no notice has been taken by any writer on the subject, legal or other. The estates of these 'idiots' or 'fatuous' are stated to be in the King's hands; and he commits them to some custodian, with the stipulation that he shall provide the owner with the due necessaries of life, and shall pay to the King annually a certain specified sum. The entries are for several years, before and after the

date of the 'Prerogativa,' the earliest belonging to 1300.* All these entries in the Rolls series relate to idiots. This agrees with the distinction made in the 'Prerogativa,' by which the King could appropriate the income of the idiot but not that of the subject of acquired insanity. It is the more significant because in the Pleas of the reign of Edward I there are entries relating only to the invalidity of deeds, but they refer to those executed by persons *non compos mentis* as well as by the idiot and 'fatuous.'

The charge of the insane continued to be in the hands of the Crown, but was delegated to the Lord Chancellor, as the King's representative, possibly from the first. It is said that in the reign of Henry VIII the 'Court of Wards' took over his duties in this respect. Be that as it may, the charge was resumed by the Lord Chancellor when that court was abolished by statute (12 Car. II, c. 24); and in his hands, as representing the sovereign, the charge still remains.

The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries afford us little other trace of any actual care of the insane. They were then regarded as subjects to be treated rather than tended. The treatment was in part by medicinal agents, by certain so-called 'simples,' but chiefly by measures intended to be curative, and determined by the theory of 'possession' by evil spirits. The fury of the maniac seemed to need mechanical restraint; and the supposed cause of his fury, a somewhat vague idea of demoniacal possession, made it seem reasonable that, if he had to be bound, it should be to sacred pillars in churches, of which some were held in special esteem for the purpose. For less severe cases of derangement, recourse was had to sacred wells, with the same object. The occasional quietude produced by long restraint and exhaustion would be referred to the sacred influence. A like combination of motives may have determined the flogging and whippings which were inflicted on the unhappy sufferers to get rid of the evil spirits that possessed

* Abb. Rot. Originalium, 28 Ed. I, i, 112. The treatise called 'Fleta,' probably composed about 1290, tells us (I, xi, § 10) that, the 'tutores' of older days having abused their charge, it was enacted that the King should have the charge of 'idiotæ et stulti.'

them. Physical suffering has often been, in the past, a means of self-improvement; and, when evil tendencies were personified, it is not surprising if the same system was adopted as a means of treatment. We may conceive that, occasionally, an apparent confirmation of its utility confirmed the belief. The influence of pain and exhaustion combined may arrest an attack of maniacal *furor*, or hasten the end of one that has nearly run its course. As always happens, the few apparent successes eclipse the common failures; and the exception is held to prove the rule. This may well have established a belief in the efficacy of such measures, on what seemed then to be reasonable ground. The fear inspired by furious, and even by quiet, mental derangement has a very solid foundation; and the obvious safety involved in chain and shackle must have been a powerful motive in the adoption of such restraint, and may have strengthened the faith in it. So much should be recognised in explanation of the tortures inflicted, which descended to an age when less excuse can be found. For any real care of the insane, such as we now consider to be their paramount need, we may search during this period in vain.

But private effort has ever anticipated public duty. Through the Middle Ages active beneficence, all the wide range of good-doing which we now associate with the word 'charity,' was confined to one channel. Abundant as it was, it was the work of the various bodies of men who are included under the term 'religious orders.' The gulf seems deep between those who adopted the life of recluses with the object of saving their souls, and those who gave themselves up to the assistance in the present life of persons needing help 'in trouble, sorrow, need, sickness, or any other adversity.' How much good the religious wrought in their daily life we can neither discern nor compute, but vast it must have been. It is not therefore surprising to find that it was a 'religious house' which made the first attempt to promote systematic care for those deranged in mind. Such sufferers were probably cared for, among others, in many establishments of the kind; but for long years one alone made this its main object—that which added to the English language the word 'Bedlam.'

The Priory of St Mary of Bethlehem, or of the 'Star

of Bethlehem,' was founded in 1247 by Simon Fitzmary for quite a different object, in order that the Bishop of Bethlehem in Palestine should have a home of his own to which to come when he visited England. It was made subject to the Bishop of Bethlehem; but not one bishop availed himself of the founder's hospitable designs. The Priory was alien, and, as such, it was seized by the Crown in 1375. How it came to pass that the Priory became the first home for the insane is uncertain; but in 1403, some years after its seizure by the Crown, this use was definitely established. An inventory of that date records that there were in it six pairs of chains, four manacles of iron, and two pairs of stocks—the means of treating, according to the current method, perhaps a dozen inmates. A story is related by Stow—who wrote, it is true, nearly two centuries later—that a religious house near the present St Martin's Lane was a still earlier receptacle for the insane. It was near the royal mews in which—on the present site of the National Gallery—the King's falcons were kept. The vague words of Stow's statement (which is often cited as a definite assertion) are worth quoting. Speaking of a lane leading up to the Church of St Martin's-in-the-Fields, he says:—

'Then had ye one house, wherein were sometime distraught and lunatic people. Of what antiquity founded, or by whom, I have not read, neither of the suppression; but it was said that sometime a King of England, not liking such a kind of people to remain so near his palace, caused them to be removed further off to Bethlem, without Bishop's Gate of London, and then to that Hospital. The said house by Charing Cross doth still remain.'

In whatever way the Priory first received its insane inmates, henceforth it seems to have been devoted to their care. A hundred years later we find Bethlehem had become Bethlem and even Bedlam, in popular language. A 'Bedlamite' was synonymous with an insane person; and 'Bedlam' beggars were discharged patients who sought alms near the Priory gate. This evidence of the notice that the work attracted is remarkable, considering that, even towards the end of the sixteenth century, there was provision for only twenty-four inmates. The state of these is said to have been loath-

some. According to Stow, payment was exacted from at least some of them, although Sir Thomas Gresham, in 1575, left a bequest towards their support. During the seventeenth century the demand upon it increased; and, about 1650, fifty patients were received. Its income was augmented, not only by the payment for the inmates, but by their utilisation as a public show, a charge being made for the sight of the manacled and chained inmates on their straw. Pepys and Evelyn record visits. More noteworthy is the fact that, in the middle of the seventeenth century, a doctor was appointed governor—the first trace of the recognition of insanity as a disease.

The increasing demand on the accommodation of the hospital led to its removal to a new site in 1675, where Finsbury Circus now stands; and provision was made for 150 inmates. These were probably well paid for; and the evidence it afforded of the demand for such provision may have been the reason for the establishment of many private asylums towards the end of this century, with multifold abuses. It was not until 1713 that the example of Bethlem was followed by the foundation, by a generous lady, of Bethel Hospital, Norwich, for the lunatics of the city and county.

Private homes, which we may ascribe largely to the influence of Bethlem, had become numerous by the beginning of the eighteenth century. In some instances quack remedies were advertised by those who kept the establishments—nostrums to be taken by the mouth or rubbed on the head. The ease with which persons could be seized and conveyed to such places with a mere semblance of legal formality aroused widespread indignation, which Defoe expressed in his 'Journal,' but to little purpose. No attempt to afford more legal control can be discerned throughout the century. Private effort was not wanting. In 1751 St Luke's Hospital was established by voluntary subscription in the middle of the City; there it remains, though not on the original site. It is strange indeed that the asylum should be retained in a position, now destitute of any advantage, with almost every conceivable drawback, when the sale of the site would enable double or treble the amount of good to be effected outside London. The present building in Old Street was erected in 1780; and its gloomy aspect, familiar to many,

may be explained by the fact that its architect had designed Newgate prison.

These institutions were solely for those who could pay or be paid for. For the poor insane, nothing was done. They were consigned to the cellars or garrets of workhouses, or to prisons, when room could be found; and the less troublesome were boarded out. Those who were violent were, as of old, chained to tables or the wall, with straw to throw themselves on; and, if they tore up their clothes, they were left naked, however great the cold. No facts exist to show the results of the treatment; but, from evidence of concealment of mortality, it is probable that the death of at least one third of the unhappy patients was directly due to their management. Nor was the treatment different in St Luke's or Bethlem. The truly iron hand of custom pressed heavily on the sufferers. Manacles for restraint, and 'lowering measures,' such as starvation, coupled with the occasional infliction of physical pain, were the means of treatment universally accepted. It is strange that no idea of change seems to have come from the medical profession. We may almost wonder whether they were yet emancipated from the idea that insanity was a 'possession.'

The dawn of a brighter day came at last from that perennial source of beneficence, the Society of Friends. John Howard, in his Report on Prisons (1774), compared the treatment of the insane in England with that in Constantinople, to the disadvantage of the former. The Turk had not then, perhaps, become 'unutterable'; and his management of the insane was far more humane, and seemed to yield better results. We cannot doubt that Howard's words were known to another member of the same society, Samuel Tuke. An asylum at York, established by voluntary contributions, carried out, like all others, in full measure the common treatment. One of the patients was a Quaker; and his friends were denied access to him. Enough became known of his treatment to arouse warm indignation. Tuke was apparently actuated by the conviction that 'example is better than precept,' and he set to work to establish a better plan. With the help of others, he founded the 'York Retreat,' an asylum in which mechanical restraint was limited to absolute necessity, in which good food replaced semi-

starvation, and efforts were made to improve the mental state of the inmates by wisely devised occupation. The institution was opened in 1796. The results of the revolution in treatment, of the release of the victims from the chains which held them helpless while the malady preyed upon them, as the eagle on Prometheus, were soon manifest. The success that was achieved quickly became known to all who were concerned with the insane. Visitors came from far, even from the Continent, to inspect the 'Retreat.' Tuke was a cautious man, and established his facts before he published them, so that it was not till 1813 that he issued a full account of the 'Retreat.' His endeavours to make widely known the effects of a reversal of the customary treatment received help from a powerful source. Sydney Smith reviewed Tuke's book in a short but effective article in the 'Edinburgh Review,'* which must have spread widely the knowledge of what had been achieved. Medical journalism as yet was not; but Sydney Smith was doubtless able to speak from personal knowledge, since he had been living near York while his rectory at Foston was being built, and he refers to Tuke in terms which imply at least acquaintance.

But Tuke's institution, like the private homes mentioned above, was for those who could pay. The state of the pauper insane remained unchanged. An attempt made to ascertain their number failed; in one county it was afterwards shown that the numbers were four times that which was stated. In 1808 an Act was passed permitting the justices of the peace to provide asylums for the insane poor, which was as ineffective as permissive legislation generally is. But in 1815 a commission was appointed to ascertain the facts regarding the actual treatment of the insane. The report of the Commissioners was such as should have shocked the whole nation; but, a century ago, it was not easy to disseminate such information in effective form. Sydney Smith's sympathies with the cause of reform had been thoroughly aroused; and an article on the report, which appeared in

* April 1814, p. 100. As this article is not included in any published list of Sydney Smith's contributions, it may be well to say that it was attributed to him in a later article in the same Review (vol. 131, p. 424).

the 'Edinburgh Review' for 1817, must be placed among his strongest efforts for the public good.* Only the strongest sense of the compulsion of duty can have led him to include in his article extracts from the evidence obtained, which were so loathsome that it is questionable whether any review would have published them to-day. One of the least offensive passages which he quotes from the report may be given. 'One of the side-rooms in Bethlem contained ten female patients, each chained by one arm or one leg to the wall, allowing them only to stand or sit down on a bench, each covered only by a blanket gown, with nothing to fasten it in front.' Even in Bethlem and elsewhere, ingenious tortures were contrived by the keepers to subdue those who were refractory. The abuses were defended by the superintendents, who, though incompetent and sometimes drunken, were annually praised in the manager's reports.

The publication of the report of 1815 led to some amelioration of the conditions to which the insane were subjected; but Bill after Bill to establish better control and supervision failed to pass through Parliament. Party controversies absorbed the legislators; and 'further enquiry' was a facile lever to push aside a social measure of reform, however urgent. But the harmfulness of chains, and the vast good achieved by freedom and gentleness, gradually became recognised. It was found better for a raving maniac, in the last resort, to throw himself against padded walls than to tear his flesh against restraining fetters. But it was not till about 1830 that even a general knowledge of these facts penetrated the minds of those who had charge of the insane; and it was chiefly owing to the efforts and example of Dr Connolly that the principle gained full recognition.

The worst forms of restraint ceased about the middle of the last century; and the manacles and chains, once deemed essential, were soon banished to museums of curiosities. Some restraint is still recognised as occasionally indispensable, but it is seldom applied for more than a day; and the 'strait-waistcoat' suffices for all needs.

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* This article has never been acknowledged as by Sydney Smith, but has been attributed to him by Dr Hack Tuke; and there is conclusive internal evidence that it was by the same writer as the first.

This garment, with sleeves so much longer than the arms that they can be tied to the bedstead, is the only measure of restraint now adopted. It is probable that, at the present day, the mechanical restraint of the strait-waistcoat is less used than is advisable. Every occasion of its employment has to be reported to the Commissioners and entered in their report; and frequent recourse to it is regarded as discreditable. The manual restraint by attendants is therefore substituted whenever possible—a measure far less humane and attended with far greater risk of injury to the patient.

While public opinion was thus gradually changing, no legislative step was taken until 1827, when Mr R. Gordon brought before the House of Commons the anomalous position of the College of Physicians. In 1774 they received authority to appoint commissioners from their body to inspect asylums; but no power existed by which they could rectify what they found wrong, and so gradually inspection had ceased. The disgraceful state of the pauper lunatics of London was also brought forward by Mr Gordon. As a result of his efforts, a parliamentary committee was appointed in 1827 to report on the state of the pauper lunatics of the metropolis, who were found in a shocking state. The result was a Bill to take from the College of Physicians the task which they could not perform, and to vest it in fifteen commissioners; a number which was reduced in 1832 to two barristers and four or five physicians. But nothing was done for the country at large until 1842, when the metropolitan Commissioners, increased in number, were made a committee to investigate the state of the insane in the country generally. They presented their report in 1844; and it revealed a state of things such as to startle the most callous. The pauper insane numbered 16,821, for only one quarter of whom any provision had been made in county asylums. Of these some were wholly unfit, while twenty-one counties in England and Wales had none at all. A large number of insane were in workhouses, and many boarded in private asylums. In Wales the state of the 1177 insane was most distressing, even worse than in England. More than a thousand were living with their relatives, a condition which gener-

ally entails, among the poor, more cruelty than any other. In the whole of England and Wales the known insane numbered 21,788.

The report of 1844 was the real turning-point in the care of the insane. In 1845 Lord Ashley made a powerful appeal to the Government to act upon it. But Sir James Graham, who may have represented the Lord Chancellor on this subject in the Lower House, refused immediate action. The result was that Lord Ashley, whose feelings of compassion and sense of right were too strong to brook official hindrance, himself introduced two Bills of profound importance, which the Government, for very shame, could not oppose. In little more than two months both became law. They are termed by Dr Hack Tuke 'the Magna Charta of the Insane.' They made the provision of county asylums compulsory instead of permissive, and provided for proper certification, for the keeping of records of the state of every patient, and for the due visitation of all cases, including those in workhouses. They also established for the first time a permanent Lunacy Commission, consisting of three legal and three medical Commissioners, to visit all cases and supervise all arrangements and proceedings. Minor additions to the Acts were made in 1852, especially extending the regulations to single patients, and including Bethlem Hospital in the visitation. Rumours of ill-treatment in asylums led to a committee in 1859, which recommended some reform, especially regarding the large number of lunatics (7632) detained in workhouses without proper treatment. Some of their suggestions were carried into effect in 1862; and increased duties were thrown on the Commissioners.

In 1877, in consequence of rumours in connexion with private asylums, a committee was appointed, on the motion of Mr Dillwyn, which held an elaborate enquiry, not only into the charges (which were found to be groundless), but also into all the details of the care and supervision of the insane. Their report led to no legislation, but is of the highest value on account of the information on almost every point supplied by the answers to the questions. Public attention was afterwards drawn to the subject by the allegations of a few persons who conceived they had been wrongfully confined. These chiefly took

the form of actions at law against the doctors who signed the certificates, who were involved in heavy expenses, although the actions failed. Whatever is proclaimed in a voice sufficiently loud and penetrating always obtains some credence. An important Act was passed in 1890, consolidating the previous measures, providing more apparent safety for patients by ordering that all cases should be approved by a justice of the peace, and a safeguard for the doctors by precluding any action if their certificates were signed *bona fide*.

It is needless to describe in detail the arrangements made in 1845; in essential character they obtain to-day. That some alterations are likely to be required is obvious when we remember that sixty years of modern life cannot pass without altering much, alike in facts, in their relations, and in the capacity to discern them. During the last sixty years the population of England and Wales has doubled; but the number of the insane under care has increased more than fivefold. It does not, indeed, follow that there has been this increase in the number of the insane. The slow perception by friends of the advantage of asylum care, and of the domestic relief thus obtained, together with the enforcement of the law, accounts for some increase in the number cared for. But the increase goes on. In 1845 there were only about 23,000 under care. In 1877 there were about 65,000. The last report of the Commissioners gives the number for January 1, 1904, as 117,199—3235 in excess of the number a year before. The average yearly increase has been 1·5 in excess of the growth of the population. We may safely assume that the number at the beginning of 1905 was not less than 120,000.

The insane are divided into two classes—those who possess money, and those who do not. When the insanity of those with means has become confirmed, their property is placed under the management of the Court of Chancery. The impecunious are supervised by the ordinary Commissioners; the wealthy are supervised only by the Lord Chancellor's 'Visitors in Lunacy,' whose duty is solely to visit them at stated intervals. The proceedings of both these bodies, the Visitors and the Commissioners, are shrouded from direct observation; but much may be

learned indirectly from the evidence given before the 1877 committee, and also from the Lunacy Act of 1890, which prescribes their duties. Moreover, the work of the Commissioners is fully set forth in their annual reports. These are the chief sources from which the following account is drawn.

We may consider, first, the supervision of the ordinary insane by the Commissioners in Lunacy. Besides the work of visitation, one medical Commissioner must be in attendance daily at the chief office in London. He has to consider carefully the evidence of insanity stated on every certificate sent in, and to judge whether it is adequate. He has to consider every report on the cause of death of a patient in order to ascertain that there is no ground for suspecting ill-usage. He has to consider and deal with all special reports. The annual number of new cases is about 22,000; and, although most of these are paupers, the number of documents to be dealt with daily is very large. The death reports are fewer, less than 9000 a year, perhaps an average of twenty-five a day, according to the last annual report. But many special reports come in regarding detention, change of residence, recovery and release, any of which may contain facts of which only the medical commissioner can judge.

In their visitation work the Commissioners have to visit the patients in (1) county and borough asylums; (2) in 'hospitals' (really asylums for the insane, supported partly by a charitable foundation and by subscriptions, partly by payment by the inmates); (3) in licensed houses, i.e. private asylums; (4) in workhouses; (5) those in single care, chiefly in the homes of doctors. The number of lunatics under care has, as we have just seen, quintupled since 1845; while, apart from this enormous numerical increase, modern demands in respect of sanitation, and many other conditions that influence the welfare of the patients, have vastly added to the labours of the Commissioners. Yet their number remains unchanged. They were not deemed too many for 23,000 patients in 1845; they are now compelled to endeavour to deal with nearly 100,000 more. Probably no more astounding fact could be found in the annals of the public service; indeed stronger epithet would not be misplaced. It was stat before the committee in 1877 that an increase in the num-

ber of the Commissioners was then urgently required, not only on account of the larger number of the patients, but on account of the altered character of the work. The need was, indeed, forcibly recognised by the committee, who, in their report, expressed the opinion that 'it seems physically impossible that, with the present strength of the Lunacy Commissioners, minute supervision of those who require it can be efficiently exercised.' But this expression of opinion had no effect on the Lord Chancellor, nor has it had any on his successors.

The need for an increase in the number of Commissioners has been repeatedly urged since that time, although by voices unlikely to reach the ears of the Lord Chancellor. It was insisted on by Dr H. Rayner in 1884, and by Dr Murray Lindsay in 1893, both physicians of the highest standing and experience in this branch of medicine; and the protest was made, in each case, in a presidential address given before the Medico-Psychological Association, a society which devotes itself to facts and problems connected with insanity. At last the Commissioners have been compelled themselves to urge their need for help. We learn from the last report that, two years ago, they brought privately before the Lord Chancellor the impossibility of the proper performance of their duties without an increase in their number. This also, strange to say, had no effect. It seems to have elicited only a statement that the measure was 'inconvenient.' Last year the Commissioners felt compelled to take a bolder step. Their published Report says:—

'It became necessary in the course of the year 1903 to apply for an increase in the number of Commissioners. Although attention has been drawn on previous occasions to the additional labours necessarily devolving on the Commissioners by the large yearly increase in the number of patients and of institutions for the insane, no definite application had hitherto been made on their behalf; but the present conditions under which we work render it absolutely necessary, with a view to the continued efficiency of the Commission, that such increase should forthwith be made. We accordingly applied to your Lordship, and sent a statement, which was afterwards, with your Lordship's sanction, forwarded to the Treasury, setting out in some detail the grounds of our application. It has not hitherto been convenient, as we under-

stand, to bring the subject before the attention of the legislature. The necessity for such addition, however, still exists in an increasingly urgent form. Three thousand two hundred patients and five asylums were added to the list in 1903, and there is no reason to doubt, from our experience of the six months prior to the presentation of this Report, that the same relative increase will be maintained in the year 1904. The efficient and satisfactory administration of the Lunacy Acts, under which great benefits accrue both to the patients and to the country at large, cannot longer be continued on the existing arrangements, which, generously sufficient for the duties of the Commission in 1845, are quite incompatible with those of 1904.'

That this appeal should be necessary is more than surprising. It shows that there is a grave defect in the whole system. That the number of Commissioners must be increased is quite clear. But in what form is the increase to be made? This raises the question of the constitution of the Commission, a question which merits consideration, especially as it involves more than one practical problem. We have seen that the paid Commissioners in Lunacy are six in number, three medical and three legal, each with a stipend of 1500*l.* a year. With them are associated three unpaid Commissioners, not medical, one of whom acts as chairman. Their function is apparently to attend general meetings, and to give such advice as their inclination disposes and their capacity enables them to give. The three legal members must be 'practising' barristers of five years' standing. There is also a legal secretary, who must be a barrister of seven years' standing, but need not be 'practising.' It has been the custom to appoint the secretary to any vacancy among the legal Commissioners; and for this his familiarity with the work necessarily fits him.

Two of the medical Commissioners are taken from the superintendents of public asylums, one from among general physicians. No one can be appointed who has had any interest in a 'licensed house,' i.e. a private asylum, for a year before. It is, moreover, a prudent arrangement that one of the medical Commissioners should come from the ranks of general medicine, free from asylum traditions. A recent conspicuous example of its success was afforded by one whose efficient tenure of the post, short as it was, won him high esteem among

those whom he had to supervise—the present Regius Professor of Medicine at Cambridge.

We have already made some observations on the Commissioners' duties in general. Much of their time is occupied by the examination of patients in single care needing special attention. The large number of patients in many asylums compels their inspection in bulk; but to each patient is given the opportunity for private conversation with the Commissioner, if it is desired. At the chief office they have also to perform the duties we have already mentioned. The subjects they have to consider are chiefly medical; and it is necessary for one of the three medical Commissioners to be always in attendance in London. The visitation is also essentially medical; it follows that each medical Commissioner has to perform his out-duties, the supervision of 35,000 or 40,000 cases, in eight months; and from a third to a quarter of their time must be taken up in travelling. One witness before the 1877 committee averred that only three patients in single care can be seen in a day, so far apart are they as a rule. Moreover, if the Commissioners are human (though they are scarcely dealt with as such) they need holidays, which must reduce the period available for inspection to six and a half months.

One question is likely to present itself to every thoughtful reader. Why are there as many barristers as doctors on the Commission? Insanity is a disease; and most of the work of the Commissioners is, if not purely medical, such as needs, or may need at every turn, knowledge which only the medical Commissioners possess. Moreover, all the unpaid commissioners are non-medical; so that the lay element preponderates in the proportion of two to one. It is not easy to see why this should be the case. The question how it came to be so admits, however, of an answer. The fact is due to three causes. In the first place, there is a small but absolute need for legal aid, because the law safeguards those who must be under medical care. The second reason is partly historical, and curiously illustrative of English ways. Throughout the Middle Ages lunacy was regarded, as we have seen, not as a disease, but as a demoniacal possession. Long after that time the fact that insanity is a disease was still generally unrecognised; and it seems to have been so even when, in 1845, the Lunacy Act was passed. No

other conclusion can be drawn from the proposal made by Lord Somerset in 1842, that the Commission should consist only of barristers. Even Lord Ashley, who, with all his benevolence, suffered from some narrowness of mind, maintained in the House of Commons, in 1844, that, in a case of insanity, any man of common-sense could give as good an opinion as a medical man, 'when it had been established that the patient's insanity did not result from the state of his bodily health.'

These examples show that the old idea was still alive that insanity could exist independently of a morbid state of the brain. The notion of mind as independent of the organ through which it is manifested was really the old notion expressed in terms a little, but not much, more modern; and it was strengthened by the prevalence of certain forms of religious belief. It is strange that the consequence of this belief in the existence of mental derangement without cerebral disease was not realised by those who held it. The mind was associated with the soul as surviving death; but its independence of the brain involved the persistence of its own derangement after death, an idea from which they would certainly have shrunk had the consequence of their belief been frankly presented to them. These views were of course opposed by those who regarded insanity as a disease; but so strong was the old belief that a compromise was the result. Accordingly, two doctors and two barristers were appointed in 1844 to make enquiries; and in the next year three doctors and three barristers were invested with the supreme care of the insane.

But there is still a third reason, the influence of which it is not easy to assess. The opinion of Lord Ashley, that any man of common-sense would do as well as a doctor, does not explain why barristers were solely selected. The legal work could be easily done by one barrister or solicitor. But the circumstance that the representative of the Crown is a lawyer himself may help to explain the special choice of members of his profession to carry out the details of the work delegated to him. The fact that in both departments, alike at the central board and in local visitation, the work of the medical Commissioner is essential, makes it certain that, whenever Parliament is asked (as it must be) to increase the

number of Commissioners, the question of the value of the legal members will come up for decision. The service they actually render is not obvious, but a little may be discerned. The legal points which occur in the course of their visitation cannot be very numerous; and the decision of them must generally take place at the office in London. A legal member can inspect the general and recreative arrangements while his medical colleague is inspecting the patients. The legal members sometimes visit single patients alone. They perhaps write the reports. This is as much as can be discerned. The subject was vigorously discussed by Sir John Tuke in the House of Commons last spring (May 1904); and the fact that he adds a thorough knowledge of the English system to long practical experience as the head of an asylum in Scotland, renders his opinion worth careful consideration. He said:—

'The medical and legal Commissioners hunt in couples, the legal Commissioner knowing no more of medicine or of lunacy than Policeman X. The idea was that some point of law might arise in the course of the visit which could only be settled by the legal Commissioner. He challenged the Commissioners to adduce a single case within the last forty years in which such an emergency had arisen. Any irregularity could be detected by the medical Commissioners and reported and considered in the Board room. The legal Commissioner wrote the Report, and, in fact, performed the duties of a clerk.' (Hansard, 1904, p. 1157.)

Beyond the inspection of general arrangements and the listening to imaginary legal grievances, it is not easy to expand Sir John Tuke's summary of their services. But it is absolutely impossible, with the present staff, that all small licensed houses and all patients in single care should be visited every time by a medical Commissioner; some of these must, perforce, be visited only by the legal colleague. He is, after all, a Commissioner, however unable to discern medical points; and his solitary visit to single patients is not forbidden by law.* It is

* The Lunacy Bill introduced into the House of Commons ('for appearance' sake') in May 1904 contained a clause to legalise the visitation of small asylums by a single Commissioner, evidently in order to increase the scope of the legal members. The provision is of more than doubtful wisdom.

not at all surprising to find it stated that the visit of a legal Commissioner is often distinctly preferred to that of a medical Commissioner. The fact is quite intelligible. However well a legal Commissioner does his duty, it is quite impossible for him adequately to replace a medical Commissioner in the examination of a patient or the inspection of arrangements. Symptoms which would seem quite trivial to the one may have definite and perhaps important significance to the other. The most that the legal Commissioner can do to lessen the labour of his medical colleague without harmful substitution cannot amount to much.

It seems certain, then, that the increase in the Commission should be in the number of the medical Commissioners only. Any increase in the number of the legal Commissioners would be a waste of the taxpayer's money, from which the cost must come, unless different arrangements (presently to be discussed) are made. The addition of three medical members to the Commission would reduce the number of the cases that each has to supervise, from about 40,000 to about 20,000, still nearly three times as many as in 1845.

The arrangements in Scotland in this respect merit consideration and comparison with our own. Scotland has been free to make her own rules and regulations, untrammelled by the ideas and customs of the past. Two years ago there were less than 16,000 insane persons in Scotland. They were under the supervision of two medical Commissioners and two assistant medical Commissioners. The latter are rendered necessary by the extensive use of the system of 'boarding out' patients, which entails a large amount of private inspection. If we disregard the assistant Commissioners, each medical Commissioner has to supervise 8000 insane; if we include them, the number is much less. In Scotland legal help has been obtained by the appointment of consulting legal Commissioners. No working Commissioner has ever been a lawyer. On any legal point the assistance of the consultative Commissioners has been readily obtained; and this arrangement appears to have been completely adequate, and to have worked with perfect smoothness. If the Scotch find they can do quite well without any visiting legal Commissioners, the necessity

in England of having an equal number of legal and medical officials surely needs reconsideration.

To the second class of the insane—those possessed of means—we have, so far, only briefly referred; but the arrangements for them have a close relation to those touching pauper lunatics. The law places the property of all permanently insane persons possessed of wealth under the Court of Chancery. These, however, are again subdivided into two classes. If they have more than 50*l.* a year, their personal custody passes to the Court; and they are charged a percentage for the management of their property. If it is less, their affairs are managed for nothing; but the care of their persons rests with the Lunacy Commissioners. The mental condition of those who become 'Chancery lunatics' is the subject of 'inquisition' by one of the 'Masters in Lunacy,' of whom there are two, each with a stipend of 2000*l.* a year, who also control the estates. The personal supervision of these Chancery patients, i.e. those possessing over 50*l.* a year, is entrusted to the 'Lord Chancellor's Visitors in Lunacy,' one legal and two medical, each of whom receives the same salary as a Commissioner, 1500*l.* a year. The number of patients whom they have to visit was stated before the 1877 committee to be rather more than 1000. At the present time the number, as enquiry at the office ascertains, is 718. Each patient has to be seen by one of the Visitors four times annually during the first two years and twice a year afterwards—a superfluous frequency, considering that almost all are confirmed cases. Thus each medical Visitor has about 360 persons to visit, while each medical Commissioner has the supervision of more than 39,000. It is at least remarkable that, while there are as many legal as medical Commissioners, it is only considered necessary to have one legal Visitor to the two medical. With so much legal talent at headquarters, is there any need for the legal Visitor at all?

When the 1877 committee took evidence, one third of the Chancery patients (say 240) were in single care and two thirds in private asylums. There is no reason to believe that the proportion is different now. This gives eighty single patients to each Visitor. We learn from the same source that three single patients can be seen in a day,

on an average, by one Commissioner; and a Visitor should have equal energy. Of the whole number of Chancery patients, two thirds, or about 480, are in 'licensed houses,' i.e. 'private asylums.' All these institutions have to be visited also by the Commissioners, for the sake of the other inmates. The inspection of these by the Visitor, when there, should be quite practicable, and would considerably lessen the work of the Commissioners. It is not surprising that the question of the amalgamation of the two departments, as regards visitation, should have been raised by the committee of 1877. Opposite opinions were expressed; but, if these are weighed impartially, the conclusion is irresistible that the reasons in favour of amalgamation are of far greater weight than those against it, and that, in the latter, feeling has a larger place than fact. We cannot now consider them, but may note that this seems to have been the impression made on the committee. The opinions in their report have far more force to-day than at the time they were uttered, since, for 'more than a thousand' Chancery patients, we should now read 718, and for 65,000 other lunatics we must substitute 120,000. The Report says:—

'Either the Chancery lunatics, who number less than a thousand, have too much care bestowed on them, or the others, who exceed 65,000, have far too little. The property might still remain under the care of the Masters, in whatever way may be considered best, but it seems reasonable that all lunatics should be treated on the same system as far as admission, detention, supervision, and release are concerned. And, although it may be true that the lunacy of the majority of patients in an asylum is self-evident, yet it seems physically impossible that, with the present strength of the Lunacy Commissioners, minute supervision of those who require it can be efficiently exercised. It may be that, by some amalgamation of the two departments, waste of power in visiting might be obviated.'

There can be no doubt that the work of the Chancery Visitors is as easy as that of the Commissioners is hard—so hard indeed for the medical members as to form an impossible task. Even such amalgamation as would enable the Chancery Visitors to supervise all the patients in the private asylums at which Chancery patients are

confined, would, as we have said, save a great amount of useless double work and travelling.

These recommendations of the committee regarding the offices, definite though they were, have remained a 'dead letter' so far as practical result is concerned. But one remarkable effect may reasonably be ascribed to them. The Lunacy Act of 1890 has given power to the Lord Chancellor to amalgamate the two departments when and how he chooses. By § 337 the Lord Chancellor may, if it seems expedient to him so to do,

'by order under his hand, amalgamate the office of the Masters and their staff, and the office of the Chancery Visitors and their staff, or either of them, with the office of the Commissioners, and may give such directions as he thinks fit for the exercise and performance of their duties,' etc.

He is also empowered, with the concurrence of the Treasury, to fix the qualifications and salaries of the members of the amalgamated office, but not to the prejudice of the then holders of the posts. He is also empowered to pay such proportion of the cost as he may determine out of the percentage paid by the Chancery lunatics for the care of their property.

These powers are indeed of sufficient amplitude, but apparently, during the fifteen years which have elapsed, it has not 'seemed expedient' to the Lord Chancellor to exercise them. Can it have been with this object that the clause was inserted in the Act? The final provision for the payment of the expenses (which are to include the erection of offices) out of the percentages received from the Chancery patients, suggests that these must be considerable in amount. We find from the last revenue returns * that the percentages were estimated, for the year 1904–5, at 18,000*l.*; and to this should be added the sum received for stamps in connexion with legal proceedings, which is not less than 9000*l.* † Thus the Treasury receives from this department 27,000*l.*, a sum which exceeds its cost (16,757*l.*) by 10,000*l.* The expenses of the Lunacy Commission amount to 15,259*l.*, to which, however, should be added 3845*l.*, of which the huge sum of 2260*l.* is for office accommodation, furniture, etc., and

* Estimates Civil Service, Law and Justice, p. 243. † Ib. p. 239.

1130*l.* for 'non-effectives'—pensions, we presume. Against this the only receipts are the sums paid for licenses for private asylums, which amount to 1112*l.* The salaries of the Visitors amount to 4500*l.* a year, those of the Commissioners to 9000*l.*; but, omitting travelling expenses, the cost of visitation of each of the 718 Chancery cases works out at about 6*l.* 10*s.* a year; that of each patient under the Commissioners at 2*s.* 6*d.*

The vested interests of officials always constitute a grave hindrance to any departmental reform. This was clearly anticipated in the Act of 1890, which provided that none of those holding office at that time should be prejudiced. An immediate improvement of conditions could therefore not be effected without an increase of expense; but, if the powers given had been used, the cost might by this time have been reduced to its earlier dimensions. An addition to the number of medical Commissioners is imperative. Two more might suffice for a short time, but not for long, if the present rate of increase in the number of the insane continues. They would, however, be enough if the two departments were amalgamated. On the other hand, as we have seen, three legal Commissioners are more than enough. If the offices were amalgamated, and if the posts of the legal Visitor and of one legal Commissioner were discontinued at the next vacancies, the two additional medical Commissioners would involve no increased charge on the taxpayer.

One other effect of the Act of 1890 should be noticed. It precluded the granting of any fresh licenses for private asylums, apparently under the idea that profit induced undue detention. It is doubtful, however, whether the latter is possible under the present careful observation of the Commissioners; at least it would not be possible were their number adequate for their work. But another intention was probably to encourage the choice of the semi-public 'hospitals,' and even the paying departments of public asylums. This result has been distinctly achieved. The clear independence of profit in the hospitals has had a considerable influence on the preference of the public; and the number of patients in purely private asylums has steadily lessened. It might be thought that this provision would have increased the pecuniary value of 'licensed houses' of this class, as it has been

thought that a similar enactment would enhance the value of 'licensed houses' of a very different nature. At present it has not had this effect, although it may hereafter. There is, in certain sections of the community, an inextinguishable demand for the seclusion and privacy of such asylums; even the upper classes often prefer them to single care, because thereby more specially experienced medical attention is secured.

Another reform is needed, with yet more obtrusive urgency, in the interests of the sufferers themselves. Of this there is some prospect. A large number of the insane, especially of those who are comparatively young, pass through a stage in which there is hope of recovery. Besides these, there is a still larger number of patients who are verging towards insanity but are not yet over the line. On the mental unsoundness of some of these, two doctors might differ in opinion. Such cases need the care of those who have had experience in 'personal conduct' on the road to health; and for this it is generally needful that those who take care of them should not be relations or familiar friends. But if such patients can be certified to be of unsound mind—and, if they are not, they may easily become so by a trifling intensification of the morbid state—they cannot legally be received by any person for payment without being stigmatised as insane by certification and placed under the control of the Commissioners in Lunacy. This sometimes induces definite unsoundness, or takes away the chance of recovery. It is harmful to the patient and painful to the friends. The need for milder measures in such cases had been brought before the Lord Chancellor by the Medico-Psychological and British Medical Association; and it was the chief subject of an address to the former society by Sir William Gowers in 1902.* What is needed is the adoption of a system similar to that which exists in Scotland, by which a person with incipient insanity, if fraught with no danger to himself or others, can be received for treatment for six months on a simple medical certificate that there is a prospect of recovery.

It may seem strange that the arrangements in Scotland

* 'Lancet,' November 22, 1902.

should be so far in advance of those in England as to furnish a model to be followed. We have already mentioned the Scottish system of Commissioners; and the whole history of the care of the insane north of the Tweed is of great interest. Only the briefest sketch can be given here. The earliest traces to be obtained reveal the doctrine of the *pater patriæ*, but with apparent disinterestedness. Idiots were consigned to the nearest male relative, the 'furious' to the charge of the King, as alone having the power of consigning them to control. The first attempt at systematic care was made in 1792; but the attempt 'hung fire' until, in 1806, the legislature appropriated certain moneys to two somewhat incongruous objects, the promotion of the fishing industry and the care of the insane. Meanwhile the 'York Retreat' was making its remarkable influence felt; and an asylum was finally opened in Edinburgh in 1813. Subsequent measures to improve the state of the insane in Scotland came slowly. The local opposition to the erection of district lunatic asylums was everywhere strong and for a long time effective; and the improvement in the state of the insane during the first half of the last century was even less than in England. But if slow in its approach, it was better for the delay. The experience of England was especially useful. No connexion exists between the two systems; but the lessons taught in various ways in England were not disregarded across the Border; and present arrangements in Scotland are such as to excite the envy of those in England who have the real interests of the insane at heart. Yet it must be remembered that the conditions differ considerably in the two countries. The arrangements made in Scotland were the more effectual because it was early realised that lunacy is a physical disease, and the Scotch were free from the regal and legal bonds which had such influence in England.

The fact should be realised that in England there are many cases of early and slight insanity in which the law must be broken, not to save pain to the friends, but, on the highest medical advice, to save the patient's mind from becoming permanently deranged. This course necessarily involves some risk. If such a patient is distinctly 'over the line,' and can be technically said to be of unsound mind, the person who receives payment for

him, even if a relative, is liable to prosecution, and to a penalty if conviction follows. It is so even with nursing-homes; it is so in cases of organic brain disease, such as may also paralyse the patient; it is so also with cases of defective mind. Space precludes the quotation of examples of such prosecution; but some, of surprising character, will be found in the reports of the Commissioners for the last ten years, and were quoted by Sir William Gowers. A relative can keep any case uncertified, if no payment is made; and it is among such that the examples of cruelty have occurred which have occasionally shocked the public. It is of course essential that all cases should be under conditions that are salutary and likely to promote recovery. But this would be equally secured by a system of notification to the Commissioners, with the power of visitation if deemed necessary, and the ability to order removal if this appears desirable. At present the power of inspection can only be secured by the process of certification; and since this is, in many cases, needless and harmful, it is inevitable that the law should often be violated. It is not well that a law which must be broken should remain unmodified, or that so great a difference should exist between the law of Scotland and that of England; and it is most important that the needed relief should be given.

A Bill to effect this modification was introduced into the House of Lords in 1900 and 1901; but the Government did not give facilities to enable it to pass the House of Commons, into which a similar Bill was introduced, *pro forma*, in May 1904. Such a measure should not be longer delayed. It is indeed strongly recommended by the Commissioners themselves in their Report for 1903. They suggest also an important modification of one of the clauses (§ 7), which enacts that 'no person shall under this section receive more than one patient at the same time.' Literally interpreted, this would preclude the reception of another patient, of whatever nature, and would harmfully restrict the utility of the measure. The Commissioners suggest also a modification of clause 8, which enacts that,

'after the expiration of the period mentioned in the certificate, another certificate under this section in respect of the

same patient shall not be given within two years from the date of the expiration.'

It is worth while to give the actual words of their comment, because the Commissioners know better than any other persons the amount of possible danger that may be connected with the arrangement. This is the more important, since the question of public safety may be made a convenient and plausible means of restricting the operation of the measure by those to whose interest it seems opposed. The Commissioners say:—

'We think that clause 7 might be modified by permitting more than one patient to be received with our consent; that clause 8 might be varied by the substitution of six months for two years; and that permission might also be given for the reception of voluntary boarders into single care, just as they are at present received, upon their own application, into hospitals and licensed houses. This would enable persons who are capable of exercising volition and are desirous of subjecting themselves to treatment, being suitable for residence under such conditions, to avail themselves, without difficulty or more than nominal formalities, of medical or other care in its simpler and less restrictive form, and in private houses as well as in institutions.

'We have, however, no doubt that, both in the course which was embodied in the Bill, and in that which we have above indicated, there should be immediate notification to us, with power to visit whenever it should appear to us to be desirable, and to vary or determine the residence under the conditions of these new enactments, whenever we considered it necessary.'

A suggestion was made by Sir William Church, in a letter to the 'Times,' that such cases might be notified to the Medical Officer of Health, who should report to the Commissioners if all was not right; and a similar suggestion was made by the late Dr Mortimer Granville in his evidence before the 1877 committee. It would probably be practicable and effective, and may be necessary, unless the Commissioners are adequately increased in number. It would be well, indeed, if such a provision were made applicable to all cases of disease of any kind received for payment; and the homes in which they are received should always be inspected by the Medical Officer of Health. But for this, wise as it would be, we must wait.

It has indeed been said that any such provision for the relief of early, threatened, or feared insanity is rendered needless by the present law, which allows such sufferers to go into asylums as voluntary patients. Those who hold this opinion know little of such cases. To suggest to a patient, whose great terror, generally speaking, is lest he should become or be thought to be insane, that he should become an inmate of a lunatic asylum, is a procedure that has only to be stated to be condemned. Nor could it survive a recital of the experience of some of those who have adopted this course. We have seen an account of the experience of one who went as a voluntary patient to a 'hospital' of high repute, a large semi-public institution. The constant companionship of the insane, the shrieks and sounds from far and near, were so unendurable that he obtained leave to try to secure quiet in the carpenter's workshop, where he found the occupation to be that of making coffins for the inmates. The constant locking and unlocking of every door involved unceasing suggestions, while his insomnia was not lessened by the light of a lantern being thrown on his face each hour through the night. After three weeks he felt that, if he remained, he should become definitely insane. He left, and under private care speedily recovered.

The arrangements for the care of the insane need improvement in other ways, of which there is little present prospect. Every medical superintendent of an asylum is also its general manager; and this work, involving a vast amount of writing, keeping accounts, and the like, largely diminishes the time that he is able to give to the patients. There is much truth in the statement made by Mr Brudenell Carter in a recent book:—*

'The medical superintendent has to be the head of a great establishment, embracing gardens and a farm, as well as the staff and buildings of the asylum itself. The managing committee value him for the sake of the qualities they can appreciate. He must, primarily, be a firm and strict but just master, an administrator and organiser, and only secondarily a skilled physician. . . . Men enter asylum medical service at the outset of their career, and grow up under its conditions.

* 'Doctors and their Work,' by R. Brudenell Carter, F.R.C.S. Smith, Elder & Co., 1903.

Each enters the groove early in life; and, to ensure promotion, the groove must have been of such a character as strongly to divert his attention from medicine and direct it towards administration.'

It would be well if the two branches of work were separated, so that the most experienced medical officer could give his undivided attention to his patients.

In truth, through the whole system runs the dominant idea that the insane need only care, and should be left to get well if they can. An entire separation of their medical supervision from general medicine is the inevitable result. Yet medical science shows more and more the interdependence of morbid states, and the unwisdom of all narrow exclusiveness. A few asylum medical officers are indeed doing good work at the pathology of insanity; and the London County Council, some years ago, wisely appointed to their asylum at Claybury a skilled pathologist, whose researches have been of great value to pathological science. The same Council, in 1889, considered a plan for a definite bridge between general medicine and the care of the insane. A committee, presided over by Mr Brudenell Carter, took much evidence, which is printed in their report, and recommended to the County Council that a small hospital for the insane should be built near London, with a staff of two resident medical officers having asylum experience, and four physicians, each of whom should be physician to a general hospital. But the Council rejected the proposal. Whatever the result, it would certainly have been an interesting experiment.

Many of the facts we have surveyed tend to bring us back to the place from which we started. The insane are, one and all, the subjects of disease, of disorder of the higher functions of the brain, induced by various morbid influences and morbid tendencies. That is a proposition from which few would now venture to dissent. The sufferers, as we have seen, are in the ultimate custody of the Lord Chancellor as the representative of the King. Is it not time that this fact were fairly faced? Reverently as the seventh Edward may regard the action of the first, times have changed as centuries have passed; and that which was inaugurated as a source of regal income

has no longer such motive. The arrangement is of no advantage to the Crown, but has many disadvantages to its subjects. The Lord Chancellor, as the King's representative, is subject to the control of Parliament only when a change in legal arrangements is proposed, or when an alteration in the payment to his subordinates involves an increased demand on the Treasury. Public opinion he can ignore with impunity; and he can disregard as he likes even the representations of his subordinates. The insane constitute only one of a multitude of matters to which he must attend, and they can receive only a rare fraction of attention.

Some day, near or remote, we doubt not it will be deemed wise to break this chain, forged long ago by the Plantagenets, and to free the insane from the legal dominance which has already become, in the main, a hindrance rather than a help. When that day comes, it may be that all the work of the departments which deal with public health, and with this form of disease, will be united under a responsible minister. The management of inebriates, now under the Home Office, the general hygiene of the country, with the investigation and arrest of epidemics, and the supervising control of the Medical Officers of Health, now under the Local Government Board, might well be joined to the supervision of the insane. All these have closer mutual relations than any one of them has with the department with which it is now connected. Combined, they would furnish an adequate basis for a separate department and a special minister. Many improvements in asylum work would then be possible, at which we have been unable to glance. The time for such a rearrangement is not yet, but may be less distant than it appears.

Art. V.—THE COLLECTED WORKS OF LORD BYRON.

1. *The Works of Lord Byron: Letters and Journals.* Edited by Rowland E. Prothero. Six vols. London: Murray, 1898–1901.
2. *The Works of Lord Byron: the Poetical Works.* Edited by Ernest Hartley Coleridge. Seven vols. London: Murray, 1898–1904.

THE completion of what may be regarded as a final edition of Byron's writings both in poetry and prose is surely a notable event in literary history. Nothing indeed is likely to modify very materially either the estimate which has been formed of his character since the appearance of Moore's work, or the verdict which his countrymen have long since passed on him as a poet. But we are now in a position to understand much in the man himself, and more in his work as an artist, which it was not possible to understand fully and clearly before; we are enabled to review both, if not in any absolutely new light, at least in the light of testimony and illustration so ample, nay, so exhaustive, that probably nothing of any importance will ever be added to it. In these thirteen volumes we have a contribution to biography and criticism to which it would be difficult to find a parallel in modern times. There is no corner, no recess, in Byron's crowded life, from boyhood to manhood, from manhood to the end, into which we are not admitted; we know him as we know Pepys and as we know Johnson.

To say nothing of a correspondence in which his experiences and his impressions, his idiosyncrasies and his temper, are reflected as in a mirror, records intended for no eyes but his own reveal to us his most secret thoughts. He is exhibited in all his moods and in all his extremes. We can watch every phase which, in its rapid and capricious alternations of darkness and light, his extraordinarily complex and mobile character assumed. The infirmities, the follies, the vices which revolted Wordsworth and Browning and degraded him at times to the level of fribbles like Nash and Brummell and of mere libertines like Queensberry and Hertford; the sudden transitions by which, in the resilience of his nobler

instincts and sympathies, he became glorified into the actual embodiment of what at such moments he expressed in poetry; the virtues on which those who admired and those who loved him delighted to dwell, and which could transform him momentarily into the most heroic, the most generous, the most attaching of men; the strange anomalies for which the perpetual conflict between his higher and baser nature, and between his reason and his passions, was responsible; his mingled charlatanry and sincerity, refinement and grossness, levity and enthusiasm; the magnanimity and dignity which could occasionally be discerned in him; the almost incredible paltriness and meanness of which at times he was capable; his sanity, his good sense, his keen insight into men and life, his admirable literary judgments, so singularly and glaringly contrasted with the childishness, the obliquity, the extravagance which he displayed when under the influence of prejudice or passion—all this makes his autobiography, in other words, his correspondence, memoranda, and journals, a psychological study of no ordinary interest.

Nor is this all. His poetry is so essentially the expression of his character, and was so directly inspired by his personal experiences, that these records form the best of all commentaries on it. His letters will probably live as long as his poems. Voluminous as they are, they never bore us. Social sketches dashed off with inimitable happiness; anecdote and incident related as only a consummate *raconteur* can relate them; piquant comments on the latest scandal or the latest book; the gossip and tittle-tattle of the green-room and the boudoir, of the clubs and the salons, so transformed by the humour and wit of their cynical retailer that they almost rival the dialogue of Congreve or of Sheridan; shrewd and penetrating observations on life, on human nature, on politics, on literature, dropped so carelessly that it is only on reflection that we see their wisdom, keep us perpetually amused and entertained.

Of the conscientiousness and skill with which Mr R. E. Prothero has performed a most difficult task we cannot speak too highly. In the first place, he has spared no pains to make the correspondence as complete as possible; with what success, a comparison of the number of letters which have appeared in preceding collections with the number

printed by him will at once show. If he has, to some extent, fared as those who glean after the full harvest must necessarily fare, he has not only preserved much which was worth preservation, but he has been able to add substantially to what was of most interest and value in preceding collections. And here we must say a word in commendation of the assiduity with which the second and the third John Murray for eighty years devoted their resources to the collection of the materials without which this edition would have been impossible of achievement. They and their house owe much to Byron, but they have not spared themselves in their endeavour to repay their debt; and lovers of literature are under no small obligation to them.

Mr Prothero has not only given us an exhaustive edition of the letters, journals, and memoranda, and settled what must henceforth be their standard text, but he has done much more. No man entered more fully into the social and literary life of his time, or took a keener interest in the incidents of the passing hour, than Byron. The consequence is that the letters and journals teem with allusions and references to individuals and to current topics, as well as to the literature of the day, which the lapse of nearly a century has made unintelligible without continual elucidation. This Mr Prothero has given us, and given us in a measure pressed down and overflowing. We have memoirs and notices of all the persons, many of them long since forgotten, to whom the letters are addressed, or of whom they make mention; and rare indeed it is to find anything requiring explanation which is left in obscurity. His notes are in themselves delightful reading, and we are not at all inclined to quarrel with their occasional diffuseness.

But important as this edition is as concentrating all that throws light on Byron as a man, it is still more important from the light which it throws on his work. If, in editing the correspondence, journals, and miscellaneous prose writings, Mr Prothero had a difficult task imposed on him, a still more difficult task was imposed on his coadjutor, the editor of the poems and dramas. When we say that Mr Coleridge's edition contains, not only every complete poem and drama written by Byron, but every fragment of the smallest interest which can

be gleaned from authentic sources; that his text has been formed by collation with the early printed copies and with the original manuscripts where they are extant, as in most cases they are, every variant and erasure being carefully noted; that every poem is furnished with elucidatory notes explaining allusions and citing parallel passages to which Byron was, or may have been, indebted; that to each of the chief poems and collection of poems is prefixed a more or less elaborate bibliographical, critical, and generally illustrative introduction—some estimate may be formed of the immense labour expended on his work.

A poet more troublesome to a conscientious editor than Byron could hardly be found, and this for three reasons—the multiplicity of the sources of his text, the large space which topics of ephemeral interest fill in his poetry, and the difficulty of identifying or even of explaining the innumerable reminiscences and references which his loose and desultory but immense reading supplied in such profusion. A very superficial acquaintance with Byron's writings will enable any one to understand what the adequate annotation of such poems as the 'Hints from Horace,' 'The Vision of Judgment, 'The Devil's Drive,' 'The Blues,' to say nothing of 'English Bards and Scotch Reviewers,' and, above all, 'The Age of Bronze' and 'Don Juan,' must imply. No doubt the labour was somewhat lightened, as Mr Coleridge acknowledges, by that great work, which has lightened so much editorial labour, the 'Dictionary of National Biography'; but all that the Dictionary could afford represents only a fraction of what was necessary for the elucidation of these poems. Mr Coleridge has brought to his task an extensive knowledge of general literature, and a still more extensive knowledge of the literature immediately preceding and contemporary with Byron. Memoirs, correspondence, 'ana,' novels, travels, periodicals, newspapers, and all such publications as are known to have been in Byron's hands, have been explored by him; and with the happiest result. For he has thus been enabled, not only to explain the innumerable references and allusions in the poems which the lapse of time has, for the present generation, rendered obscure or even unintelligible, but, in conjunction with the notes on the text, to furnish us

with the best of commentaries on Byron's methods and technique. The chief infirmity of the notes lies in the parallel passages. Mr Coleridge, in our opinion very rightly, attaches importance to them as illustrating a striking characteristic of Byron—the union of originality with an indebtedness to his predecessors and contemporaries so considerable as to be not a little surprising, particularly in a poet of his temper. But many of the most remarkable of these reminiscences are not noticed by Mr Coleridge, though a place is found for many which might easily be resolved into mere coincidences. To this, however, we shall return presently.

We pass to the contents of these seven substantial volumes, which represent all that has been given, or probably ever will be given, to the world in verse from Byron's pen. The first question which every reader will naturally ask is: do they add anything of importance to what we already have, any poem which deserves permanence, or which strikes a new note? This may be answered, with some little reserve perhaps, in the negative. Of the thirty poems published here for the first time, the insertion of at least two thirds could only be justified by the consideration that it was desirable to make the collection complete. The eleven early poems printed from the Newstead manuscripts are much below the level of the verses comprised in the 'Hours of Idleness'; the lines beginning 'I cannot talk of love to thee,' 'Julian,' 'The Duel,' the 'Ode to a Lady,' in volumes iii and iv, have no distinction; few of those printed in volume vii are, so far as intrinsic merit goes, worth preserving. Every one will turn with interest to the seven stanzas, with the prose note containing the savage attack on Brougham, which were to follow stanza clxxxix in the first canto of 'Don Juan,' and to the fourteen stanzas opening the seventeenth canto of 'Don Juan' found in Byron's room at Missolonghi. But no one can read them without feeling how little, even as a satirist, his reputation gains by the first series, and how painfully, in their flaccid diffuseness, the second series illustrates his decadence. Nor is the fragment of the third part of 'The Deformed Transformed' likely to gratify anything but curiosity. The most remarkable of

these pieces is the fragment of a poem on Aristomenes, dated Cephalonia, September 10, 1823, in which he certainly struck a new note, and, what is not a little surprising, a note closely recalling Keats.

But it is as affording more copious material than has hitherto been collected for a critical estimate of Byron's work as a poet that this edition is perhaps of most interest and importance. We are now enabled, thanks to Mr Coleridge, to distinguish between what Byron owed to nature and what he owed to predecessors and contemporaries, and, following him into his workshop, to study his methods and to be admitted into all the secrets of his technique. It will certainly come as a surprise to many to learn how often the most vehement and impetuous of poets, in what appears to be the full tide of impassioned inspiration, is, at the same time, the most patient of artists; how, with so much originality in essence, his poetry is, in expression and often in imagery and sentiment, almost as much indebted to assimilative memory as that of Gray or Tennyson.

Among Byron's many affectations was his hypersensitive anxiety to have it supposed that composition cost him no labour; and of this he was always boasting. 'Like Edie Ochiltree,' he said, 'I never dowed to bide a hard turn o' wark in my life.' That he composed, as a rule, with great rapidity seems certain, but that he took immense pains in preparing himself for composition, and in revising what he composed, is abundantly apparent, not only from the elaborate accurary of his realism, when realism was his aim, but from the testimony afforded by the variants and deletions in his manuscripts and proofs. Of the first, we have two very striking illustrations in 'Don Juan,' namely, the shipwreck and the incidents succeeding it in the second canto, and the siege of Ismail in the seventh and eighth. Of the shipwreck, he himself said there was 'not a single circumstance of it not taken from fact; not indeed from any single shipwreck, but all from actual facts of different wrecks.' The fidelity with which this part of the poem was compiled, in other words, constructed out of passages dovetailed from Dalzell's 'Shipwrecks and Disasters at Sea' (1812), Hartford's 'Remarkable Shipwrecks,' Bligh's 'Narrative of the Mutiny of the "Bounty,"' and his own grandfather's narrative, shows

to what patient and scrupulous drudgery Byron could sometimes submit. Most of the passages borrowed by him have been duly recorded in Mr Coleridge's notes, but one of the most interesting and remarkable appears to have escaped his notice. The magnificent stanza—

> 'And first one universal shriek there rush'd,
> Louder than the loud ocean, like a crash
> Of echoing thunder; and then all was hush'd,
> Save the wild wind and the remorseless dash
> Of billows; but at intervals there gush'd,
> Accompanied with a convulsive splash,
> A solitary shriek, the bubbling cry
> Of some strong swimmer in his agony'

—was plainly based on the following passage in the wreck of the 'Pandora' ('Shipwrecks and Disasters,' vol. iii, p. 129):—

'Within a very few minutes of the time when Mr Rogers gained the rock an universal shriek, which long vibrated in their ears, . . . announced a dreadful catastrophe. In a few minutes all was hushed except the roaring of the winds and the dashing of the waves. . . . The cries of men drowning were dreadful in the extreme, but died away by degrees as they became faint.'

It would indeed be quite impossible to exceed the scrupulous particularity with which, even to the most trifling minutiæ, Byron has drawn on these narratives, owing literally nothing to invention. In his account of the siege and capture of Ismail he has drawn in the same way, and almost to the same extent, on the Marquis Gabriel de Castelnau's 'Essai sur l'Histoire ancienne et moderne de la Nouvelle Russie.' And this drudging industry was not more remarkable than the labour expended on successive editions of some of his poems, notably 'English Bards and Scotch Reviewers,' the 'Hints from Horace,' and 'The Giaour.'

What labour composition sometimes cost him will be plain to any one who will turn to the record of the variants in stanza ix of the first canto of 'Childe Harold,' and in cxxxiv of the fourth canto. How revision could at times transform his poetry is illustrated by the passage

which every one knows in 'The Giaour,' 'He who hath bent him o'er the dead.' The lines which now run:—

> 'The first dark day of nothingness,
> The last of danger and distress,
> (Before Decay's effacing fingers
> Have swept the lines where beauty lingers,)
> And mark'd the mild angelic air,
> The rapture of repose that's there;
> The fix'd yet tender traits that streak
> The languor of the placid cheek';

originally ran:—

> 'The first dark day of nothingness,
> The last of doom and of distress,
> Before Corruption's cankering fingers
> Hath tinged the hue where beauty lingers,
> And marked the soft and settled air
> That dwells with all but spirit there.'

The line 'Where cold obstruction's apathy,' which occurs later, illustrates what is often perceptible in Byron's variants. A reminiscence of Shakespeare's 'cold obstruction' occurring to him as he corrected the proofs, suggested it; just as, in the apostrophe to the ocean in 'Childe Harold,' the memory of a couplet in Campbell's 'Battle of the Baltic' enabled him to transform—

> 'These oaken citadels which made and make
> Their clay creator the vain title take,'

into

> 'The oak leviathans, whose huge ribs make,' etc.

There is a variant in the description of the thunderstorm in the third canto of 'Childe Harold' which, poor as it is, is certainly preferable to the ludicrous line for which it is substituted:—

> 'The glee
> Of the loud hills shakes with its mountain-mirth,
> As if they did rejoice o'er a young earthquake's birth';

namely,

> 'As they had found an heir and feasted o'er his birth.'

There is one characteristic of Byron's variants which is very significant: they rarely improve the rhythm, and

were apparently seldom designed for that purpose. So incurably bad was his ear that occasionally they are, from this point of view, alterations for the worse, as here ('Childe Harold,' III, lix):—

'Wild but not rude, awful yet not austere,
Is to the mellow earth as autumn to the year.'

In the MS. this was softened by reading—

'Rustic, not rude, sublime, yet not austere.'

So in the 'Siege of Corinth,' the lumbering line,

'The vaults *beneath the mosaic stone*,'

ran in the MS.,

'The vaults beneath the $\begin{matrix}\text{chequered}\\\text{inlaid}\end{matrix}$ stone,'

where, had 'chequered' been chosen, the rhythm would have been faultless.

But the combination of a capacity for drudging industry with a genius and temper which seem scarcely compatible with the practice of so humble a virtue, is not the only anomaly in Byron's constitution. In three respects he bears a remarkable resemblance to a class of poets with whom he would at first sight appear to have nothing in common. Neither Virgil nor Horace in ancient times, not Milton or Gray nor even Tennyson in modern times, has been more indebted to preceding and contemporary literature. An extraordinarily wide range of reading, a memory remarkable alike for its tenacity and its ready mastery over its acquisitions, and a not less remarkable power of assimilating and of reproducing in other forms what was thus acquired, are quite as characteristic of Byron as of the poets to whom we have referred. It may sound paradoxical to say that Byron owed more to reading and books than he owed to independent observation of nature and life; that what in his poetry was directly inspired by his own experiences and impressions bears a very small proportion to what was suggested to him by others; that, in all that relates to form, his poetry, so far from having any pretension to originality, is essentially imitative. And yet this is certainly the case. We have already remarked that the

least satisfactory part of Mr Coleridge's commentary is its illustration of these very remarkable characteristics of Byron, and we shall therefore make no apology for dealing with them at some length.

Nothing could illustrate more strikingly Byron's method than 'Childe Harold' and the Eastern tales. It is generally supposed that in the 'Childe' Byron simply painted himself, and so in some touches and in certain details he undoubtedly did; but the character was plainly suggested to him by Madame de Staël's Lord Nelvil in 'Corinne,' in whom every trait of Byron's hero is defined and described. In the fourth canto 'Corinne' is followed very closely, as in the descriptions of the Coliseum and St Peter's, and in the reflections on the ruins of Rome. Nearly the whole of two of the finest stanzas (clxxix, clxxx) in the apostrophe to the ocean is taken from the novel (I, iv):—

'. . . Cette superbe mer, sur laquelle l'homme jamais ne peut imprimer sa trace. La terre est travaillée par lui . . . mais si les vaisseaux sillonnent un moment les ondes, la vague vient effacer aussitôt cette légère marque de servitude, et la mer reparaît telle qu'elle fut au premier jour de la création.'

The famous stanza in Julia's letters, in the first canto of 'Don Juan,' st. cxciv, 'Man's love is of man's life,' etc., is little more than a translation of 'Corinne,' XVIII, v:—

'Que les hommes sont heureux d'aller à la guerre, d'exposer leur vie, de se livrer à l'enthousiasme de l'honneur et du danger! Mais il n'y a rien au dehors qui soulage les femmes.'

The character of Conrad, in 'The Corsair,' was apparently concocted, as Alaric Watts pointed out, from that of Malefort Junior, in Massinger's 'Unnatural Combat,' and Mrs Anne Radcliffe's typical heroes. The Giaour is simply Mrs Radcliffe's Schedoni in 'The Italian.' In 'Lara' Byron no doubt analyses his own character; but for the rest the whole poem is concocted from Mrs Radcliffe's 'Italian' and 'Mysteries of Udolpho,' and from Scott's 'Marmion.' How closely Mrs Radcliffe is followed will be apparent to any one who compares the combat between Lara and Otho, and that between Mrs Radcliffe's Morano and Montoni in the second volume of the 'Mysteries of Udolpho.' Compare, for instance, with

Mrs Radcliffe, the passage in section iv of the second canto of 'Lara,' beginning

> '"Demand thy life!" . . .
> For Lara's brow upon the moment grew
> Almost to blackness in its demon hue.'

'The Count then fell back . . . while Montoni held his sword over him and bade him ask his life. . . . He yielded at the interruption, but his countenance changed almost to blackness as he looked.'

Indeed we continually trace the influence of Mrs Radcliffe's novels on Byron's poetry; he has borrowed from her hints for two of his most striking passages, the comparison of modern and ancient Greece to the features of the dead and the living:—

'Beyond Milan the country wore the aspect of a ruder devastation; and though everything seemed now quiet, the repose was like that of death spread over features which retain the impression of the last convulsions' ('Udolpho,' ii, 29);

and the description of Venice at the beginning of the fourth canto of 'Childe Harold':—

'Nothing could exceed Emily's admiration on her first view of Venice, with its islets, palaces, and towers rising out of the sea . . . its terraces, crowned with airy yet majestic fabrics, . . . appeared as if they had been called up from the ocean by the wand of an enchanter' (Id. ii, 59).

There can be little doubt that, in the remarkable poem entitled 'Darkness,' Byron was greatly indebted, as Herr Kölbing and Mr Coleridge have pointed out, to a once popular but long forgotten novel published in 1806, entitled 'The Last Man, or Omegarus and Syderia'; but what neither Herr Kölbing nor Mr Coleridge has noticed is that he was almost equally indebted to Burnet's 'Telluris Theoria Sacra,'* which he had certainly read, and from which he has borrowed details of singular picturesqueness not found in the novel, for example, the lines:—

> 'Ocean all stood still,
> And nothing stirr'd within their silent depths;
> Ships sailorless lay rotting on the sea, . . .
> They slept on the abyss without a surge;
> The waves were dead'

* See particularly lib. iii, cap. xii.

—which are simply a paraphrase of, 'Et quoad mare, hoc dudum deseruerunt nautæ, stagnum putidum sine motu.'* The plot of 'Werner,' 'the characters, plan, and even the language,' were taken, as he himself acknowledged, from the German's Tale in the 'Canterbury Tales' by the Misses Lee; as the plot of 'The Deformed Transformed' was borrowed mainly, also by his confession, from a long forgotten novel, entitled 'The Three Brothers,' by one Joshua Pickersgill.

The indebtedness of Byron in 'Manfred' to Goethe's 'Faust,' the greater part of which Lewis translated for him, and to the 'Prometheus' of Æschylus, is of course notorious, and is duly noted by Mr Coleridge. But what Mr Coleridge does not notice is the influence exercised on it by the romance of 'Ahasuerus,' by Southey's 'Curse of Kehama,' by Schiller's 'Robbers' and 'Death of Wallenstein,' both of which were accessible to Byron in translations,† and by Maturin's 'Bertram,' to say nothing of innumerable passages suggested by 'Paradise Lost.' Nor has Mr Coleridge noticed for how much of 'Don Juan' Byron was indebted to Casti's 'Novelle,' which, beyond all doubt, suggested the poem to him. He had been introduced to the 'Novelle' by Major Gordon at Brussels, in 1816; and in a letter written from Geneva, not long afterwards, he says, 'I cannot tell you what a treat your gift of Casti has been to me. I have almost got him by heart.'‡ He began 'Don Juan' about two years afterwards. 'Don Juan' is full of reminiscences of the 'Novelle.' The novel which brings us nearest to Byron's poem is the one entitled 'La Diavolessa' (Novella iv). This suggested to him his hero.

> 'I'll therefore take our ancient friend Don Juan—
> We all have seen him, in the pantomime,
> Sent to the devil somewhat ere his time.'

So Casti:—

> 'Ma voi più volte, O Donne mie, vedeste
> Sovra le scene pubbliche e private
> Di don Giovan le scandalose geste.'
>
> (St. xv.)

* Lib. iii, cap. xii.

† See the English translation of the first, published in 1795, and Coleridge's well-known version of the second, published in 1800.

‡ Letters and Journals, iv, 217, *note*.

In Casti's story one Don Ignazio (who is his hero) and Don Juan scour Spain in quest of licentious adventures, to meet afterwards in the infernal regions, whither, as we know from himself, Byron intended finally to conduct his hero. Ignazio, like Don Juan, was born in Seville, and

'Traced his source
Through the most Gothic gentlemen of Spain.'

'La nobil sua famiglia
Drittamente scendea fin dai re Goti.'
(St. ix.)

Both are extraordinarily precocious and addicted to the same frailties, Julia, the wife of Don Jose, standing in the same relation to Don Juan as Ermenegilda, the wife of his friend, to Ignazio, the one, however, voluntarily, the other involuntarily. Ignazio, like Don Juan, is shipwrecked; and each hero is the sole survivor. It is quite clear that Byron modelled his style, not on Berni, as he implied, but on Casti. To Casti, then, undoubtedly belongs the honour of having suggested and furnished Byron with a model for Don Juan. In point of distinction and merit, in brilliance, picturesqueness and power, there is, of course, no parallel between the two poets. To accuse Byron of plagiarism for the perfectly legitimate use of material or suggestion afforded by others would, we hasten to say, be as absurd as to bring a similar charge against Shakespeare for the use which he has made of Plutarch and Holinshed, or against Milton for the use which he has made of the ancients. As Swift well observes, 'If I light my candle from another, that does not affect my property in the wick and tallow'; and of wick and tallow Byron had infinitely more than the majority of his creditors put together.

Byron's reading, if desultory, was unusually extensive and curious; and his memory, like that of Tennyson, extraordinarily tenacious and assimilative. To scholarship he had of course no pretension. The fact that, in his last years at school, we find him scribbling on the margins of his Xenophon and Greek plays the English equivalents for *νέοι*, *σώματα*, and *χρυσός*, is no doubt indicative of his acquaintance with Greek, for it does not appear that at a later time he made any effort to extend his knowledge of

that language.* But with most of the Greek classics in translations—Latin, probably, as well as English—he was certainly familiar, as the ready propriety with which applications or reminiscences of passages from them spring to his pen sufficiently shows. Of the 'Prometheus,' as he tells us himself, he 'was passionately fond'; and this, at least, he knew well in the original, as it was one of the Greek plays which 'we read thrice a year at Harrow,' adding that 'that and the "Medea" were the only ones, except the "Seven against Thebes," which ever much pleased me.' Many of the most striking of these reminiscences from Greek poetry have been duly noted by Mr Coleridge, but he has not observed that stanza cciv in the Haidee episode in the second canto in Don Juan, 'And now 'twas done,' etc., is almost a translation from the 'Hero and Leander' of the Pseudo-Musæus, 279–283; the resemblance between

'Their priest was Solitude, and they were wed,'

and

Ἀλλὰ λέχος στορέσασα . . .
Σιγὴ παστὸν ἔπηξεν,

being, with the other general resemblances, too close to admit of any likelihood of coincidence. That Byron read Latin fluently and habitually, and was well, if irregularly, acquainted with the Latin poets, there can be no doubt. We cannot enter into the question here, but will only add that for every illustration given by Mr Coleridge a dozen could be adduced by any one who had happened to pay particular attention to this subject. In addition to Lucretius, Catullus, Horace, Virgil, and Ovid, whom he seems to have known well, he had read Tibullus, Lucan, Juvenal, Persius, Valerius Flaccus, Seneca, and Claudian, from all of whom he has borrowed. Wherever, indeed, in the less known Latin poets, or in modern Latin literature, anything particularly felicitous occurs, the chances are that Byron was acquainted with it and has turned it to

* In his 'Detached Thoughts' ('Letters and Journals,' v, 436) he speaks of his classical attainments as being 'in the usual proportion of a sixth-form boy.' In those days boys were usually much more advanced in Latin than in Greek.

account. Thus the pretty description of a dimple by Terentius Varro, preserved by Nonius Marcellus—

> 'Sigilla in mento impressa Amoris digitulo
> Vestigio demonstrant mollitudinem'

—which he probably found in Gray's 'Letters' (where it is wrongly attributed by West to Aulus Gellius)—he adapts, as he himself has noted, in 'Childe Harold':—

> 'The seal Love's dimpling finger hath impress'd
> Denotes how soft that chin which bears his touch.'

He quotes Shenstone's exquisite inscription, 'Heu quanto minus est cum reliquis versari quam tui meminisse,' Gray's exquisite Alcaic stanza, 'Fons lacrymarum,' etc., Cowley's 'Nam vita gaudet mortua floribus' in the 'Epitaphium vivi auctoris,' and the felicitous epigram of Amaltheus, 'Lumine Acon dextro, capta est Leonilla sinistro,' etc. Among the prose writers, Sallust, Livy, and Tacitus appear to have been his favourites; and scores of reminiscences from them may be found in his poems.

To pass from Byron's appropriations from the ancients to his appropriations from the moderns. He was so sensitive about being charged with plagiarism that he gave away, Mrs Shelley tells us, Aikin's edition of the British poets for fear some English traveller should find it in his house and report at home his possession of it; and when, in the 'Literary Gazette' for February and March 1821, Mr Alaric A. Watts very amply illustrated with what justice such a charge could be brought against him, he was greatly annoyed. 'I think I now in my time,' he wrote to Moore, 'have been accused of everything.' But in another mood he owned that 'when he had got a good idea' he was 'not very scrupulous how he came into possession of it.' And this was true. It is undoubtedly part of the duty of a 'variorum' editor to point out these appropriations; and this Mr Coleridge has to some extent succeeded in doing; so imperfectly, however, that we cannot but regret that he did not consult some one who would have assisted him to supply this deficiency. We have not space to give more than a few of the illustrations which Mr Coleridge might have noted.

Plagiarism, in the strict sense of the term, must be conscious and deliberate, but what may justly render

an author liable to the charge of it may be either coincidence or unconscious appropriation. Coincidence is not, as a rule, likely to be the case with Byron, for his memory was almost as remarkable as his genius, and from his boyhood he was an incessant reader. 'I read,' he said, 'eating, read in bed, and read when no one else reads.' When he was little more than a child he found at Dr Glennie's a complete set of the British poets from Chaucer to Churchill; 'and I am,' said Dr Glennie, 'almost tempted to say that he had perused them more than once from beginning to end.' His poetry throughout is saturated with what he had thus acquired. Many of his reminiscences are no doubt unconscious. Such, for instance, would be his echo of Campbell's,

'The power of thought—the magic of a name,'

in

'The power of grace, the magic of a name';

of Burns's,

'I saw thy pulse's maddening play,'

in

'The exulting sense, the pulse's maddening play';

of Scott's,

'O for an hour of Wallace wight,'

in

'O for one hour of blind old Dandolo';

of Tickell's,

'I hear a voice you cannot hear,'

in

'I hear a voice I would not hear';

of Pope's,

'Glory of the priesthood and the shame,'

in

'Tasso is now their glory and their shame.'

The echoes, we may add, from Spenser—the minor poems as well as the 'Faëry Queen'—of Young's tragedies, particularly the 'Revenge,' and of the Pseudo-Ossian, are innumerable. To Spenser's lines (F.Q. III, ii, 5)—

'And ever and anon the rosy red
Flash'd through her face as it had been a flake
Of lightning through bright heaven fulminéd'

—he seems to have owed a singularly beautiful image in stanza lxi of the first canto of Don Juan :—

> 'Her cheek all purple with the beam of youth,
> Mounting, at times, to a transparent glow,
> As if her veins ran lightning.'

In the last line of 'The Corsair' ('Link'd with one virtue, and a thousand crimes') we have one of Byron's many reminiscences of a book which was a great favourite with him, Burton's 'Anatomy of Melancholy.' 'Hannibal, as he had mighty virtues, so he had many vices; *unam virtutem mille vitia comitantur.*' In 'Churchill's Grave,' a noble expression of Dante's ('Inferno,' xxxiii, 26–27) is laid under contribution :—

> 'Do we rip
> The veil of immortality.'
>
> 'Il mal sonno
> Che del futuro mi *squarciò il velame.*'

We will now give a few examples of Byron's appropriations from more recondite sources, as they illustrate how keen an eye he had for anything which, being unusually felicitous, he could turn to account. Sir William Jones, in his essay on the poetry of the Eastern nations, observes that their similes are very just and striking, and gives as an instance, 'The blue eyes of a fine woman bathed in tears compared to violets dropping with dew.' This appears in Byron's stanzas, 'I saw thee weep':—

> 'The big bright tear
> Came o'er that eye of blue;
> And then methought it did appear
> A violet dropping dew.'

In his dédication to the 'Rival Ladies' Dryden, speaking of the progress of the work, says :—

'When it was only a confused mass of thoughts, tumbling over one another in the dark; when the fancy was yet in its first work, moving the sleeping images of things towards the light, there to be distinguished and then either chosen or rejected by the judgment.'

This reappears in 'Marino Faliero,' I, ii, as—

> 'As yet 'tis but a chaos
> Of darkly brooding thoughts: my fancy is
> In her first work, more nearly to the light
> Holding the sleeping images of things,
> For the selection of the pausing judgment.'

The remark in 'Don Juan,' IV, st. iv—

> 'And if I laugh at any mortal thing,
> 'Tis that I may not weep.'

—looks very like a reminiscence of Richardson's 'Pamela' (Letter lxxxiv):—

'It is to this deep concern that my levity is owing. . . . I am forced to try to make myself laugh that I may not cry.'

But he sometimes goes to more recondite sources, as in 'Childe Harold,' III, st. xix—

> 'Shall we, who struck the Lion down, shall we
> Pay the Wolf homage?'

which appears to have been suggested by a sentence in the famous pamphlet, 'Killing No Murder,' attributed to Colonel Titus:—

'Shall we, who would not suffer the Lion to invade us, tamely stand to be devoured by the Wolf?'*

We have not space for further illustrations, though it would be easy to multiply them a hundred-fold. Let us consider their significance, for this is of the greatest importance in estimating Byron's work as a poet.

Of no man of genius can it be so truly said that he is of those whom Chapman admirably described as having

> 'Strange gifts from Nature, but no soul
> Infused quite through to make them of a piece.'

His inspired power, his essential sincerity as a poet, lay partly in the intensity with which he felt and expressed the passions and realised all that in circumstance and situation appealed to them, and partly in what Matthew

* Harleian Miscellany, iv, 290 (ed. 1744).

Arnold has so happily designated his Titanism. The moment he quits these spheres he becomes a rhetorician, but a rhetorician so eloquent and moving, so brilliant and impressive, that the note of falsetto is not at first sight discernible. We see his power in quintessence in such passages as the journey and death of Hassan, Alp's journey along the beach, the death of Selim, the stanzas on Waterloo, the falls of Velino, the thunderstorm, the apostrophe to Rome, the dying gladiator, the last two stanzas of the shipwreck, and innumerable other passages in which these and similar notes are struck. But his serious poetry has not only no unity, it has not even permeating enthusiasm. Ecstasy exhausted and in collapse, mere talent succeeds to genius, the interstices between each effort of inspired energy being filled up by more or less successfully disguised falsetto.

In the other sphere, the sphere of satire and comedy, his masterpiece—and here his power is sustained—is 'The Vision of Judgment'; while in 'Don Juan' we have what we have nowhere else, the true, full man in absolute and naked simplicity, a comprehensive illustration of his amazing versatility and dexterity, of his genius for comedy and satire—perhaps his most remarkable characteristic—as well as of all those qualities of sincerity which inform and vitalise his serious poetry.

Byron's insincerity—in other words, his rhetoric and falsetto—is most discernible in those parts of his poetry which are in execution most brilliant, and which are generally singled out for special commendation by his admirers. First would come his descriptions of nature and his affectation of being Nature's devoted worshipper. It may fairly be questioned whether Byron was ever profoundly moved by Nature, or whether he ever regarded her in any other light than a theme for rhetorical display. In his earlier poems all his descriptions are perfectly commonplace and of the order of Shenstone's, who seems, judging from the 'Hours of Idleness,' to have been a favourite with him. In the first two cantos of 'Childe Harold' his descriptions are mere rhetoric. The Morean sunset in the third canto of 'The Corsair' is little more than a brilliant declamation. At last, in the third canto of 'Childe Harold,' the note changes; but it changes because, to employ his own expression,

Shelley 'had dosed him with Wordsworth.' From this moment Nature became a favourite, for he saw from Wordsworth what capital could be made out of such a theme; and 'description' being, as he himself boasted, 'his forte,' delineations of Nature fill thenceforward a very wide space in his poetry. Of their power and beauty there can be no question, but there can be as little question of the purely rhetorical quality of much of this part of his work. Not, however, of all of it, for affectation passes at once into inspired sincerity the moment he deals with such phases of Nature as respond to his own moods. He 'loved her,' he tells us, 'best in wrath'; and in her wrath and her awe-compelling forms of sublimity and grandeur she took possession of him and made him her prophet. There is no note of falsetto, or, if there appears to be such a note, it is only in clumsiness of expression, when his themes are the falls of Velino, or the thunderstorm in the Alps, or the elemental wastes of mountain or of ocean, or the ravages of death and time.

His falsetto becomes at once apparent when, in wholesale plagiarisms from Wordsworth, he adopts Wordsworth's metaphysical philosophy; because it is quite evident that, so far from believing in it, he did not even comprehend it. He saw how happily it lent itself to effective rhetoric, but he did not see how incongruous was the essential materialism of his own conception of life and nature with conceptions as essentially transcendental. When he writes—

> 'I live not in myself, but I become
> Portion of that around me . . .
> And thus I am absorbed, and this is life.
> . . . . . .
> Are not the mountains, waves, and skies a part
> Of me and of my soul, as I of them?
> . . . . . .
> Not a beam, nor air, nor leaf is lost
> But hath a part of being, and a sense
> Of that which is of all Creator and defence'

—we instinctively feel that it is what the Greeks so happily called *parenthyrsos*.

It is in these parts of his poetry that his adaptations and appropriations from other poets are most frequent and palpable, notably from the Pseudo-Ossian, from Beattie's

'Minstrel,' from Wordsworth and Coleridge. But he often goes much further afield. It is well known that one of his favourite books was Burton's 'Anatomy of Melancholy'; and there can be little doubt that he turned passages in it to good account more than once in 'Childe Harold' (for instance, in canto II, st. XXV) in describing the pleasures and solaces of Nature.

'To walk among orchards, gardens, bowers, mounts and arbours, artificial wildernesses, green thickets, arches, groves, lawns, rivulets, fountains, and such like pleasant places . . . betwixt wood and water, in a fair meadow, by a river side . . . to disport in some pleasant plain, run up a steep hill, or sit in a shady seat, must needs be a delectable recreation.' ('Anatomy,' part ii, § ii, m. 4.)

Such parallels may, of course, be merely accidental coincidences; but there can be no doubt—and it is on this only that we wish to insist—that Byron, in describing Nature in her calmer aspects, where there was nothing to arouse passion, and in expressing sympathy with her in such aspects, invariably drew both his descriptions and his sentiments from books.

It is precisely the same with his brilliant descriptions of masterpieces in the plastic arts—the Venus de Medici, the Laocoon, the Apollo Belvidere. Now we have it on the authority of Rogers that Byron was, like Scott, without any feeling for the fine arts. In his letter to Murray, dated April 26, 1817, Byron does, indeed, express himself with some enthusiasm about what he saw in the galleries of Florence, but he observes of the Venus de Medici that it is 'more for admiration than love.' We turn to his description and find it little more than an eloquent paraphrase of the famous passage at the beginning of the first book of Lucretius, the passion-inspiring voluptuousness of the work being especially, and indeed solely, dwelt upon; while he dovetails into it a reminiscence of a passage in Young's 'Revenge' (v, ii) —a tragedy evidently well known to him, as he borrows from it more than once elsewhere:—

> 'Where hadst thou this, Enchantress? . . .
> E'en now thou swimm'st before me. . . .
> Who spread that pure expanse of white above,
> On which the dazzled sight can find no rest,
> But, drunk with beauty, wanders up and down?'

Not the 'Apollo Belvidere' itself, but Milman's fine Newdigate was plainly the model and inspiration of the magnificent description of that statue, though Byron may also have drawn, as Milman certainly did, on the description of the statue in Isaac Disraeli's 'Flim-flams' (vol. iii, cap. 44)—a work well known to Byron.

Keats, with characteristic insight, once described Byron as 'a fine thing in the worldly, theatrical, and pantomimical way'; and this description, with some modification, almost always applies to him when he attempts what he attempts, for example, in 'Manfred.' That work may indeed be taken as a comprehensive illustration both of his falsetto and of what redeems that falsetto from contempt. The drama as a whole is mere fustian, a chaotic concoction from what has been suggested by other poets, with a substratum of the impressions really made on him by the scenery of Switzerland, recorded in his journal to Mrs Leigh.

He was no doubt anxious to have it supposed that Manfred was drawn from himself, and that Manfred's crimes and remorse had their counterparts in his own; and this Goethe was induced to believe.* But beyond a generic resemblance in certain superficial qualities, Manfred has no more resemblance to Byron than he has to any other human being. He is partly a poor copy of Goethe's Faust, with touches of Æschylus's Prometheus and Milton's Satan, partly of Beattie's Edwin and Shelley's Alastor, partly of Schiller's Moor in 'Die Räuber,' to which Byron had access either in a French version or in the English translation of 1795,† partly of Southey's Ladurlad when under the curse, and partly of Mrs Radcliffe's Schedoni and Ahasuerus.

And as is the protagonist—a thing of shreds and patches—such is the whole drama. Resolved into its constituent parts, the opening scene, the machinery of Spirits, the incantation, the scenes with the Chamois Hunter, the soliloquies and their surroundings, the intervention of the Abbot, and Manfred's relations with him—

* See his letter to Knebel, October 1817.

† In the journal to Mrs Leigh ('Letters and Journals,' iii, 356) he speaks of reading 'a French translation of Schiller.' The reminiscences of William Tell in 'Manfred' are obvious; and this, and not 'The Robbers,' may be what he refers to.

there is no portion of it which cannot be traced to pre-existing poems or fictions. The drama has neither unity, soul, nor motive. Indeed it is part of the falsetto that for intelligible motive is substituted juggling mystification, just as we find in 'Lara.' But as is usual with Byron's falsetto, the vigour of the rhetoric in the descriptions and soliloquies half disguises it. Every one must be arrested by the eloquence of the soliloquy which opens the second scene of the first act, by the impassioned appeal to Astarte, and by the impressive picture of the Coliseum. What is true of 'Manfred' is true of the other 'metaphysical' dramas. Byron was no philosopher, and in all these works he illustrates what Goethe so truly said of him, that so soon as he began to reflect he was a child.

It is when we compare these works with 'The Vision of Judgment' and 'Don Juan,' and with such poems and such passages in poems as found their inspiration in what sincerely moved him, that we measure the distance between Byron the rhetorician and Byron the poet, between degrees of talent and the pure accent of genius. A large proportion, perhaps two thirds, of Byron's poetry resolves itself into the work of an extraordinarily gifted craftsman, with a rhetorical talent as brilliant and plastic as Dryden's, working on the material furnished by an unusually wide experience of life, by sleepless observation, and by a marvellously assimilative and retentive memory, incessantly if desultorily adding to its stores. No English poet, not Milton, not Gray, not Tennyson, owed more to reading than Byron, or had a mind more saturated with acquired knowledge. It is on this aspect of his work that a review of his collected writings, now for the first time furnished with notes and commentaries, might with propriety be expected to dwell; and it is on this aspect of them, therefore, that we have principally dwelt.

But let us not mistake. Whatever deduction may result from discrimination between what is original and what is derivative, between what is sound and excellent and what is unsound or of inferior quality in Byron's work, the truth remains that he occupies, and for ever must occupy, a place of extraordinary distinction in our literature. Shakespeare excepted, his versatility is without parallel among English poets. There is scarcely any

form or phase open to the poetic art which was not attempted by him, or any theme capable of poetic treatment which he did not handle. There is not a note characteristic of the poetry of the eighteenth century, or of the early nineteenth century, which he does not strike. He was the disciple of Dryden and Pope; he was the disciple of Shenstone and Gray, of Beattie and the Pseudo-Ossian; he was the disciple of Scott and Wordsworth. He drew largely on Æschylus and Milton; he drew largely on the Old Testament. He identified himself with Dante, and, catching his inspiration, has enriched our literature with a poem worthily recalling much of what is most moving and most noble in the 'Divine Comedy.' With equal facility and success his marvellously plastic genius assimilated also that species of poetry which lies at the opposite extreme of Italian art; and the mock-heroic of the Pulci, of Ariosto, and of Casti will, in point of humour and pathos, of wit and eloquence, bear no comparison with that of their English imitator. In the dramas generally, but more particularly in the historical dramas, the influence of Alfieri is plainly perceptible. Nor was it in England and Italy only that he sought for inspiration and models.

But if Byron's versatility is illustrated by the heterogeneity of the sources of his works, it is illustrated still more strikingly by those works themselves. Since Shakespeare, as Scott justly observes, no English poet has shown himself so great a master in the essentials of comedy and in the essentials of tragedy. In his comedy, it is true, there is no refinement, no geniality, and much that is brutal and gross; in his tragedy large deductions have to be made for insincerity and falsetto. But all that comedy, at least in its less refined, all that tragedy, at least in its less exalted, aspects can excite, will be for ever at the command of a master whose name instantly calls up 'Beppo,' 'The Vision of Judgment,' the first, thirteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth cantos of 'Don Juan,' many passages in the earlier narratives and Eastern tales, 'The Prisoner of Chillon,' the episodes of the shipwreck, and the death of Haidee.

His range in composition is indeed extraordinary. He was a brilliant disciple of the school of Pope in 'English Bards and Scotch Reviewers,' and in the 'Hints

from Horace'; the superior of Scott in a species of poetry peculiarly characteristic of the modern romantic school, in which, till his appearance, Scott reigned alone; the originator, in 'The Corsair,' 'Lara,' and the Oriental tales, of a new species of epic; the originator, in 'Cain' and in 'Heaven and Earth,' of a new and most striking species of drama, and in 'Manfred' of a species which had, with the exception of a work unknown to him, Marlowe's 'Faustus,' no prototype or counterpart in our literature. 'Sardanapalus,' to say nothing of 'Marino Faliero' and 'The Two Foscari,' may be below contempt as a drama, but it is a splendid exhibition of dramatic rhetoric. As satire in mock-heroic, 'The Vision of Judgment' has neither equal nor second in European literature. Inferior in quality as his lyric poetry is to that of many of his predecessors, and to that of many more of his contemporaries and successors, it would be impossible to name any poet in our language out of whose work an anthology so splendid and multiform could be compiled.

To pass to his masterpieces; 'Childe Harold' and 'Don Juan,' regarded comprehensively, are perhaps the two most brilliant achievements in the poetry of the world, and they are achievements which have nothing in common. Each moves in a sphere of its own, as each exhibits powers differing not in degree merely, but in kind. 'Childe Harold' is a superb triumph partly of pure rhetoric and partly of rhetoric touched with inspired enthusiasm. In 'Don Juan' we are in another world and under the spell of another genius. The sentimentalist has passed into the cynic, the moralist into the mocker. We are no longer in the temples and palaces of poetry, but in its profane places and meaner habitations. The theme now is not Nature in her glory, but humanity in its squalor; not the world as God made it, but as the devil rules it. For the series of splendid pageants, for the raptures and sublimities of its predecessor, has been substituted, in broad, free fresco, the tragic farce into which man's lusts and lawlessness, madness and follies, have perverted life. It was into this mock-heroic that Byron, disengaging himself from all that vanity had induced him to affect, and from all that his cleverness and command of rhetoric had enabled him to assume, poured out his powers in sheer and abso-

lute sincerity — the Titanism which was of the very essence of his genius, the scorn and mockery, the wit, the persiflage, the irony, 'the sense of tears in human things,' the brutal appetites, the more refined affections which still held him under their sway.

'Don Juan' is admirable alike in conception, in range, in expression. To give unity to a work which blends all that amuses and entertains us in 'Lazarillo de Tormes,' 'Gil Blas,' the 'Novelle Amorose,' and Horace Walpole's 'Letters,' much of what impresses and charms us in the 'Odyssey' and the 'Æneid,' which has all the cynicism of La Rochefoucauld and Swift, all the callous levity of the worst school of our comedy, and yet subdues us with a pathos which has now the note of Ecclesiastes and now the note of Catullus—this indeed required a master-hand. The unity of the poem is the unity impressed on it by truth, by truth to nature and truth to life, for Byron in writing it did but hold up the mirror to himself and his own experiences.

'What an antithetical mind!' (he himself wrote after reading certain letters of Burns)—'tenderness, roughness, delicacy, coarseness, sentiment, sensuality, soaring and grovelling, dirt and deity, all mixed up in that one compound of inspired clay.'

Such in fact was Byron himself, and such is this poem, the glory and the shame of our poetry. But if much is to be forgiven to one who loves greatly, something may be forgiven to one who hates rightly. The justification of 'Don Juan' is its ruthless exposure of some of the most despicable characteristics of the English people: the ubiquity of hypocrisy, the ubiquity of cant; immorality masking as morality, and ceremony as religion, for the vilest purposes, the one to make capital out of the frailties and lapses of those who are at least sincere, the other as a means for dignifying almost every form which moral cowardice and moral vanity can assume.

In its execution 'Don Juan' deserves all the praise which Byron's most extravagant admirers have heaped on it. Never was our language so completely clay in the artist's hands. Whatever he has to express seems to embody itself spontaneously in the complicated form of verse which he has chosen. With a skill and ease which,

in our literature at least, are unrivalled, he has blended every extreme in nature and life, in style and tone, without producing the effect either of incongruity or even of impropriety. 'Don Juan' has little enough in common with the 'Odyssey,' and yet in some respects it recalls it. In both poems the similitude which at once suggests itself is the element so closely associated with the action of both—the sea. A freshness, a breeziness, a pungency as of the brine-laden air of beach or cliff seems to pervade it. Over the spacious expanse of its narrative, teeming with life and in ever-changing play, now in storm and now in calm, roll and break, wave after wave in endless succession, the incomparable stanzas on whose lilt and rush we are swept along.

The importance of Byron in English poetry is not to be estimated by ordinary critical tests; it is not by its quality that his work is to be judged. The application of perfectly legitimate criteria to his poetry would justify us in questioning whether he could be held to stand high even among the 'Dii minores' of his art; it would certainly result in assigning him a place very much below Wordsworth and Shelley, and even below Keats. Of many, nay, of most of the qualities essential in a poet of a high order, there is no indication in anything he has left us. Of spiritual insight he has nothing; of morality and the becoming, except in their coarser aspects, he has no sense. If the beautiful appealed to him, it appealed to him only in its material expression and sentimentally as it affected the passions. Of no poet could it be said with so much truth—and how much does that truth imply!—that he had not 'music in his soul.' Turn where we will in his work, there is no repose, no harmony; all is without balance, without measure, and, if we except 'Don Juan,' without unity. At his worst he sinks below Peter Pindar; at his best his accent is never that of the greatest masters. A certain ingrained coarseness, both in taste and feeling, which became more emphasised as his powers matured, not only made him insensible of much which appeals to the poet as distinguished from the rhetorician, but is accountable for the jarring notes, the lapses into grossness, and the banalities which so often surprise and distress us in his poetry.

As an artist, his defects are equally conspicuous. In architectonic he is as deficient as Tennyson. 'Childe Harold' and 'Don Juan,' as well as his minor narratives, simply resolve themselves into a series of pageants or episodes. No eminent English poet, with the exception of Browning, had so bad an ear. His cacophanies are often horrible; his blank-verse is generally indistinguishable from prose; and his rhythm in rhymed verse is without delicacy and full of discords. Every solecism in grammar, every violation of syntax and of propriety of expression, might be illustrated from his diction and style. Nor is this all. His claim to originality can only be conceded with much modification in its important aspects, and with very much more modification in the less important.

These are large deductions to make; and yet Goethe placed Byron next to Shakespeare among the English poets; and in fame and popularity, by the consentient testimony of every nation in Europe, next to Shakespeare among Shakespeare's countrymen, he still stands. Such a verdict it is much more easy to understand than to justify. To his countrymen Byron's flaws and limitations will always be more perceptible and important than they will be to the people of the Continent; while, in all that appeals to humanity at large, his work will come more nearly home on the other side of the Channel than that of any other English poet except Shakespeare; and necessarily so. Byron's poetry originally was not so much an appeal to England as to Europe. His themes, his characters, his inspiration, his politics, his morals, were all derived from the Continent or from the East. England was little more than the incarnation of everything against which he reacted, at first with contempt and then in fury. The trumpet-voice of the world of the Revolution and of the revolt against the principles of the Holy Alliance, it was on the Continent that he found most response. And there indeed he can never cease to be popular. The laureate of its scenery, the rhapsodist of its traditions, the student and painter of almost every phase of its many-sided life, the poet of the passions which burn with fiercer fire in the South than in the colder regions of the North, he neither has nor is likely to have, with the single exception of Shakespeare, an English rival across the Channel.

The greatness of Byron lies in the immense body and mass of the work which he has informed and infused with life, in his almost unparalleled versatility, in the power and range of his influential achievement. Youth and mature age are alike his debtors. There is not a passion, scarcely an emotion, scarcely a mood, to which he does not appeal, and to which he has not given expression. Of almost every side of life, of almost every phase of human activity, he has left us studies more or less brilliant. He had, in extraordinary measure, nearly every gift, intellectually speaking, which man can possess, from mere cleverness to inspired genius; and there was hardly any species of composition which he did not more or less successfully attempt. As Goethe and Wordsworth were the Olympians, so he was the Titan of the stormy and chaotic age in which he lived; and his most authentic poetry is typical of his temper and attitude. He has impressed on our literature the stamp of a most fascinating and commanding personality, and on the literature of every nation in Europe he has exercised an influence to which no other British writer except Shakespeare has even approximated. Such is the intrinsic power and attraction of a great part of his poetry that he will always be a favourite—if not in the first rank of their favourites—with his countrymen; and, although no purely critical estimate would place him on a level with at least five, if not more, of our poets, yet it must be admitted that, next to Shakespeare, he would probably be most widely missed.

J. C. COLLINS.

Art VI.—TWO GREAT CHURCHMEN.

1. *Life and Letters of Mandell Creighton, D.D., sometime Bishop of London.* By his Wife. Two vols. London: Longmans, 1904.
2. *Life and Letters of Henry Parry Liddon, D.D.* By John Octavius Johnston, M.A. London: Longmans, 1904.

By a coincidence, which is none the less impressive because manifestly undesigned, the biographies of two great churchmen have been published almost simultaneously. One was undoubtedly the greatest preacher of his age, a scholar, a divine, a saint, and essentially a priest; the other, if not the greatest prelate, was at any rate a man who, for variety of gifts, moral and intellectual, and for versatility in their application to the service of God and man, has rarely had his equal on the episcopal bench. The lives of these two men were as unlike as their natures. We shall institute no direct comparison between them. Their country and their Church are the richer for the memory and the example of both. It would be easy, and yet quite unjust, to say that, from one point of view, the one was a saint and the other a worldling. It would be quite as easy, and equally unjust, to say that, from another point of view, the one was above all things a man and the other above all things a priest. These are the superficial contrasts which naturally occur to any one according as he is more in sympathy with the one type of character or with the other. But they do not go to the root of the matter. Perhaps the root is not to be discovered. The priesthood which absorbs manhood is one type of human character, and, comparatively speaking, a common one; the manhood which transcends priesthood is another and a much rarer one. The category which includes and reconciles both has yet to be framed. Liddon's philosophy affords no clue. Creighton's would fain seek, though he never may find it.

'I admire Jowett's sermons,' he says in one of his letters. 'I admire Liddon's, but I cannot say of either of them as their admirers do, "Lo, here is the whole truth, there is nothing else." Both of them embody part of the truth,

neither of them is universal. You know my bane is hankering after a universal system; I cannot be content speculatively, though I am practically quite easily, with the best that I can see; hence my constant inconsistencies. I take what I can get, but I cannot lose myself in that and say "That is all"' (i. 122).

matter, perhaps, but it is got, or than those who ver likely to get.
nen are not more sharply of their respective bio- is the life of a priest ed, whose religious ideals f Liddon himself, who is siastical and theological at literary labour of his nd completed it after his e qualifications. Never- within the priest, of the rated personality which m-room with sweetness ıo came into social con- d on Mr Johnston's own with delicate sympathy volume by Mr Sampson, n a final appreciation of ıston is indebted to the xford. But these appre- ıot inadequate in them- the texture of the bio- ıd apart, and the main ıger, combative, uncom- are many, perhaps, by will be held to be appro- evitable. If such there rs. Great indeed is the lpit oratory; and in this ercised over men's minds and feelings by rhetoric such as his, by a pure and lofty character clothing its religious emotions in the guise of a logic uncompromising and to all seeming irresistible, Liddon had no rival; but he would never have been the great force that he was if he had not been something

more than the polemical preacher and priest whom Mr Johnston delineates.

The biography of Creighton pursues a very different and a much more difficult method. It aims at nothing less than presenting the complete portrait of a man, and in that arduous enterprise—seldom more arduous than in the case of such a man as Creighton was—it achieves a very large measure of success. 'There are many who think,' says Mrs Creighton in her preface, 'that a man's life should never be written by one very near to him, and least of all by his wife.' The opinion is a common one; and the rule it embodies is one to which there are not likely to be many exceptions. Biography is at all times one of the most difficult of literary undertakings. It demands on the ethical side a combination of sympathy with detachment; on the literary side a sense of proportion, a gift of composition, and a grace of presentation and expression such as are rarely united with the power of self-effacement which is necessary to give the subject due prominence and to keep the writer in the background. It is easy to see that a wife or a near relative is rarely likely to combine all these qualifications. Very often such biographers are without any of them. They may have the requisite knowledge, as Mrs Creighton justly claims for herself, but they have no power of using it. In such cases the rule unquestionably holds good. But such exceptions as there are must needs be brilliant exceptions, for where the requisite knowledge goes hand in hand with the other and far higher qualifications needed in a biographer, no one is more likely to combine them with greater skill and success than a man's wife. Mrs Creighton is assuredly one of these exceptions.

It will be seen from what we have said that the biographies of Creighton and of Liddon are in no sense *in pari materia*. They admit of no common measure, being in truth as incommensurate and heterogeneous as the two men themselves. We have used them to point a contrast which is obvious, but it would not be profitable, and it would be invidious, to institute an elaborate comparison between them. It might be easy to show from Liddon's biography how the exaltation of the priestly office tends to the weakening of the more virile fibres of character; how the stern and unbending logic of the

dogmatic theologian results in a dialectic which has no message for the unconverted. From this we might deduce an explanation of Liddon's really astonishing and almost abject submission to Dr Pusey; of his mental agony over such matters as the Jerusalem bishopric, and the mild concessions to the spirit of historical criticism made by the authors and the editor of 'Lux Mundi'; of his painful searchings of heart whenever the whisper came within his hearing of his possible elevation to a higher position in the Church. But we are not concerned with an analysis of Liddon's personality and character on the present occasion. His biography has served our purpose in the comparison which it cannot but suggest in the circumstances. Yet, except in detail, it adds little to what we knew before. It is not like the biography of Creighton, a revelation and an explanation of much which, to all but those who were nearest and dearest to him, was far withdrawn if not unsuspected, and by every one else was misinterpreted if not entirely misunderstood. For that reason we shall devote the remainder of this article to the consideration of Creighton's biography alone, and principally of those more intimate parts of it which were not accessible when we attempted to appreciate the Bishop's character shortly after his death ('Quarterly Review,' April 1901).

Throughout his life the characteristic of Creighton which most impressed the superficial observer was his astonishing intellectual power—the grasp, reach, and penetration of his mind. No one could come in contact with him at any time of his life without recognising his intellectual superiority to at least nine tenths of the men he had ever known. The late Archbishop of Canterbury —no prodigal of eulogy—said of him, 'For sheer cleverness Creighton beats any man I know.' Those who knew him in his earlier days at school or at college, or afterwards at Embleton, at Cambridge, at Worcester, or at Peterborough, would have said the same thing. What he was at the last, that he was essentially from the very first. There was progress and development, of course, there was assiduous cultivation and maturing of his native powers, but there was no organic change. 'The Merton undergraduate,' says Mrs Creighton, 'was in all essential respects the same man as the Bishop of London,' and

what the Bishop of London was we may learn from Lord Rosebery, another man who is not lavish of eulogy nor unmeasured in its expression. He was 'perhaps the most alert and universal intelligence that existed in this island at the time of his death.' But mere intellectual power, however great and commanding, however alert and universal, does not make the man that Creighton was. What else was there? That is the question which his career answered in a sense, and which his biography answers in a fuller sense, though there were many of his contemporaries who were never able to answer it at all. There were always some who thought that there was nothing else, that Creighton was merely an immensely clever man, clever enough, indeed, to occupy any position, but with no settled convictions, flippant, and fond of epigram, ready to argue with equal brilliancy and equal indifference on any side of any subject, and not ashamed to employ his cleverness as a cloak for his lack of earnestness and sincerity. Well that is a view of his character which casual and outside observers, with little insight and not much charity, might be excused for entertaining. Creighton 'never wore his spiritual heart on his sleeve,' says a friend and contemporary of his early Oxford days, 'and for this reason many thought he had none to wear.' It is certain that he was often flippant, and always fond of epigram and even of paradox. Perhaps at all times he had too little regard for the weaker brethren who would answer the question, 'ridentem dicere verum quid vetat?' with a solemn frown. So again he often did talk so freely on every side of a subject as to encourage a suspicion that he neither knew nor cared on which side of it the truth lay, nor what relation it bore, if any, to his own opinions and convictions. But all this is explained by Mrs Creighton in a very illuminating passage:—

'This reserve as regards his real opinions, combined with his enjoyment of paradox and an inclination to what seemed to many flippancy in speech, led to his being much misunderstood. . . . Few recognised that, a true Cumbrian at bottom, he was fundamentally then, as always, a man of profound and proud reserve. His easy sympathetic sociability, his humour and his ready powers of expression, absolutely disguised this fundamental reserve. . . . I think that one reason

why he was often misunderstood, both then and in after-life, was that he never troubled about what people thought of him. He was absolutely unselfconscious, and had that kind of simplicity, produced by a want of selfconsciousness, with which no one ever credits a clever man, and which sometimes leads to his being called egotistical. He was too much interested and amused by the subject he was discussing, the ideas he was playing with, to consider whether he was shocking his hearers or not. If anything humorous occurred to him it had to come out; he did not stop to ask himself whether it might be misunderstood. But it is certain that he puzzled people' (i, 55, 56).

This passage goes far to explain why, as one of his friends records, 'no man of his time was so constantly, so freely, and so variously canvassed, not always favourably, but invariably as a rare and strange portent not to be readily classified in any familiar category of human nature'; and why at the shooting-lodge of one of his friends in Scotland it was proposed in fun to levy a fine on any one who mentioned his name. It explains why he was almost inevitably misunderstood by all who had never caught a glimpse of his inner and deeper nature. The secrets of his heart and soul were closely guarded and yet carelessly withal; for, though he was reserved by nature, he was also by nature too simple, too sincere, too inflexibly honest with himself and others, too incapable of intellectual posing, to cultivate reserve as a cloak. Probably he thought that what was so transparent to himself could not be so impenetrable to others as in most cases it undoubtedly was. He generally saw deeper into other people's natures than most of them had ever seen themselves, and no doubt he imputed his own penetration to others. He could have told many of them much that it would have profited them to know; but his reserve kept him silent unless he had a clear call to speak. Thus what he saw so clearly in others, namely, the depths and the limitations of their nature, he expected others to see not less clearly in himself, and probably believed that they did so.

There were some indeed who never misunderstood him. Those were they to whom circumstances and sympathy had early afforded an insight into the deeper secrets of his heart and soul—who knew him to be as good as

he was clever, as wise as he was witty, as inflexibly loyal to his own deepest convictions as he was tolerant of all opinions, and ready to discuss them with a freedom so unrestrained as to suggest absolute indifference. Yet where this insight was lacking he must inevitably have seemed, as he did seem to many, to be a paradox incarnate, just one of those men who are clever enough for anything, and not good enough to refrain from being that which they never ought to be. He knew very well that this was the way in which many people regarded him; and it was characteristic of him that he never took the trouble to undeceive them.

For instance, many who either did not know him or could not divine him were surprised when he took orders. To those who did know him it would have been a much greater surprise if he had done anything else. He was predestined for active service in the Church. We know now, what few suspected in his lifetime, that he had his *Wanderjahre*, a period of spiritual storm and stress through which he had to pass before he could attain to that permanent self, as he phrased it, to that sure outlook on life and his relation to it which was ever afterwards the mainspring of all he thought and did. But the crisis was moral rather than intellectual; and it does not appear that he was ever very seriously troubled by those speculative difficulties which, during the period from 1860 to 1880, made it impossible for so many of the ablest young men in Oxford either to take orders or even to accept the Christian faith in any form then regarded as orthodox. His early faith in the unseen was never shaken to its foundations as it was in so many of his contemporaries. In the outcome, he reached the conviction that there was no explanation of the riddle of the painful earth so satisfying or so convincing withal as that which Christianity affords; that in fact the highest aspirations of the human soul are essentially at one with the fundamental tenets of the Christian faith, since both are complementary manifestations of the divine will and purpose. In other words, he approached the Christian faith rather from the ethical than from the speculative side; or, to put it in the language of the schools, he held with Kant that in this order of ideas the practical reason is the complement and correction of the pure reason.

There may be many who can find no rest for their souls in such an attitude as this; but no man is entitled to impute intellectual dishonesty, still less moral obliquity, to those who can. Anyhow his resolve to take orders was early formed and never seriously shaken.

'He told me' (says Mrs Creighton) 'that this had always been his intention from boyhood, and his schoolfellows record the fact that the resolution was already taken when he was at school. Home influence was not in its favour. . . . The decision appears to have been entirely the boy's own, uninfluenced by any one from without' (i, 10).

It was inherent in his character and in his way of looking at life. That we can see plainly enough from what he called his 'pastoral,' a long letter written a year or more after he left school, to a friend who had succeeded him as head of the school, 'on the duties of the monitors and the best way of fulfilling them.' There is no cant about this pastoral, not a trace of priggishness or self-righteousness, and it makes very little direct appeal to religious motives and sanctions.

'And now, if you ask me *how* you are to do all this, I am sure you will all feel where the best help is to be found; also you will find a frequent attendance at the Holy Communion a very great assistance to you indeed' (i, 14).

That is all, but it is enough. Religion is the root of the matter, and it bears fruit in a passion for right conduct and a keen sense of responsibility.

'A monitor's duty, then, is to try and benefit the school in every way he can, especially morally; a schoolboy can do nothing, of course, for the teaching of his fellows, but he *can* do everything for their moral good. You monitors have now before you a chance, which you never can have again, of benefiting or injuring (for if you do not do one you *must* do the other) very many of your fellows. Boys are very easily turned and guided: a kind look, a kind word, a piece of advice from one of you may, humanly speaking, be the means of determining for good the course of many a boy's life; a few words of advice may often be the turning-point to a boy hard-pressed by temptations. One never feels this enough at the time; one never knows, or, at any rate, never recognises

enough, that every glance of our eye is either a blessing or a curse to every one on whom it falls. It is a very serious responsibility which you have taken upon yourselves; if any of you has not as yet regarded it in any more serious light than a matter of course, which happens to any fellow who gets near the head of the school, let me beg of him to think some more this very night' (i, 11).

A youth who could write thus at the age of twenty was manifestly predestined for the pastoral office, unless, indeed, he made shipwreck of the faith that inspired and sustained him; and that assuredly Creighton never did, though we know now that his spiritual life was not at all times serene and undisturbed by storms. His was the 'anima naturaliter christiana' no doubt. But there came a time to him, as it comes to all pure, strong, and eager souls, when his traditional beliefs had to be brought under the law of reason, when what his soul rejoiced in his intellect had to confirm. The struggle was, by his own confession, a severe one; but we know that its issue left unshaken the moral foundations of his being and the intellectual superstructure of his faith. The only record of it is to be found in that intimate correspondence with his wife before their marriage which Mrs Creighton, with rare candour and courage, and yet with perfect discretion, has given to the world in the biography. Elsewhere there is little or no trace of it. That is a battle which the soul of true nobility fights for itself and alone; and when it has been fought and won the experience of the conflict is too intimate and painful, and too exclusively personal withal, for its revelation to be either profitable or becoming. Confessions of this sort were repugnant to Creighton's whole theory of life. His spiritual nature was too robust and, at the same time, too reserved for him to set much store by the familiar interchange of what are called religious experiences. Religion with him was not a garment to be held up and displayed as though to make sure that it was of the regulation pattern. It was the immediate vesture of his soul, painfully fashioned by a travail of which none but himself could know the bitterness. He would help others to fashion a like vesture for themselves in like manner; but, as no two souls are the same either in their nature, their trials, or their individual needs, he knew that the agony of the conflict must

be endured and the peace of victory attained by themselves alone. All this he puts very plainly in one of those wonderful letters:—

'I notice that many young men who have got to rational beliefs (I must plead guilty to this crime myself sometimes) very often dwell more in conversation on the traditions they have abandoned than on the truths they have attained. That is natural, because the traditions stand out clear, they have rationally abolished them, and they think them noxious; but the truths they have got they hold in an individual form. It is hard to give them a general expression; to put them before another without giving a false impression, or else becoming more personally serious than ordinary society admits of: moreover their system has been built up upon their own moral nature, and to explain it requires immense confessions' (i, 112).

There we have the now open secret of Creighton's spiritual life. A little more light is thrown on it by a few other passages in the same series of letters; and two further extracts may here be given:—

'Either the world moves according to certain laws or it moves by chance. Mankind, on gazing round the world, has always observed certain great laws regulating great phenomena; these he has called laws of nature in the present day; and the question between different kinds of thinkers at the present day is whether by "Nature" we mean a hard, stern, inexorable fate, or a wise and bountiful Providence. I don't see how one is to split the difference; one or other must be the case. I happen to prefer the latter hypothesis, perhaps from cowardice, perhaps from conviction . . . but mainly, I think, because it is the only thing that makes life at all possible to me. . . . Having got one's Providence, I see clearly in history how mankind has worked under its direction always in the way of progress; I see that progress has always been that of the universal humanity, not of the individual man; consequently I don't object, from this point of view, to anything that befalls me. . . . The laws that regulate the moral world exist as much as those of the physical. . . . The Divine government of the world no more requires "personal interference" than it does perpetual miracles. The laws of nature are standing miracles; the laws of human conduct may be equally gathered and obeyed, and, when perceived, are just as much regulated by God, and calling for our trust in Him, as anything can be.

There is to me no halfway house—either God rules the world, in which case He rules you and me, not directly by special revelations, but indirectly by His mighty laws, which we can obey if we will; or He does not, in which case let us get married to-morrow, draw out of my banker's all the money I can find, go abroad, live happily till the money is spent, and then choke ourselves with charcoal. . . . I am not in favour of milk-and-water heresies, let us have strong ones, if any; I hate feebleness' (i, 110–112).

That is a noble and a stern philosophy of life, even though it may shock the reason of some and sear the soul of others. It rises to a higher level in another passage, which is perhaps the most self-revealing that Creighton ever wrote:—

'I am amused at ——'s remark about the easy life I have led. If I were to write an autobiography, the reader would hardly say so. My life seems easy now because my main lines are clear, because I know what I mean. There is a magnificent passage in Dante, in canto xxvii of the "Purgatorio," at the end, where Virgil bids adieu to Dante and gives his final charges. Virgil (symbolising man's reason), sent by Beatrice (i.e. enlightened by God's grace), has led Dante through the Inferno (has shown him the exceeding sinfulness of sin), through the Purgatorio (has shown him the way of repentance and self-purification), and now, at the entrance of the Earthly Paradise, bids him go on his way in all peace and confidence. Read and meditate the whole passage; it is not an instruction to Dante for his behaviour in the Heavenly Paradise, but the Earthly, it is the rule of the good man's happiness here. I ponder over its grandeur and sublimity and wonder if it can be true.

'"Thy will henceforth is upright, free, and sound;
To slight its impulse were a sin—then be
Lord of thyself, be mitred, and be crowned."'*

It was his intensely moral nature then, and the imperative need for its full development and satisfaction, that impelled Creighton to undertake the pastoral office. It is true that his fellowship at Merton was one to which

* Life, i, 115. In the original:

'Libero, dritto, e sano è tuo arbitrio,
E fallo fora non fare a suo senno;
Perch' io te sopra te corono e mitrio.'

the obligation of taking orders was attached. But he accepted it because he intended to take orders; he did not take orders for the purpose of retaining it. Of that he was absolutely incapable, although the intellectual temper of Oxford was so little tolerant at the time of clerical fellowships and clerical fellows that many were fain to believe it was exactly what he did. He told his wife, shortly after their engagement, that it was the habit in Oxford to assume that a man who took orders must be either a fool or a knave, and that, as people could not call him a fool, they had concluded that he must be a knave. 'But,' she adds 'he never then or at any subsequent time troubled to explain himself; he went his way and lived his life, and left that to speak for him.' It did speak for him to those who knew its language; and, now that he is gone, it speaks for him more powerfully and more clearly than ever. Not that he exalted or coveted the pastoral office as such. He would have been content, and, had he had his own way, he would perhaps have chosen, to remain a college tutor until his pre-eminent intellectual gifts had seated him in some professorial chair. But the Christian ministry was the natural expression of his moral nature and aspirations.

It has been said that he coveted influence. On a former occasion we quoted the opinion of an old friend to this effect. 'Nothing came up so often as a pet idea of his about "influence."' The fidelity of the record is not to be disputed, but it would seem to apply only to an early and passing phase of Creighton's intellectual and moral development. There is his 'pastoral,' no doubt, but it seems to us to imply, not so much a craving for influence at large, as the conscientious discharge of what he regarded as a specific moral obligation.

It is very significant in this regard that during his school days he accidently discovered that he had considerable powers as a mesmerist. For the amusement of his school-fellows he practised these powers for a time, but recognising the danger of the gift he soon refrained from its exercise altogether and never employed it again. It would seem that in after years he abandoned in like manner, and perhaps for the same reason, that 'pet idea of his about influence,' of which his old college friend spoke. He had been a decided High-churchman in his under-

graduate days, but, as a fellow and tutor of his college, 'he no longer retained the extreme High Church views which he had held as an undergraduate.' With the casting off of these views there probably sloughed away from him at the same time, never to reappear, every trace of that undue hankering after influence which is a familiar note of the sacerdotal temper.

Certainly in his maturer years no man was less covetous of influence in this sense than he was. It was utterly opposed to his passionate respect for the inalienable freedom of the individual soul. He writes in 1871:—

'I have seen that one can really do no good by interference, that everybody must fight out his own battles. All one can do is to watch the conflict and be ready to cheer the combatant when weary. . . . Each person's character must be formed by his conflict and by that only. I twaddle on, for I feel my conflict is in its main battle over: my character is made, such as it is. I have not now the daily hand-to-hand fight, merely the skirmishing on the outposts. . . . I seem to know what the whole thing means' (i, 116).

That is not the temper of a man who wants to help others by influence to avoid the conflict which has been his own salvation and must be theirs. Ever 'ready to cheer the combatant when weary,' he will, if duty bids or affection calls, help him to fight his battle to a finish; but he will not help him to avoid it. 'It's no good saying to the panting, struggling creature, "How hard it is for you to have to fight the battle."' Sacerdotal influence is as utterly alien to a man in this mood as any other of the arts of the Jesuit. It is the mood of a man, of a true soldier of the Master he had found and acknowledged, not of a server of tables.

We have spoken of Mrs Creighton's courage and candour in giving to the world so many extracts from Creighton's letters written to herself during their engagement. There is much more to be said about the letters themselves. They are by no means love-letters in the ordinary acceptation of the term. Very likely there was plenty of love-making in them as originally written; but, if so, Mrs Creighton, as was only to be expected, has wisely suppressed all that. What she has left is a human document of quite capital importance and quite universal

interest, a very touchstone, to those who read ever so little between the lines, of spiritual insight and ethical penetration, the inner history of a soul and its conflicts, heightened in its expression and strengthened in its outcome by the sanctifying and redeeming influence of a pure and perfect love. Nothing but that could have drawn forth these 'immense confessions'—the phrase is his own—from a nature so reserved as his. 'It does not do,' he writes in one letter, 'to have the human soul upon the dissecting board always or even often.' For this reason he regards Rousseau's 'Confessions' as 'the most loathsome book he ever read.' But 'love is enough,' and so he found it, enough to lay bare the deepest springs of his being, but still to the eyes of love alone. That indeed is what differentiates these confessions, as we have called them, from all other confessions with which it might be tempting to compare them. There is no sort of posing in them. They were not written for publication.

We have seen, though only, perhaps, as in a glass darkly, what was the nature of the conflict. We know from his own words (i, 110) that it was love that completed the victory.

'You know I believe in a period in the development of character when the mind turns from unrest to rest. I am becoming dimly conscious of the immense influence you have had upon me in that way. I was struggling blindly in that direction, striving to attain an absolute self instead of a phenomenal one, quite conscious of the necessity of doing so, and trying to bridge over my conscious defect by cultivating a habit of self-assertion which you recognised in me when you first saw me, and so I was an enigma to those around me and was regarded as a "talker of paradoxes." In you all things have become new. I have emerged out of that. In all chief matters I more clearly see what I am, what I can do.'

Thus there were two stages in the making of Creighton's soul. The first was the period of unrest and conflict, of the 'transition from traditional to rational beliefs,' when he became an enigma to himself and others. This was followed by victory and the recovery of tranquillity. 'I feel my conflict in its main battle is over, my character is made, such as it is. . . . A reinforcement from you enabled me to win a decisive victory.' From the date of that victory Creighton's character was fixed and

his soul was made. There was no further organic change, though there was unceasing growth of the permanent self in the soil fertilised by his travail. He had found, once for all, the truth which responded to his spiritual needs; and the truth had made him free.

> 'Libero, dritto, e sano è tuo arbitrio,
> E fallo fora non fare a suo senno.'

But it was not in Dante that he found the peace that he sought. It was Goethe that gave him the clue which finally led to his deliverance. That clue was *Entsagung*, as Creighton understood and interpreted it.

'It is a word' (he says) 'which I dare say Goethe uses only casually, if at all, and which Lewes uses to denote briefly a general point of view. The word merely means, I apprehend, "renunciation," and is merely a right way of regarding that which everybody has practically to regard, phrase it as he will, the fact that we cannot in life get everything we want, that our ideal is considerably higher than what we really attain.' *

That is what he got from Goethe; but he made a great deal more of it for himself. He developed it, we will not say into a complete philosophy of life, but into a large regulative principle which enabled him to realise his permanent if not his absolute self.

'I wish you would study Goethe more and grasp his doctrine of *Entsagung*, the doctrine that morality consists in the consciousness of self, and that freedom and content are to be obtained only by the recognition of one's limits, and by self-identification with them; so that what first appears as an iron barrier set before us by remorseless destiny is, by the mere process of its moral recognition, transformed into an internal precept for our moral guidance, becomes a help rather than a hindrance, for it makes life more definite and its problem more soluble' (i, 106).

It is a hard saying, no doubt, and to many, perhaps, it will seem unsatisfying, inadequate, even contradictory.

* Life, i, 108, 109. It is all implicit, perhaps, in the concluding lines of Goethe's sonnet, 'Natur und Kunst':—

> 'Wer Grosses will, muss sich zusammenraffen:
> In der Beschränkung zeigt sich erst der Meister
> Und das Gesetz nur kann uns Freiheit geben.'

Yet perchance Browning meant the same thing when he wrote—

> 'Love, we are in God's hand.
> How strange now looks the life He makes us lead!
> So free we seem, so fettered fast we are!
> I feel He laid the fetter: let it lie!'

Creighton, as we have said, approached the speculative problem through the portal of the moral sense. His passion for right doing compelled his intellect to find some other solution than Kant—according to Heine—found in the deliverance of pure reason.

'Immanuel Kant hat bis hier den unerbittlichen Philosophen trazirt, er hat den Himmel gestürmt, er hat die ganze Besatzung über die Klinge springen lassen, der Oberherr der Welt schwimmt unbewiesen in seinem Blute, es giebt jetzt keine Allbarmherzigkeit mehr, keine Vatergüte, keine jenseitige Belohnung für diesseitige Enthaltsamkeit, die Unsterblichkeit der Seele liegt in den letzten Zügen—das röchelt, das stöhnt.'

Creighton sought it, and found it, as he believed, in the doctrine of *Entsagung*, which, he says, is merely

'the application of the doctrine of law to morals. . . . A man obeys the laws of nature instinctively, and the laws of society without effort, except against very violent passions. *Entsagung* is merely the name for the process by which he realises, with equal vividness, and obeys with equally little effort, the law of his own nature, which he can only discover for himself. Many people don't discover it. But surely, if morality is to be possible, it must be grasped and obeyed, and one's impulses for the moment subordinated to the higher law of one's whole nature. In separate things one is impelled by one part of one's nature. Morality enforces the subjection of that part to the whole, and *Entsagung* merely points out that obedience ought not to take the form of submission to an abstract external criterion of duty, as something apart from us and outside us, but rather ought to be a joyful resignation of one's partial self to one's universal self; the limit is that set by calm knowledge to momentary caprice. According to that notion, self-sacrifice vanishes, all limits are recognised as self-imposed, are merely the utterance of one's entire self against one's partial self; hence there is pleasure in the most disagreeable duty, for the act performed is not regarded from its accidental accompaniments, but from its real bearing on one's permanent self. Meditate, and you will see my exposition is sound; it

is the only basis of rational as opposed to emotional morality; it involves the difference between content and discontent; it makes man absolute master of circumstances, for they cannot affect his moral being in itself, but merely its momentary form to others' (i, 107, 108).

That, then, is the solution from the purely ethical point of view. How it appears in its religious aspect we learn from an earlier letter.

'Utilitarian morals pure and simple would always tend to degenerate unless perpetual reference were kept up to their main principle; and it is because that principle is so abstract that the process of rectification is difficult to carry on at the same time as action. . . . But the advantage of the religious standard is that, not being purely intellectual, but largely emotional, it can continually be repaired and heightened unconsciously and without effort; moreover, it can always go on assimilating to itself new conditions and relationships of life, as the emotions act so much quicker than the reason. Hence, too, arise the doubts which it begets: on the one hand, intellectual processes seem from time to time to clash with what one's emotions are engaged in preserving, and we all of us have struggles to co-ordinate our intellectual results with our emotional standard. . . . Similarly, from the side of the emotions, a new and strong feeling introduced into life at first takes possession of it, seems to be a motive strong enough in itself for everything; presently, in practice, it is not found to be so, and then disappointment ensues, and the feeling of disappointment is construed as being a just judgment for the abandonment of the calmness and repose which a belief in God alone can give. . . . Here again the duty of a true man is, I think, to try and co-ordinate the two emotions, to see in the one a reflex of the other, to borrow for the human love that permanence which can only properly belong to the divine by merging unconsciously the two—to add to the divine that intensity which can only come from definiteness of view; so an entire knowledge of any human soul can add to one's clearness of the abstract yet concrete perfection of humanity exhibited in Christ, and through that, to see more clearly the godlike embodied in every man, which can only be seen and grasped through reading every man in the light of Christ' (i, 95, 96).

In this manner then, and with the aid of *Entsagung*, Creighton effected for himself a synthesis between the

moral sense and the religious consciousness. Religion was for him, as it was for Matthew Arnold, 'morality touched with emotion'; but it was also a great deal more. It was a definite dogmatic faith, of which the underlying facts were not only certified *ab extra*, as he would have required any other historical facts to be certified, but were branded into his being by their essential identity with the categorical imperative of moral duty. That the underlying facts were adequately certified he probably never doubted. But he was not perhaps greatly concerned with the historical proofs of Christianity. He found its best credentials in the travail his soul had undergone. He was not unacquainted with modern criticism; but he would have disputed its title to establish a negative conclusion against the overwhelming evidence of the correspondence of the moral order with what all Christians understand by 'the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost.' To doubt the Christian faith was, for him, to make conscience a liar.

We have quoted largely from these letters, in order to make it clear that we are putting no private interpretation of our own on Creighton's views and beliefs, but are merely bringing out and putting together the one revelation of his inner self that Creighton ever made to any human being. The letters are not a formal confession of faith, nor are they to be criticised as a public *apologia* or history of his religious opinions. We can only take them in the spirit in which Mrs Creighton has given them. 'They were written,' she says, 'for the eye of one person only, and at a time when a man is likely to reveal himself with absolute frankness, because he is sure of understanding sympathy.'

In the light of these confessions, then, we must henceforth regard Creighton's life. If he truly read himself he need no longer be an enigma to others. There was always, deep down in his nature, the solid rock of truth and conviction on which his being was immutably fixed. Nevertheless it is certain that he retained to the last what many people thought was a love of sheer paradox, but what was in reality his intense delight in the free play of talk, his profound belief in its value as an intellectual *katharsis* and an antidote to social banality. As Aristotle

held that tragedy affords a relief from the emotions to which it appeals, so he held that the free play of talk tended more than anything else to clarify and disengage ideas with which the mind might otherwise be confused and oppressed.

> 'A timely utterance gave that thought relief,
> And I again am strong,'

might well be the device with which he entered into the lists of conversation.

'I try more habitually perhaps than most people to apply an intellectual standard to most things . . . but I hold most strongly and feel most strongly that every idea one has ought to be not so much useless mental furniture, but rather the very rod and staff of one's life and conversation. Let us have ideas, whether they are right or wrong; let us say what we think, toss out our crude opinions for criticism and destruction, refrain from nothing for fear of being thought foolish or extravagant or disreputable; if it is genuine thought, it is worth uttering, not dogmatically, but through a desire to give it form and to have it criticised, examined, tested. I think that is as near an explanation of my point of view as I can give. Tell —— that my bark is worse than my bite; that I don't really know anything, but am struggling to discover; that there is nothing I court more than difference and discussion; that I am most desirous of learning, and that I am perfectly conscious that my experience has been very small, and so am most desirous to hear always the results of others' (i, 97).

No doubt in after years he sometimes used conversation as a cloak, as he avowedly did during his *Wanderjahre*, his period of conflict; but he much more often used it, as Socrates did his dialectic, as an agency for bringing ideas to the light and displaying them from all points of view, and he always enjoyed it intensely (as Canon Scott Holland has remarked) as a game, playing it with a skill in which he had few equals. For this reason, and also because he never could bridle his sense of humour, some people thought him wanting in seriousness. It was just because he was at bottom so serious, that he knew so well 'desipere in loco.' How serious, and yet how wise and tender he was, never inviting confidence and never repelling it in those who were entitled to give it or to ask it, let any of those say who ever had to consult him

seriously. Then the real man came out, the heart as large as humanity, the intellect as clear as crystal, the judgment unerring. He used few words, perhaps, but, however little he said, he left nothing essential unsaid. He was not infallible, of course; but those who consulted him in this way seldom repented them of his counsel.

When the clue supplied by the disclosure of Creighton's ultimate beliefs is once firmly grasped, the reader of his biography will find no more riddles to be solved in his character and career. Rare intellectual power, combined with a moral steadfastness perhaps even rarer, was his *differentia*. Yet his intellect, capacious and catholic as it was, was essentially practical rather than speculative. In conjunction with his untiring industry and his inexhaustible sympathy with all things human, it made him a great historian; but it also made him a consummate man of action. It is easy to say, and not very difficult to think, that he ought to have remained a student and a historian, and never to have become a bishop. That is perhaps a right thing to say of Bishop Stubbs, but it is, in our judgment, a shallow thing to say of Creighton. From first to last what impressed those who knew him best was not so much his commanding intellectual powers as his rare genius for affairs. The evidence of this is abundant throughout the biography. Mrs Holden, the wife of his headmaster, 'remembers prophesying his future, and assuring him that he would some day be a bishop.' Elected to a fellowship at Merton and appointed to a tutorship, he very speedily became the leading spirit of the college. Even before that the present Master of Balliol (who had been his tutor) said of him, 'Creighton possesses common-sense in a degree which amounts to genius.' He took no very active part in university affairs; but, when the question arose whether he should stay in Oxford or go to Embleton, those who were for persuading him to stay were thinking more of his qualifications for academical leadership than of his opportunities for academical study; and, when one of his brother fellows heard of his decision to go, he said, 'Then you will end by being Archbishop of Canterbury.'

At Embleton it is probable that his happiest years were spent, and Mrs Creighton's picture of his life there is an idyll of singular charm. There, at any rate, he

seemed to combine in the happiest fashion the studious and the active life. It was there that his great work on the Papacy was conceived and, in large measure, executed; at any rate, the foundations of the whole structure were laid there. But, if his intellect was in his books, his heart was in his parish; and long before he left Embleton his neighbours in Northumberland had discovered that he had few equals among them in his shrewd grasp and wise handling of affairs. They were humble affairs for the most part—parochial, local, provincial at the best. But Creighton did not measure things by this scale. He was thought to be ambitious, but, in truth, he was not. He had no ambition beyond the faithful discharge of 'the trivial round, the common task.' When promotion and great station came to him he took them, but he never sought them. What he found to do he did, neither seeking it nor avoiding it.

'To me life has always been a simple matter, and has consisted in doing the duties which lay to my hand as well as I could. I have never been so presumptuous as to suppose that I was pre-eminently fitted for some duties, and could therefore absolve myself from others. I have been a tutor, a parish priest, a professor, a canon—none of these things by my own choice.'

When, 'by no wish or seeking' of his own, he was called to other duties, he obeyed the call, not because he liked it, still less because it appealed to his ambition, but because it appealed to his sense of duty, to 'the only ideal I had ever had of life—to go about and try and help others, with kindliness and sympathy.'

That is why he accepted a bishopric when it was offered him, not at all because it gave him worldly distinction or widened his sphere of activity. Neither motive swayed him in the least. The smallest sphere was wide enough for him. The largest was not too wide. By no wish or seeking of his own he was promoted to the companionship of sovereigns and ministers of state, of all that is most exalted among men. He took it all as it came, neither losing himself nor magnifying his office, but in exactly the same spirit—the spirit of fellowship and helpfulness—in which he had taken the companionship of fisher-folk and quarrymen, of his parishioners

one and all, from the retired statesman to the humblest hind on the farm. One motive ran through it all, the abiding conviction that a man 'cannot refuse the responsibilities of his branch of the service,' even though a bishopric may be to him 'personally, after the flesh, a terrible nuisance.' That is surely the note of a man of action of the highest type, of a man who knows no higher ambition, and will acknowledge no lower duty, than that of spending himself and being spent in the service of man, which is to him also the truest service of God.

We do not doubt, on the other hand, that his own personal inclination would have been for the life of a student, though even here his practical bent comes out in the choice of his particular line of study. 'His deep interest in character,' says Mrs Creighton, 'was both the cause and the effect of his historical studies.' We should rather put it that his interest in character, quickened by the conflict in which his own character had been formed, drew him to the study of history; and the study of history deepened, in its turn, his insight into character. But it was a practical motive that actuated him, a moral rather than a purely intellectual impulse. Mrs Creighton says that 'any one who watched him closely day by day could not fail to see that his first love was the life of the student. . . . In leaving Embleton he deliberately chose the life of a student.' That is so, no doubt; but his choice, as we know, did not determine the issue. To Cambridge was added Worcester, where his native aptitude for affairs quickly made him the leading spirit of the Chapter; and even Cambridge was soon to learn that, great as was his influence on the studies associated with his chair, his sagacity in counsel was not less conspicuous than his love of study and his power of inspiring that love in others.

In fact, Creighton was a man whose personal inclination did not always coincide with the native bent of his genius. We may grant his personal inclination for study, but we must also recognise his consummate gift for affairs; and, according to his own philosophy, if a man is true to himself it is always the best part of himself that ultimately finds expression in his life. If that is so, he was born to be a man of action, but a man of action

who derived his best inspirations from his knowledge of human history and his insight into human character. Dr Hodgkin, a student and historian himself, was right when he said:—

'I have sometimes doubted whether, with all his great literary talent, his heart was really in literature. It seemed to me that human affairs, moulding the lives of others and organising a parish or a diocese, was work which he really enjoyed more than writing a book. In other words, that he was essentially not a student but a "shepherd of the people"' (ii, 489).

We may illustrate and confirm this view by considering two critical episodes of his life—one showing how he stood as a man of letters, a writer and interpreter of history, the other how he stood as a man of affairs when, as Bishop of London, he had to grapple with the problem of the lawlessness of some of his clergy. In the one case the man of action within him mitigated and controlled his judgment as a moralist and a student of history; in the other, the student of history within him gave to his handling of a grave practical problem a breadth and sobriety of judgment, a spirit of charity, forbearance, and sweet reasonableness, such as rarely prevail, and are still more rarely appreciated in times of excitement. When the second instalment of his great work on the Papacy was published, it was, at his request, reviewed by Lord Acton in the 'English Historical Review,' of which Creighton was editor. He was perplexed, and yet not a little amused at his critic's lofty tone of censure. Lord Acton wrote from the point of view with which readers of his letters to Mrs Drew are now familiar—that of the historian whose standard of morality is absolute and who will not admit extenuating circumstances in his verdict on evildoers in high places. But what he wrote was so obscure that Creighton asked for a more definite exposition of the philosophy of history involved in its bearing on the points at issue between them, the chief of which was the exact degree of moral censure to be passed on persecution and persecutors. He received a long reply, of which the pith is perhaps contained in the following sentences:—

'You say that people in authority are not to be snubbed or sneered at from our pinnacle of conscious rectitude. . . . I

cannot accept your canon that we are to judge Pope and King unlike other men, with a favoured presumption that they did no wrong. If there is any presumption, it is the other way —against holders of power—increasing as the power increases. . . . Power tends to corrupt, and absolute power corrupts absolutely. Great men are almost always bad men, even when they exercise influence and not authority; still more when you superadd the tendency or the certainty of corruption by authority. . . . The inflexible integrity of the moral code is to me the secret of the authority, the dignity, the utility of history. If we may debase the currency for the sake of genius, or success, or reputation, we may debase it for the sake of a man's influence, of his religion, of his party, of the good cause which prospers by his credit and suffers by his disgrace. Then history ceases to be a science, an arbiter of controversy, a guide of the wanderer . . . it serves where it ought to reign, and it serves the worst cause better than the purest' (i, 371, 372).

Creighton's rejoinder is very characteristic.

'It is a rare encouragement to me to have such a standard set up as you have put before me. Judged by it I have nothing to say except to submit "efficaci do manus scientiæ.". . . You conceive of History as an architectonic for the writing of which a man needs the severest and largest of training, and it is impossible not to agree with you: so it ought to be. I can only admit that I fall far short of the equipment necessary for the task that I have undertaken. . . . I entirely agree with your principles of historical judgment; but apparently I admit casuistry to a larger extent than you approve. . . . What I meant in my offending sentence in my preface was, that any one engaged in great affairs occupied a representative position, which required special consideration. . . . The acts of men in power are determined by the effective force behind them of which they are the exponents. Their morality is almost always lower than the morality of the mass of men; but there is generally a point fixed below which they cannot sink with impunity. . . . You judge the whole question of persecution more rigorously than I do. Society is an organism, and its laws are an expression of the conditions which it considers necessary for its own preservation. . . . Nowadays people are not agreed about what heresy is; they do not think it a menace to society, hence they do not ask for its punishment; but the men who conscientiously thought heresy a crime may be accused of an intellectual mistake, not necessarily of a moral crime. . . . I am hopelessly

tempted to admit degrees of criminality, otherwise history becomes a dreary record of wickedness. I go so far with you that it supplies me with few heroes, and records few good actions. . . . I can rarely follow the actions of contemporary statesmen with much moral satisfaction. In the past I find myself regarding them with pity. Who am I that I should condemn them? Surely they knew not what they did' (i, 372–5).

'The captain of the Hampshire grenadiers,' wrote Gibbon, 'has not been useless to the historian of the Roman Empire.' The vicar of Embleton was assuredly far from useless to the historian of the Papacy.

We have seen how the man of action regards the study of history. Let us now see how the historian comports himself in the conduct of affairs. It is convenient for the purpose of analysis thus to distinguish between the two aspects of Creighton's personality; but, of course, in the concrete, they were inseparable. Creighton's handling of the ritualistic controversy in his diocese gave at the time little satisfaction to either or any party. The truth is it was not a party handling at all. It was merely a wise, temperate, and tolerant assertion of the historic position and attributes of the Anglican Church. Of course he seemed to be trifling with a great issue when he advised Mr Kensit to attend a church in which the services suited him rather than a church in which they did not suit him. But surely the advice was sound, pertinent, and unanswerable. It would have been irrelevant and impertinent if Mr Kensit had been a resident in a remote country parish where he must attend his parish church or none. But seeing that he went to St Ethelburga's with a merely colourable qualification as a parishioner, solely for the purpose of protesting against the services in vogue there, the Bishop's advice was nothing but an epigrammatic exposure of the essential weakness of Mr Kensit's position. It neither approved nor condoned the ritualistic vagaries of the incumbent of St Ethelburga's. Those were dealt with on their merits, and not ineffectually in the end. But it did put a wrong-headed man in a thoroughly false position; and that was what it was meant to do. It was, as Dr Cobb says, 'the advice of the statesman, and received a prophet's reward.' Not less characteristic of the

statesman was his final answer to Sir William Harcourt. We all know what was Sir William's attitude towards ritualistic excesses. It was that of the man in the street presented by a great advocate and a great parliamentary debater. It was not that of the historian nor that of the true statesman, as Creighton's letter shows.

'I can only express my own opinion, that there is no way of combating error except by setting forth truth. . . . It is quite necessary that men should obey the law, that they should be subject to authority. If men, who say that they are trying to do good, and claim to act through conscientious motives, refuse to do these things, such refusal has wrought great results in the world's history. It has never been overcome by force, or by the application of law. There has never yet been a case in history of an attempt to overcome it by reason, by investigation, by discussion, by definition, by gradual isolation of eccentricity from grains of partial truth. Yet I am foolish enough to believe that this is the only possible method. I should have thought that at least it was innocuous. The talk of a few pedants in a corner could not affect the mighty stream of indignation which swells the English breast, and will work its will through that means which is called *political*. You abuse me for what I do as well as for what I do not do. Your way is the popular way; why not leave mine to do what it may? You will say, "No appearance of truce with law-breakers." But do not we want to find why seemingly good men break the law? The plea of law-breaking was used against Wyclif, Huss, Luther, everybody whom we now call reformers. Of course there is no parallel between them and Lord Halifax. Yet I cannot apply to Lord Halifax a kind of treatment which, *mutatis mutandis*, I condemn in Leo X, in Archbishop Courtenay, in the Council of Constance. They all of them refused to discuss the thing in itself; they all upheld the law; they all secured the rapid downfall of the law, and of their method of upholding it. I know that you will regard all this as hopeless from a practical point of view. Nobody knows this better than I do. We are both of us idealists. I rank you with Lord Halifax. He is pursuing a revival of old methods of religious thought; you are for reviving the old means of persecuting him. I am so far modern that I do not believe in the vitality of his ideas, or in your mode of suppressing him. I want to drag him into the light and slay him in the open. My interest is more with the Church of the twentieth century than with that even of the sixteenth (ii, 449, 450).

Which is the better man of action here—the student or the politician? It was because Creighton was a man of action in the making that he had turned instinctively to the study of history; it was because he had studied history side by side with human nature in the concrete that, in the fullness of time, he stood forth among men of action as 'the noblest Roman of them all'—the still, strong, patient man who knew what to do and how to do it, heeding neither the 'civium ardor prava jubentium' in 'the bray of Exeter Hall,' nor the 'vultus instantis tyranni' in the shape of Sir William Harcourt on the warpath. It was not granted to him to see the full fruit of his labours. But that is a small matter; and so he would have regarded it.

Here we must make an end. In what we have written we have had in view rather the appreciation of a personality than the record of a career. To understand Creighton the latter must be interpreted in the light of the former. That is why, in his lifetime, he was so often and so widely misunderstood. To the world the secrets of his spiritual life were not revealed. It seemed so easy to regard him as the man of brilliant parts, the intellectual gladiator, who could have attacked the Christian faith as readily, and with as little misgiving, as he defended it, and who only found his account in accepting it because to do so advanced his interests and ministered to his ambition. We have written to little purpose if we have not suggested a truer and a deeper solution than that.

Art. VII.—PEARLS AND PARASITES.

1. *Report to the Government of Ceylon on the Pearl-oyster Fisheries of the Gulf of Manaar.* By W. A. Herdman, F.R.S. Parts I and II. Published by the Royal Society. London, 1904.
2. *On the Origin of Pearls.* By H. Lyster Jameson. 'Proceedings of the Zool. Society of London,' 1902.
3. *Zoology.* By A. E. Shipley and E. W. MacBride. Cambridge: University Press, 1901. (Second edition, 1905.)

CERTAIN Eastern peoples believe that pearls are due to rain-drops falling into the oyster shells which conveniently gape to receive them.

> 'Precious the tear as that rain from the sky
> Which turns into pearls as it falls on the sea,'

as the poet Moore writes. This belief is of ancient origin, and is probably derived from classical sources, since Pliny tells us that the view prevalent in his time was that pearls arise from certain secretions formed by the oyster around drops of rain which have somehow effected an entrance into the mantle cavity of the mollusc. Probably this theory of the origin of pearls has ceased to be held for many centuries, except in the East, where tradition has always been more influential than experiment. In the West it has long been known that pearls are formed as a pathological secretion of the mineral arragonite, combined with a certain amount of organic material, formed by the oyster or other mollusc around some foreign body, whose presence forms the irritant which stimulates the secretion. This secretion is of the same chemical and mineralogical nature as the 'mother-of-pearl' which gives the inside of the shell of so many molluscs a beautiful iridescent sheen.

An oyster shell consists of three layers, the outermost termed the *periostracum*, the middle the *prismatic layer*, and the innermost the *nacreous layer*. Everywhere the shell is lined by the mantle, consisting of a right and left fold or flap of the skin, which is in contact with the nacreous layer all over the inside of the shell. The edge of the mantle is thickened and forms a ridge or margin;

and it is this edge which secretes the two outer layers. This permits the shell to grow, whilst the rest of the mantle secretes all over its surface the nacreous or pearly layer. The relative thickness of these three layers varies very greatly. In the fresh-water mussel (*Unio*) the nacreous layer is many times thicker than the two outer layers put together; and such nacreous shells are usually associated with molluscs which are known to represent very ancient or ancestral species. It is also the layer which disappears most readily as the specimens become fossilised; and in fossil Mollusca it is often represented by mere casts, which fill the position it once occupied.

The fact that the nacre is deposited by the whole surface of the mantle has been appreciated by the Chinese. By inserting little flattened leaden images of Buddha between the mantle and the shell, and leaving the oyster at rest for some time, the image becomes coated with mother-of-pearl and incorporated in the substance of the shell; and in this way certain little joss figures are produced. This industry is said to support a large population in some coast districts of Siam.

The nacre, then, is produced by the outermost layer of the mantle or fleshy flap that lines the shell—the external epithelium; and, if a foreign body gets between this epithelium and the shell, the mantle will, in order to protect itself, secrete a pearly coat around it. But valuable pearls are not those which are partially or wholly fused with the shell, but those which lie deep in the tissues of the body; and they are probably formed in the following manner. The intrusive, irritant body forms a pit in the outer surface of the mantle; this pit deepens, and at first remains connected with the outside by a pore; ultimately the pore closes, and the bottom of the pit becomes separated as a small sac free from all connexion with the outside. The sac now sinks into the tissues of the oyster, enclosing in it the foreign body. It will be noticed that the inside of the sac is lined by and is derived from the same tissue or epithelium as covers the outside of the mantle. Now this epithelium continues to do what it has always been in the habit of doing; that is, it secretes a nacreous substance all round the intrusive particle. Layer after layer of this nacre is deposited, and thus a pearl is

formed. At first the layers will conform roughly to the outline of the embedded body, but later layers will smooth over any irregularities of the 'nucleus' around which they are deposited, and a spheroidal or spherical pearl is produced. If the irregularities are too pronounced, an irregular pearl is formed; and such pearls, on merely æsthetic grounds, command a lower price.

It is thus clear that pearls are formed around intrusive foreign bodies; and until comparatively recently these bodies were thought to be inorganic particles such as grains of sand. Recent research has, however, shown that this is seldom the case, and that as a rule the 'nucleus,' which must be present if a pearl is to be formed, is the larva of some highly-organised parasite whose life-history is certainly complicated but as yet is not accurately known. The knowledge, however, which we already possess enables us to do much to ensure steady success in a very speculative industry; and with complete knowledge there is no reason why pearl fisheries should not be under as good control as oyster fisheries.

It was more than forty years ago (1857–1859) that the problem of the Ceylon pearl-oyster fishery was first attacked in a thoroughly scientific spirit by a certain Dr Kelaart. His reports to the Government of the island contain the following suggestive sentences:—

'I shall merely mention here that Monsieur Humbert, a Swiss zoologist, has, by his own observations at the last pearl fishery, corroborated all I have stated about the ovaria or genital glands and their contents; and that he has discovered, in addition to the Filaria and Circaria (*sic*), three other parasitical worms infesting the viscera and other parts of the pearl oyster. We both agree that these worms play an important part in the formation of pearls; and it may be found possible to infect oysters in other beds with these worms and thus increase the quantity of these gems. The nucleus of an American pearl drawn by Möbius is nearly of the same form as the Circaria found in the pearl oysters of Ceylon. It will be curious to ascertain if the oysters in the Tinnevelly banks have the same species of worms as those found in the oysters on the banks off Arripo.'

Unfortunately Dr Kelaart died shortly after making this report, leaving his investigations incomplete.

Some seven years before, in 1852, Filippi had shown that the pearls in our fresh-water mussel (*Anodonta*) were formed by the larvæ of a fluke (a trematode), to which he gave the name of *Distomum duplicatum*. Many students of elementary biology, as they painfully try to unravel the mystery of molluscan morphology, must have come across small pearls in the tissues of the fresh-water mussels (*Unio* or *Anodonta*); but these are said to have less lustre and to be more opaque than the sea pearl; so the pearl fisheries of the Welsh and Scotch rivers are falling into disuse. Our ancestors, however, thought otherwise. Less than fifty years ago the Scotch fisheries brought in some 12,000*l.* a year; and a writer of the early part of the eighteenth century describes Scotch pearls as 'finer, more hard and transparent than any Oriental.' British pearls were highly thought of by the Romans. Pliny and Tacitus mention them; and Julius Cæsar is said to have dedicated a breastplate ornamented with British pearls to Venus Genitrix. Fresh-water pearls are still 'fished' with profit in Central Europe; but the Governments of Bavaria, Saxony, and Bohemia watch over the industry and only grant a license to fish any stretch of water about once in twelve years—a restriction which, had it been imposed on our fisheries, might have saved a vanishing industry.

In 1871 Garner showed that the pearls in the edible mussel (*Mytilus edulis*), which is largely used for bait upon our coasts, were formed round the larvæ of a fluke, a remote ally of the liver-fluke that causes such loss to our sheep-breeders. This origin of pearls has been more completely followed out by Mr Lyster Jameson. Nor must we forget to mention the researches of Giard (1897) and Dubois (1901) in the same subject. We know the life-history of the organism forming pearls in this edible mussel far more completely than we do that of any other pearl-forming parasite; and, before returning to the Ceylon pearls, we will briefly consider it.

Mr Lyster Jameson finds that the pearls of the *Mytilus* are formed around the cercaria or larval form of a fluke which, in its adult stages, resides in the intestine of the scoter (*Œdemia nigra*), and was originally described from the eider duck (*Somateria mollissima*) in Greenland and named *Leucithodendrium somateriæ*, after its first known

host. The cercaria larvæ of these flukes form the last stage in a complex series of larval forms which occur in the life-history of a trematode or fluke, and they differ from the adult in two points—their generative organs are not fully developed, and they usually have a tail; but this organ is wanting in our pearl-forming cercaria, called a cercariæum by Mr Jameson. Such a larva has only to be swallowed by a scoter to grow up quickly into the adult trematode capable of laying eggs. Now this bird, called by the French fishermen the 'cane moulière,' is the greatest enemy to the mussel-beds; it is not only common around the French mussel-beds of Billiers (Morbihan), but occurs in numbers at the mouth of the Barrow channel, close to our English pearl-bearing mussel-beds. With its diving habits it destroys and eats large quantities of the mollusc. Those cercariæ which are already entombed in a pearl cannot, of course, grow up into adults, even if they gain entrance to the alimentary canal of the scoter; but those that are not ensheathed may do so. Further, the fluke may possibly live in other hosts where no pearl is formed. At any rate, there seems no lack of larvæ successful in their struggle to attain maturity, for it has been calculated that the alimentary canal of an apparently healthy scoter may harbour as many as six thousand adult flukes.

Thus there are two courses open to the cercaria when it has once found its way into the mussel; it either forms the nucleus of a pearl and perishes, or it is swallowed by a scoter, becomes adult, and prepares to carry on the race. But how do the cercariæ make their way into the mussel, and whence do they come? At present their birth, like that of Mr Yellowplush, is 'wrapped up in a mistry.' We may presume that the eggs make their way out of the scoter into the sea-water, and that there they hatch out a free-swimming larva, which, after the manner of trematodes, swims about looking for a suitable host. Within this host it would come to rest and begin budding off numerous secondary larvæ, in which stage it may assume considerable size and becomes known as a *sporocyst*. No one, however, has seen the eggs hatch, or the free-swimming larva; but Mr Jameson produces evidence to show that the sporocyst stage occurs in two other common molluscs, viz. in a clam (*Tapes decussatus*)

and in the common cockle (*Cardium edule*). The former mollusc abounds in the black gravelly clay which forms the bottom of the mussel-beds at Billiers; and every specimen out of nearly two hundred examples investigated by Mr Jameson was found to be infested with sporocysts containing larvæ closely resembling those which act as pearl-nuclei in the edible mussel. Exactly similar sporocysts were found in about fifty per cent. of the common cockles examined in the Barrow channel, where the species *Tapes decussatus* does not occur.

Within the sporocyst certain secondary larvæ are formed, as is habitual with the flukes. These secondary larvæ are the cercariæ; and it is in this stage that the animal makes its way into the pearl-mussel and ultimately forms the nucleus of a pearl. Precisely how it leaves the sporocyst and the first host, i.e. the *Tapes* or *Cardium*, is not known. Certain experiments made by Jameson, who placed mussels which he thought were free from parasites in a tank with some infected *Tapes*, are not quite conclusive, and have been ably criticised by Professor Herdman. It is true that, when examined later, the mussels were well infected; but it was not definitely shown that they were not infected at the start; and further, the numbers used were too small to justify a very positive conclusion. Still, on the whole, it may safely be said that the life-history of the organism which forms the pearls in *Mytilus edulis* probably involves three hosts: the scoter, which contains the mature form; the *Tapes* or *Cardium*, which contains the first larval stage; and the mussel, which contains the second larval stage, which forms the pearl.

Recently Professor Dubois has been investigating the origin of pearls in another species of *Mytilus* (*M. gallo-provincialis*) which lives on the French Mediterranean littoral. The nucleus of this pearl is also a trematode, but of a species different from that which infests the edible mussel. The interest of Professor Dubois' work, however, lies in the fact that he claims to have infected true oriental pearl-oysters by putting them to live with his Mediterranean mussels. He fetched his oysters, termed 'Pintadin,' from the Gulf of Gabes in southern Tunis, where they are almost pearl-less—one must open twelve to fifteen hundred of these to find a single pearl—

and brought them up amongst the mussels. After some time had elapsed they became so infected that three oysters opened consecutively yielded a couple of pearls each. These observations, however, require confirmation, and have been adversely criticised by Professor Giard.

To return to the Ceylon pearls. The celebrated fisheries lie to the north-west of the island, where the shallow plateaux of the Gulf of Manaar afford a fine breeding-place for the pearl-oyster. The pearl-oyster is not really an oyster, but an allied mollusc known as *Margaritifera vulgaris*. It lives on rocky bottoms known locally as paars. The fisheries are very ancient and have been worked for at least 2500, perhaps for 3000 years. Pliny mentions them, but he is, comparatively speaking, a modern. The Cingalese records go much farther back. In 550 B.C. we find King Vijaya sending his Indian father-in-law pearls of great price; and there are other early records. From the eighth to the eleventh century of our era the trade seems to have been chiefly in the hands of the Arabs and Persians; and many references to it occur in their literature. Marco Polo (1291) mentions the pearls of the kings of Ceylon; and in 1330 a friar, one Jordanus, describes 8000 boats as taking part in the fishery. Two centuries later, a Venetian trader named Cæsar Frederick crossed from India to the west coast of Ceylon to observe the fishery; and his description might almost serve for the present day, so little do habits alter in the East.

The records of the Dutch and English fisheries are naturally more complete than those of their predecessors. The last Dutch fishery was in 1768, and the first English was in 1796, before the fall of Colombo. The fishery is not held every year, but at irregular intervals; and sometimes these intervals have been long. For instance, the oysters failed between 1732 and 1746, and again between 1768 and 1796, under the Dutch régime, and from 1837 to 1854 under the English. On the other hand, the fishing is sometimes annual; recently, it took place with great success in 1887 and the four following years, culminating in the record year 1891, when the Government's share of the spoil amounted to close upon one million rupees. After this there was a pause till 1903.

The Lieutenant-governor, Mr Everard im Thurn, now

Governor of Fiji, has given a lively account of the latest fishing. He tells us that every year, in November, a government official visits the oyster-beds, takes up a certain number of oysters, examines them for pearls, and submits his results to certain government experts. If, as they did two years ago, these experts pronounce that there will be a fishing, this information is at once made known; and, partly by advertisement, but probably more by passing the word from man to man, the news rapidly spreads throughout India, up the Persian Gulf, and to Europe. In the meantime preparations on a large scale have to be made.

'On land, which is at the moment a desert, an elaborate set of temporary government buildings have to be erected for receiving and dealing with many millions of oysters and their valuable if minute contents. Court-houses, prisons, barracks, revenue offices, markets, residences for the officials, streets of houses and shops for perhaps thirty thousand inhabitants, and a water supply for drinking and bathing for these same people have to be arranged for. Lastly, but, in view of the dreadful possibility of the outbreak of plague and cholera, not least, there are elaborate hospitals to be provided.'

By March or April some hundreds of large fishing vessels have assembled at Manaar; and a population which varies during the next two months between 25,000 and 40,000 souls has gathered together.

The fishing-boats leave early in the morning for their respective stations; and, on reaching them, the Arab and Indian divers descend, staying under water from fifty to eighty seconds, and eagerly scooping up the oysters and depositing them in baskets slung round their necks. By midday the divers are worn out; and at noon a gun is fired from the master-attendant's vessel as a signal for return. The run home may take some hours, according to the distance and the wind; and it is during this time that a considerable number of pearls are said to be abstracted. The men on the boats are occupied with the sorting of the oysters and cleaning them of useless stones, seaweed, and other objects which are gathered with them. The finest pearls lie just within the shell, embedded in the edge of the mantle; and these readily slip out and are concealed about the person of the finder. The Govern-

ment does what it can to check peculation and keep a guard on each boat; but, in spite of all its efforts, there seems no doubt that many of the 'finest, roundest, and best-coloured pearls' pass into the possession of those who have no right to them.

On reaching the shore the oysters are carried to the Government building or 'Kottus,' a vast rectangular shed, where they are divided into three heaps; two of these fall to the Government, and the third belongs to the divers. This latter share the divers sell as soon as they quit the 'Kottus,' sometimes parting with dozens to one buyer, and sometimes selling as few as two or one. In the meantime the Government's two-thirds have been counted and are left for the night. At nine o'clock in the evening these oysters are put up to auction. The Government agent states how many oysters there are to dispose of, and then sells them in lots of one thousand. Some rich syndicates will perhaps buy as many as 50,000 at prices which fluctuate unaccountably during the evening. Within a short time the price will inexplicably drop from thirty-five rupees to twenty-two rupees a thousand, and may then rise again as suddenly and inexplicably as it sank. Early in the morning each purchaser removes his shells to his own private shed, where for a week they are allowed to rot in old canoes and other vessels of water, and are then searched for pearls. For a couple of months this great traffic goes on, until the divers are thoroughly exhausted, and the camp melts away.

Owing to the continuous failure of the fishery for ten years from 1891, the Government determined to call in the aid of experts. In the spring of 1901 Professor Herdman of Liverpool was asked by the Colonial Office, then under the direction of Mr Chamberlain, to visit Ceylon and to report upon the state of the fishery. He reached Colombo early in 1902. He was fortunate in taking out an exceptionally well qualified assistant in Mr J. Hornell. After a thorough examination of the fishing-grounds, Professor Herdman reported to the Government of Ceylon as follows:—

'The oysters we met with seemed, on the whole, to be very healthy. There is no evidence of any epidemic or of much disease of any kind. A considerable number of parasites, both external and internal, both protozoan and ver-

mean, were met with; but that is not unusual in molluscs, and we do not regard it as affecting seriously the oyster population.

'Many of the larger oysters were reproducing actively. We found large quantities of minute "spat" in several places. We also found enormous quantities of young oysters a few months old on many of the paars. On the Periya paar the number of these probably amounted to over a hundred thousand million.

'A very large number of these young oysters never arrive at maturity. There are several causes for this. They have many natural enemies, some of which we have determined. Some are smothered in sand. Some grounds are much more suitable than others for feeding the young oysters, and so conducing to life and growth. Probably the majority are killed by overcrowding.

'They should therefore be thinned out and transplanted. This can be easily and speedily done, on a large scale, by dredging from a steamer at the proper time of the year, when the young oysters are at the best age for transplanting.

'Finally, there is no reason for any despondency in regard to the future of the pearl-oyster fisheries if they are treated scientifically. The adult oysters are plentiful on some of the paars, and seem for the most part healthy and vigorous; while young oysters in their first year, and masses of minute spat just deposited, are very abundant in many places.'

The chief causes of the failure of the fisheries, at any rate the chief causes which can be dealt with by man, are overcrowding and over-fishing. It might be supposed that these factors would counteract each other; but it must be remembered that they become effective at the two opposite poles of the oyster's existence, which is thought to cover five, six, or seven years. The overcrowding takes place when the oyster is quite young and hardly fixed on the submerged reefs, whilst the over-fishing takes place when the animal is fully matured and perhaps growing old. The fact that Professor Herdman and Mr Hornell conveyed the young oysters from Manaar in the north of the island by boat to Colombo and then on by train to Galle in the south, and there succeeded in rearing them, shows that there would be little difficulty in artificially rearing oysters in convenient localities and then transplanting them to such fishing-grounds as show danger of depletion. With regard to over-fishing, if the

grounds are under the charge of a trained zoologist there is no reason why this should go on.

When Professor Herdman was called in to advise the Government, he saw at once that it was the oyster that had failed in the last ten years, not the pearls within the oysters. Microscopic examination of thin sections made through decalcified pearls showed that they are almost in all cases deposited around a minute larva which seems almost certainly to be the larva of a cestode or tape-worm. These larvæ make their way into the oyster, and the irritation they set up induces the formation of the pearl, just as was the case with the cercaria-formed pearls of the mussel. Where do these larvæ come from? Unfortunately we cannot say. Older specimens of tape-worms belonging to the new species, *Tetrarhynchus unionifactor*, also live in the oyster; and it may be that, were a larva to escape entombment in a pearl, it would grow up into one of these. But even these never become mature in the oyster; to attain sexual maturity they must be swallowed by a second host. What is the second host of the pearl-forming cestode? This question also we cannot answer; and, until we can, we are not in a position to control the output of pearls. Possibly the parent of this larva lives in the file-fish (*Balistes*), which preys on oysters and is usually regarded as an enemy to the pearl fishery. *Balistes*, however, may be a friend in disguise. Possibly the organism has to pass through as many as three hosts, and may only become sexually mature when it reaches the interior of one of the large fish-eating rays or sharks. All this we want to know.

The discovery by Professor Herdman and Mr Hornell of the cestode larva as a real cause of pearl-formation received an interesting confirmation shortly after they had made it. Mons. G. Seurat, working independently at Rikitea on the island of Mangareva in the Gambier group, discovered a very similar larva in the local pearl-oyster around which pearls are formed; this larva, if we may judge from pictures, is almost certainly the same as the one from Ceylon. Professor Giard regards it as belonging to a tape-worm of the genus *Acrobothrium*; and, if he be right, then Professor Herdman's larva is an *Acrobothrium* too. We have so little knowledge of the early forms of cestodes that we cannot accept this attribution as

final. We may, however, hope for further information, for a French zoologist, M. Boutan, has started for the East to work at the problem; Mr Hornell is still at work in Ceylon; and Mr C. Crossland, who has had much experience in marine work in the tropics, has recently been appointed, at the request of the Soudan Government, to investigate the pearl-oyster beds of the Red Sea.

Last year it was again found possible to hold a fishery in Ceylon. It was held at a place called Marichikaddi, also on the north-west coast. In the course of thirty-eight days over 41,000,000 oysters were taken. The trade was very brisk; the prices paid were unprecedented. This year's fishery, which began on Feb. 18, promises to beat all records. On Feb. 22 the catch was nearly 4,500,000 oysters; and the Government's share for that day was 9000*l.* It is pérhaps too soon to attribute this success to the efforts of Professor Herdman and Mr Hornell, the latter of whom, we understand, has been permanently retained as government biologist in Ceylon; but we have no doubt that, acting under their advice, the oyster-bed may be made a steady, in place of a most intermittent source of revenue. Besides their valuable work in solving this particular problem, Professor Herdman and his colleague have made a rich collection of marine animals, which are being examined by a number of specialists. The results of their labours are appearing in a handsome series of volumes published under the auspices of the Royal Society; and it is from the first of these that many of the facts contained in this article are derived. The memoirs included in the volumes contain many important additions to our knowledge; but no result is more interesting or more economically important than the confirmation of the fact that, as M. Dubois puts it, 'La plus belle perle n'est donc, en définitive, que le brillant sarcophage d'un ver.'

A. E. Shipley.

Art. VIII.—OUR NEGLECTED MONUMENTS.

1. *Reports from Her Majesty's Representatives abroad as to the Statutory Provisions existing in Foreign Countries for the Preservation of Historical Buildings.* Accounts and Papers: Miscellaneous, No. 2, 1897. [C. 8443.]
2. *La Legislazione delle Belle Arti.* By Filippo Mariotti. Rome: Unione Cooperativa Editrice, 1892.
3. *Denkmalpflege.* By Freiherr von Helpert. Vienna: Braumüller, 1897.
4. *Die Denkmalpflege in Frankreich.* By Dr Paul Clemen. Berlin: Ernst und Sohn, 1898.
5. *L'Ami des Monuments et des Arts.* 'Revue Trimestrielle Illustrée.' Paris, 1887, etc.
6. *Die Denkmalpflege.* Zeitschrift herausgegeben von der Schriftleitung des 'Centralblattes der Bauverwaltung.' Berlin, 1899, etc.

THERE is a historical city in the north, once the border capital of two warring kingdoms, the stronghold aimed at in every attack, unique among the cities of the island in the position inherited from those stormy times, and till the other day a separate entity between England and Scotland, but not reckoned to either. This city possesses ancient monuments of singular value. It is enclosed in a complete circuit of fortifications, erected in the days of Queen Elizabeth, in a form of particular interest to students of military works; and there still exist remains of a far ampler *enceinte*, taking in a space half as large again as the Elizabethan walls, and larger than the existing town can fill to-day. This is the *enceinte* made when 'Edwardus Primus, Scotorum Malleus,' fortified Berwick-upon-Tweed with a fosse eighty feet wide, and built a wall of solid masonry behind it, bristling with towers. It is the *enceinte* of the later days, when the watchmen on these towers looked ever to the north and west for the gleam of spears over Halidon Hill, or the swift approach of wild riders on Caledonian ponies round the level strip along the coast. In most parts it has been merged in the later Elizabethan circumvallation; but fifty years ago a stretch of more than half a mile of it remained, with the ditch still fully marked and fragments of Plantagenet masonry at intervals along it. One tower,

rebuilt in Tudor times, has been called the Bell Tower, because the tocsin was said to be sounded from it at the alarm of a Scottish raid. This part of the circuit faced the side of danger and was fullest of all in historical associations. On the side towards the Tweed it joined the castle, also of Edwardian origin, in the hall of which the English Justinian gave judgment on the claimants to the Scottish Crown.

The site of the hall, which both Scot and English might well have united to honour, is now occupied by the platform and waiting-rooms of the North British railway station; and the castle has almost passed out of existence because the railway could not go a few yards out of the course its engineers had laid down for it. The portion of the Edwardian *enceinte* just referred to remained intact till about 1850, when the Town Council filled in and levelled part of it for a cattle-market. Another portion was recently destroyed to form a site for a primary school. One would have deemed the study of these surviving landmarks of the story of medieval Berwick an essential part of the education of every Berwick child; but they now read it all up in code text-books, on a site prepared for educational purposes by the destruction of these very landmarks.

Early in 1904 the Town Council hammered down another fragment of Edwardian wall, filled up another section of the fosse, and built thereon a house, while they let on building-leases another ample section of the *enceinte*. Then at last a public-spirited citizen of Berwick lifted up a voice that for a long time seems to have been almost a solitary one. The Rev. James King, vicar of St Mary's, Berwick, wrote to all the papers, and to every person of influence that he could think of, from the sovereign downwards, and succeeded at last in rousing both official attention and that of the public to the outrageous act of vandalism which was in progress. The Town Council was bombarded with letters of protest in the journals, and remonstrances from antiquarian societies both local and national; questions were asked in the House of Commons, and semi-official pressure was applied through a tactful representative of the First Commissioner of Works. Public money, moreover, was actually proffered to make it easier for the town to do what it should

have been proud to accomplish as a duty owed to its own fair fame and historical repute.

The spirit in which the Town Council was pleased to receive these representations, and the further proceedings in the matter of the threatened *enceinte*, need not here be described; the matter has only been adduced as an object-lesson; and no object-lesson could display more effectively the attitude we adopt in this country in regard to historical monuments. There exists no real reason for the destruction of the Edwardian *enceinte* of Berwick. The proposal was only made because those responsible for the government of the town had no sense of the value of that part of the civic assets; and in this respect, it is to be feared, they only shared in the national laxity of thought about matters of the kind. Many other recent cases could be adduced to show how precarious is the existence of many monuments which are part of the history of the country, and for the loss of which future generations may call us to account.

The case of the walls and towers of Newcastle-upon-Tyne deserves attention. This city views with justifiable satisfaction its position as a northern metropolis of industry, but it is a source of pride equally legitimate that its civic annals start from Roman times, and that it has played its part at all the principal epochs of the national history. Its medieval fortifications are the lasting witnesses to its importance as a factor in that history; and the antiquary, Leland, stated that they exceeded in grandeur those of any city in Britain. A good portion of the *enceinte*, which is more than two miles round, is still in existence. Formerly the Corporation owned the walls and towers, and kept them in repair from the proceeds of an impost somewhat similar to the French *octroi*. Subsequently the powers and duties of the Corporation were passed over to the trading-guilds, the present representatives of which have power to sell, for their private advantage, these historical monuments of civic and even national interest and importance. Only the other day a proposal was made that the Corporation should buy from one of the guilds a tower, called the Plummer Tower, for the express purpose of demolishing it in favour of a certain improvement scheme, the need for which is by no means urgent. That private persons should be able to

sell, or themselves destroy, civic heirlooms of the kind is nothing short of a public scandal; and that the town authorities should even think of recovering their property in these monuments for any other purpose than that of preserving them for future generations, is almost as bad. Here again considerable activity has been shown by those interested in the safeguarding of our older monuments, and an influential deputation to the Town Council expressed views that it is hoped will ultimately result in a proper settlement of the whole question of the Newcastle walls and towers.

A case in which a still more valuable monument was not only threatened but actually destroyed occurred a few years ago at Peterborough. If there be any medieval buildings in the country that should be preserved with especial jealousy, they are the old tithe-barns, of which several good specimens still survive. They have a more than national value as examples of the great hall of timber and stone work, single or aisled, that appears as an early type of human dwelling in Greek and Teutonic literature. How noble they are in their largeness and simplicity the reader may learn from the sentences describing a great barn, evidently that at Bradford-on-Avon in Mr Hardy's 'Far from the Madding Crowd' (cap. xxii).

'The vast porches at the sides, lofty enough to admit a waggon laden to its highest with corn in the sheaf, were spanned by heavy pointed arches of stone, broadly and boldly cut, whose very simplicity was the origin of a grandeur not apparent in erections where more ornament has been attempted. The dusky, filmed, chestnut roof, braced and tied in by huge collars, curves, and diagonals, was far nobler in design, because more wealthy in material, than nine-tenths of those in our modern churches. Along each side wall was a range of striding buttresses, throwing deep shadows on the spaces between them, which were perforated by lancet openings, combining in their proportions the precise requirements both of beauty and ventilation.'

A fine structure of this type existed in perfect preservation a few years ago in a part of the town of Peterborough that was being rapidly covered with streets of comparatively small houses. It was part of some property belonging to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. The land about it was sold by the Commissioners for

building purposes in 1876; and with the land went the old tithe-barn, as if it had been some shed or outhouse accidentally left on the ground. While the structure remained the property of the Commissioners it was practically safe, because the Commissioners individually are men who would recognise its artistic and historical value, especially in connexion with the medieval economics of the Church; but it casts a sinister light on our neglect of ancient monuments that such an edifice should have been handed over with a plot of building-ground, without any safeguard or reservation to protect it from the spoiler. The result was that, about six years ago, the grand old structure was pulled to pieces for the trifling value of its materials, the timber, it is said, being found so hard that it did not repay the cost of working. The site is now bare ground whereon the plan of the building can still be traced, but it is in the midst of a crowded district where a large hall, which could have been turned to one of several modern purposes, would have been a most valuable possession for the people. On this ground, as well as upon the more weighty artistic and historical considerations, strenuous efforts were made to save the fabric; but these were private efforts, and, for reasons into which it would be useless to enter, they proved unavailing.

One other recent case of threatened destruction and of chivalrous defence may be briefly referred to. This is the case of the Whitgift Hospital at Croydon. Croydon is a very populous and rapidly extending borough, and possesses near its centre a well-preserved specimen of a characteristically English institution in the form of an Elizabethan hospital or charitable foundation, similar in type, though subsequent in date, to the well-known St Cross by Winchester, and the Cheetham College at Manchester. These institutions, which, like the Oxford and Cambridge colleges, exhibit monastic or canonical forms suited to modern requirements, often present great architectural beauty in the disposition and character of their buildings, and are, in any case, little oases where, perhaps, in the midst of the whirl of a busy town, there is still a 'haunt of ancient peace.' The value of these points of rest in our crowded centres of population, of these memorials of the past that keep piety alive in minds that might yield

wholly to the obsession of the present, is even now very great, and will certainly not grow less as time goes on. The late Archbishop Benson, speaking in Croydon about the Whitgift Hospital, prophesied that it would 'stand for ever as the affectionate pride of multitudes of citizens'; and yet the authors of a recent street improvement scheme contemplated with a light heart the practical destruction of the fabric. A protest was immediately made by a newly formed Croydon Antiquities Protection Committee; and so many other societies and individuals have joined in an appeal to the urban authorities that there is some hope the building may be preserved.

Many other examples might be given, but such multiplication is not needed to show the precarious tenure on which this country holds so many of its artistic and historical treasures. No public authority is invested with legal powers to intervene for their preservation. The townsmen of Berwick required formal permission from the Office of Woods and Forests before they could build on their Edwardian *enceinte*; and this permission, surely with some supineness, was more than once actually granted. The Croydon local authorities would need parliamentary powers for demolishing part of Whitgift's Hospital; but prospective injury to ancient monuments will not always prevent parliamentary powers being obtained. The Ecclesiastical Commissioners cannot greatly have cared what became of their Peterborough tithe-barn; and, when it passed out of their control, its fate was in private and irresponsible hands. The Newcastle urban councillors have no power over their own town walls and towers. In France, on the other hand, all the monuments in question would certainly have been 'classés,' that is to say, placed formally under the supervision of the State; and the very first articles of the French Historical Monuments Act of 1887 would have rendered the proposed and partly accomplished acts of destruction illegal. In Germany, Italy, Austria, Belgium, Holland, and almost every other European country they would have figured on inventories kept by state-appointed commissions, and enjoyed the supervision of a general or provincial inspector of monuments.

In this connexion it will be of interest to enquire into

the machinery that exists at home and abroad for safeguarding the memorials of the past, whether in the form of single monuments of outstanding importance, or of the older domestic or semi-public buildings which still preserve to so many European cities their historical interest and their picturesque charm. In this country we are almost devoid of the official and semi-official machinery which is in full and fruitful action abroad. We dispose, on the other hand, perhaps more freely than foreign nations, of a force that, though generally latent, may, on occasions such as those just noticed, be stimulated to effective action. This is the force of public opinion. Public opinion, however, is in its very nature an unorganised force, acting spasmodically upon stimulus supplied by some striking event, or by the initiative of individuals who can magnetise their fellows. Popular agitations arise spontaneously from time to time, like that against the proposal to run a tunnel under Princes Street, Edinburgh, or that for a railway traversing the Lake District; but, on the other hand, projects still more deleterious than these may be carried through without the public waking up till the harm has been done.

This being so, what is evidently required is some permanent agency representing the popular mind at its best and always kept in working order. Such permanent agencies of an official or semi-official kind must be established by the general sense of the community; but in their turn they influence popular thought. Official action, though it may be limited in scope, yet sets a certain stamp upon the work in hand which wholesomely impresses the public mind. The care of ancient monuments, which, to the untutored intelligence, seems at first the mere fad of a few enthusiasts, acquires in this way estimation and efficiency. Government may really not be able or willing to do much officially; but the fact that it acts at all gives a general trend to public opinion, and makes it easier for individuals or societies, working in harmony with the official agency, to bring influence to bear in particular instances.

It is necessary to put in a true light the operations of these official agencies, because in this country we are inclined to set public opinion on the one side and official agencies on the other, as representing two mutually

exclusive methods, and to boast that England relies on the free action of opinion, while the foreigner finds protection behind the State. The truth is that public opinion on the Continent, as among ourselves, is the ultimate arbiter of all these questions. The official agencies are, in fact, the creation of public opinion; and their action, to be really fruitful, must be sustained by the same force. No one, for example, can study foreign Monument Acts, or follow the reports of official conservators, without seeing how financial questions are constantly coming to the front. The only effective agency by which the law can protect a monument in private hands that is in danger of alteration or destruction, is by compulsory purchase of the property by the State. All recent Acts of the kind, with the single exception of our own Ancient Monuments Act of 1882, rely ultimately on this power of expropriation; but it can only be put into force when there is money at the command of the Minister of Public Works or of the Interior. These officials will only secure a substantial credit from their *Landtag* or *Chambre* or *Camera* if their fellow-members know that their own constituents are, on the whole, in favour of a generous expenditure for this national purpose. In other words, it is only in so far as these historic monuments at home or abroad are generally recognised as things worthy of preservation that effective efforts will be made to ensure their safety.

This fundamental fact is recognised to the full by the friends of ancient monuments abroad; and in all the active propaganda on the subject, of which Germany is now the scene, speakers and writers have insisted that the movement must carry the public with it or it will have no real staying-power. It is not the case that state machinery is expected on the Continent to do all the work required. Its value is recognised as a sort of crystallisation of public opinion; and it is in this aspect that we should do well to establish it among ourselves. How little the champions of the cause in Germany are bound to a mere doctrinaire worship of machinery may be seen in the following characteristic quotation from a useful brochure by Dr F. W. Bredt of Berlin on the 'Care of Monuments,' with especial reference to the present condition of the movement in Prussia.

'The care of monuments by legal means issues in a protection secured in special cases by statutory provisions; but there is a wide field of many-sided activity open to those who adopt the method of freedom. Free-will is the golden way along which, as has so often been pointed out, the care of monuments can be most effectively carried on. The two requisites here are instruction and good feeling; and the intelligent co-operation of these often leads to the most satisfactory results. The first thing is to enlighten and instruct the people as to the significance of their monuments. This can be done through popular articles in the daily journals, through free public lectures, through the formation of local societies, or through personal influence on individuals. In every place there must be at least one man who will make it an affair of conscience to interest his fellow-citizens in the past history of their district, to open their eyes that they may read this history in stones, and realise the importance of the preservation of the record. Care should, above all, be taken to bring up the young to take delight in the memorials of old time. It should be one of the duties of a teacher to take his pupils frequently to the sites of old buildings and into the museums. When this is not possible, illustrations and drawings should be used to bring the monuments before the eyes of the young and kindle in them feelings of interest and affection. . . .

'When now a monument is in danger, the power of compulsion under the law, where such exists, should only be adopted as a last resource, for it is of the utmost importance in the interests of the whole movement to avoid arousing any opposition on the part of the public. By tact and good feeling it will very often be found possible to get the proprietor in question to consider favourably the representations made to him. If a refusal come, we ought not to be at once put off by it. We must try to put ourselves in thought into the position of the proprietor, and look at the end we have in contemplation from another point of view. Often, very often, will patience and amiability win in the end a partial if not total success. If, however, at the last nothing remain but the method of compulsion, then the law can only be of avail in cases where the State or the municipality has at its disposal at the moment the necessary means for the indemnification of the owner. However ideal may be our aim in the care of monuments, its self-evident condition is the indemnification of the owner whose interest is involved; and, if there is no chance of coming to an agreement, the matter must be finally settled by the process of expropriation. The saving hand is

accordingly, as has been said, always, in the last resort, the "hand full of gold."'

We must now ask in what consists this official machinery with which continental countries are so much more liberally supplied than our own. We have to consider, first, state-appointed commissions and inspectors; second, Monument Acts; and third, local building regulations passed by individual towns in the interest of the preservation of their characteristic features. Of commissions, the two most august are the 'Commission des Monuments Historiques' of France, and the 'Central-Commission für Erforschung und Erhaltung der Kunst- und historischen Denkmale' of the Austrian Empire. The first was appointed in 1837, the other in 1850; and to each is committed a general supervision of the historical and artistic monuments of the country it represents.

The Austrian Commission has for its function 'to excite the interest of the public in the study and maintenance of monuments, and to assist the efforts in this direction of learned societies and of experts, so that the different races of the Empire may take pride in preserving the memorials of their past.' There are twenty members, chosen for five years from among known experts in art, archæology, or history; and the service is an honorary one. The commissioners are supplied with eyes and hands by the ubiquity and watchfulness of their 'conservators,' a hundred and forty-six in number, distributed through a hundred and sixty-seven districts, into which the Empire has, for this purpose, been divided. Three hundred and forty-eight correspondents' complete the network of agencies, through the meshes of which few monuments should be able to slip. It is the duty of these conservators to keep in touch with local societies and individuals, and to influence public opinion everywhere in favour of safeguarding the memorials of the past. They draw up inventories of the treasures of their districts, and report in all questions of restoration and upkeep; and one of their functions is to study all projects for new railways, roads, and other public works, in view of any injury that these may threaten to public monuments.

The French 'Commission des Monuments Historiques'

is the council of state of the Minister of Public Instruction and of the Fine Arts, who is the executive officer in all proceedings relating to monuments. The number of members is now thirty, some of whom hold their positions *ex officio*, while others are nominated by the minister. Some of these nominated members are always men of affairs and Deputies, so that the Commission may be properly represented in the Chamber. Membership of the Commission is an honorary post, and is regarded as conferring distinction on the holder. Some of the most illustrious names of modern France are to be found upon its muster-roll. Lamartine's is there, and those of Montalembert and Victor Hugo, as well as the names of architects and antiquaries such as Viollet-le-Duc, Lenormant, du Sommerard, and Charles Blanc.

The appointment of the Commission in 1837 was the outcome of a movement of which Montalembert and Victor Hugo were the inspiring force, Guizot the official representative. Its primary duty was to draw up a list of monuments possessing, from the point of view of history or of art, a national interest. This introduced the principle of what the French call 'classement,' that is, the selection of a comparatively small number of monuments of outstanding value on which attention is to be concentrated. A monument placed in the list is said to be 'classé'; and the number of 'monuments classés' in an official edition of the list issued in 1889 is about 2200, of which 318 are prehistoric monuments in the form of dolmens or cromlechs. When once the list of monuments has been made up, the chief care of the Commission is to look to their safe preservation and proper repair, and if it see fit, restoration. In this it is served by its 'Inspectors-General of Historic Monuments,' salaried officers of whom three supervise architectural monuments. In the actual carrying out of any work of repair or renewal there is available a staff of skilled architects, forty in number, who possess the honourable and coveted title of 'architects attached to the Commission for Historic Monuments,' and are served in the practical part of their operations by an official staff of 'Inspectors of Works.'

In accordance with the centralised system of French administration, all this machinery is directed from the one centre, Paris—a method which results in certain defects

discussed by Dr Clemen in his interesting work on the 'Care of Monuments in France.' The whole principle of 'classement,' on which the French system is based, is open to criticism. It has the advantage that the favoured monument enrolled on the list acquires at once a high value in the public eye, and is a means for the education of the people in a proper sense of piety towards these evidences of the national greatness in the past. On the other side there is the drawback that a certain slur seems to be cast on all the works of old time which have not found a place on the list. A monument 'non-classé' may appear fair game for the spoiler.

In Italy and Germany, as contrasted with France, the care of monuments is decentralised. In Italy it is not in the hands of any single central body, but in those of ten provincial boards of supervision, the 'Uffizi Regionali per la Conservazione dei Monumenti,' who are aided in their work by inspectors residing in the various towns. The Uffizi have their own staff of architects, who carry out the operations decided on in respect of works in their districts. There is also a central commission for monuments and works of antiquity and art, forming a privy council for the Minister of Public Instruction at Rome; and this co-ordinates the work of the Uffizi Regionali.*

Germany is, by nature and history, a decentralised country. Here the old independence of the towns has left its mark on the whole administration of the country; and the monuments are not monuments of Germany so much as monuments of Cologne or Mayence, of Nuremberg, Rothenburg, or Hildesheim. Cities of this order do not care only for their cathedrals and for a few public buildings of world-wide repute, but value also their general physiognomy, as well as the picturesque aspect of the streets due to the survival of a considerable number of domestic buildings of a secondary rank. These would never find a place on any state inventory of strictly national treasures; and yet their importance, as elements in a general effect, is great enough to make their preservation a matter of the utmost moment. In view of

* The Italian Monument Act was passed in 1902; but the 'Regolamento,' or official code of rules for its administration, an extensive document of 418 articles, was only published in July 1904. It contains a full account of the Italian system.

this, many of the older German cities have issued building regulations, some of which will presently be noticed.

The care of monuments in all the German states is in the hands of official custodians or monument commissions, who are responsible to the Ministers of Public Instruction or of the Interior. In Prussia, a long series of royal edicts and ministerial circulars, from 1815 downwards, gives evidence of the attention paid to these matters by the Government. Since 1844 there has been a General Conservator; and in 1891 the important decentralising step was taken of appointing provincial commissions and conservators, of whom there are now fourteen. Dr Clemen, whose work on France has been already referred to, fills this post for the important Prussian province of the Rhineland. Bavaria, Würtemberg, Saxony, and the various Grand-Duchies, possess similar machinery, which has, in most cases, been in operation for a considerable period. One of the chief works on which these agencies are engaged is the preparation of detailed inventories of the artistic treasures of each district. Some of their publications are on a monumental scale; and it was reported in 1901 that, with the completion of sections then in hand, the whole number of volumes would soon amount to two hundred. The inventory of the Rhenish provinces, under the editorship of Dr Clemen, is being issued in a handy and inexpensive form, and is a typical publication of the kind. The inventory, in five volumes, of the old buildings and works of art in the towns and villages of Mecklenburg-Schwerin is singled out for special praise by a German antiquary familiar with this class of publication.

In regard to inventories, a distinction must be drawn between the schedules of comparatively few outstanding monuments, intended to form the basis of a 'classement,' and lists which are designed to embrace every building of historical or artistic interest in a region, the preservation of which would be of local, though perhaps not of national, importance. Such complete catalogues have been at least aimed at both in France and Italy; and all the regions of Germany, as we have just noted, are thus mapped out. The difference between a 'classement' schedule and such an extended list may be seen on reference to a 'Handbook of the Official Care of Ancient Monuments in Alsace-

Lorraine,' recently published by F. Wolff, the conservator for Alsace. This district was already in charge of the French Commission for Historical Monuments when it passed, in 1871, under Prussian laws. The list of the Commission embraces 175 'monuments classés'; but the full inventory of buildings and other objects worth preservation, now published by the German conservator, amounts to 3104.

The minor states of Europe exhibit a similar official interest in historical monuments. Greece has its 'Ephor-general' of antiquities in the well-known person of M. Kabbadias. The Federal Government of Switzerland subsidises its Society for the Preservation of the Historical Monuments of Art. In Denmark and Sweden and Norway there are state conservators of monuments, each of whom joins with this office that of director of the National Museum of Antiquities in his own capital. Spain has a fully developed apparatus for conservation in the form of provincial commissions, the operations of which were regulated by an important royal decree in 1865. These commissions classify the most important monuments, and consider all questions of upkeep and restoration. In 1900 a royal decree gave direction for drawing up an inventory of the artistic treasures of the nation; and in the same year a draft Monument Act was laid before the Senate, but was afterwards withdrawn for further consideration. Belgium has possessed a Royal Commission on Monuments since 1835; and there has recently been shown considerable activity, in semi-official and private circles, in connexion with the care of historical monuments, with which the kingdom is so amply provided. In Holland a State Commission was formed in 1903, under the presidency of Dr P. J. H. Cuypers, to draw up an inventory of the artistic treasures of the realm, and to prepare for the full scientific publication of those of special interest.

Passing now to the subject of legislative enactments, we note that in most cases these commissions and conservators have no power of legal compulsion over the owners of the monuments which they have under supervision. The Austrian Central-Commission, august and influential as it is, can only bring private pressure to bear on any proprietor who proposes to act in a manner

detrimental to the national interest in this respect. In the first fifty years of its existence the French Commission was equally powerless. Even in the case of monuments belonging to the State, if these happened to be under a different department from that of the Fine Arts, they were little safer than if they had been in private hands. It was of no avail for the Commission to 'class' the Palace of the Popes at Avignon if the Minister of War, in whose control the building stood, insisted, for military reasons, in tampering with the structure. Over monuments in private ownership no direct legal power could be exercised; but there always existed in the background a form of procedure which, though not devised for the sake of protecting artistic monuments, might, by a generous construction of its terms, be used for that purpose. This is the process of compulsory purchase—in French, 'expropriation'; in German, 'Enteignung.' All civilised states possess this power, without which few railways or even roads could be made. The French legal code admitted 'expropriation' for reasons of public utility. In our own country it is more than doubtful whether this would be held to cover considerations of art and history; but in France a more generous interpretation prevails, and it has been laid down by ministers in the Chamber, and acted on in practice, that it is a matter of public utility that protection should be extended to a monument that speaks of the past greatness of a place, or furnishes a model of style or of treatment to the craftsman of to-day. On this point M. Martin, Keeper of the Seal, made, in 1841, a declaration that has become classical:—

'Public utility is not a purely material thing; national traditions, history, art itself, are they not, in truth, matters of public utility, just as much as bridges and arsenals and roads?'

In Prussia also the general law of the State has been held, though more doubtfully, to sanction compulsory purchase for æsthetic reasons. But the whole question is by no means clear; and the need for defining these powers more distinctly, as well as for securing a firmer hold over monuments in the possession of departments of State or public bodies, has sharpened the demand for legislation which has been urged upon many governments

during the past generation. Monument Acts are sufficiently numerous.* Some of them are concerned primarily with artistic treasures of a movable kind, or with the proper regulation of excavations, or with other considerations foreign to the special scope of the present article. For the purpose in hand we need only regard those provisions which concern architectural monuments. In this respect the chief difficulty in the way of those in charge of the Acts has been to overcome the reluctance of legislators—themselves in many cases owners of property—to allow any interference with private rights. These laws have generally been more severe in their earlier drafts than in their final shape; and Lord Avebury fought for ten years before he could pass the English Ancient Monuments Protection Act of 1882, though its interference with these sacred rights was slight indeed.

For the present purpose the three recent monument Acts of France (1887) and Italy and Hesse (1902) may be regarded as a single body of legislation, though the principle of 'classement' is carried out more strictly in the French Act than in the others. The former only applies to the selected structures which the Commission has 'classed.' If these belong to the State, but are under a separate department, arbitration is arranged between the ministers interested. Such monuments, and those belonging to public bodies over which the State has some control, cannot be touched without permission of the Minister of Public Instruction and of the Fine Arts. If the monument be in the hands of private associations or individuals, it cannot be 'classed' without the consent of the proprietor. If he refuse his consent, the monument can be acquired for the State by compulsory purchase. If his consent be given, then the monument is protected as described above.

* The list of European countries which have passed Monument Acts comprises the following: Greece, 1834 and 1902; Hungary, 1881; England, 1882; Turkey, 1884; France, 1887; Bulgaria, 1889; Roumania, 1892; Vaud (Switzerland), 1898; Italy, Hesse-Darmstadt, Berne, and Neuchâtel (Switzerland), 1902. The Austrian Empire, Spain, Bavaria, and Baden, have drafts of laws under consideration. Prussia, as has been said, has had the matter in view for eighty years; and in the autumn of 1904 a legal commission was examining a proposed draft which may shortly become law. All recent efforts at monument legislation are noticed in the valuable French publication, the 'Annuaire de Législation Étrangère.'

The Italian and Hessian laws contain provisions of the same general character; but in the last-named there is a seemingly insignificant article of a decentralising purport that might become of great importance. This is the provision (art. 19) that the State may delegate its power of expropriation under the law to local bodies such as our county and urban councils. The significance of this will be seen when we go on to consider briefly the third point set for consideration, that is, local building regulations passed by towns or districts for the protection of their characteristic monuments. These regulations are framed in accordance with Local Government Acts which allow to municipalities a certain freedom in domestic legislation. When applied with tact and moderation they are found to be valuable instruments in the hands of those anxious to preserve the traditional appearance of historic cities. It is to Germany that we must turn to see these local regulations in force. The independence of the older cities, already spoken of, finds here a natural outcome. Most of these cities have formed local associations in aid of amenity. Frankfort, Lübeck, Hildesheim, Nuremberg, Augsburg, Bamberg, Rothenburg, Würzburg, and other towns have formulated regulations to which buildings in their more central and important streets and places are bound to conform.

As regards the practical working of this system, the burgomaster of Hildesheim reported in 1902 that in that city in no single instance had the local building regulations been resisted, and that they had worked in the most beneficial fashion. The existence of rescripts of the kind had greatly strengthened the hands of those working to influence public opinion in the right direction. It is not to be wondered at, however, that there should be a demand for new state legislation of a definite kind on this important subject; and in March 1903 a petition from societies interested was accepted for consideration by the Prussian House of Peers. The following is the gist of the legislation asked for. No buildings in public or private hands of lasting historical or artistic value, or of special importance in relation to their surroundings, are to be destroyed; no alterations are to be made on them except in accordance with the style of the building itself and of those about it; and in certain stated parts

of cities no new buildings are to be erected out of harmony with the character of the surroundings.

When we compare this ample machinery with what is done in our own country, we find here only certain shy and tentative efforts at arrangements which on the Continent are in full working order. Some of the functions of a continental minister in charge of the fine arts are filled among ourselves by the First Commissioner of Works; and grateful recognition should be accorded to the services rendered to the cause by ministers in this position. It is work, however, that is done in a measure *sub rosa*, and often only semi-officially. Of official measures the British Isles possess the following: (1) the Ancient Monuments Protection Act, 1882, 45 & 46 Vict. cap. 73; (2) the Ancient Monuments Protection (Ireland) Act, 1892, 55 & 56 Vict. cap. 46; (3) the Ancient Monuments Protection Act, 1900, 63 & 64 Vict. cap. 34; (4) one or two provisions in municipal Acts applying to special towns or districts. The Act of 1882, called, after its author, Sir John Lubbock's Act, was based on a schedule of ancient monuments of outstanding importance drawn up by societies or committees of archæologists in the three kingdoms. This embraced sixty-eight monuments, or groups of monuments, in Great Britain and Ireland, belonging, with about half-a-dozen exceptions, to the class generally termed prehistoric. The main provision of the short Act itself was to the effect that the owner of any ancient monument to which the Act applied might constitute the Commissioners of Works guardians of such monument; and that in such case the Commissioners should be thenceforward responsible for its upkeep, and for this purpose should have reasonable rights of access to it. The cost was to be defrayed 'from moneys to be provided by Parliament.' The Commissioners were on their side empowered to prevent any injury being done to the monument even by the owner thereof. It was further provided that other ancient monuments not in the original schedule might, at the request of their owners, be taken over in similar fashion into guardianship. Down to the present date twenty-four of the original sixty-eight monuments have been placed under the Commissioners of Works; and eighteen fresh monuments, not in the original schedule,

have been added, all in England and Scotland, so that there are now in all forty-one in Great Britain under the protection of the law. So far as any expenditure is concerned, these Acts have in Britain become almost a dead letter; and, since the death in 1900 of the Inspector of Ancient Monuments, General Pitt-Rivers, no successor has been appointed to the post.

The case of Ireland has to be dealt with separately from that of Great Britain, though the Act of 1882 applied as much to Ireland as to any other part of the British Isles. As is usual with that much persecuted country, distressful Erin has had far better and more liberal treatment in the matter of monuments than the sister kingdoms. When the Irish Church Act of 1869 was passed, many churches worthy of preservation on artistic or historical grounds had fallen out of use. These buildings were accordingly placed in the hands of the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland, to be preserved as national monuments; and a sum of 50,000*l.* was set apart for their maintenance. At the time of the passing of the Ancient Monuments Act of 1882, 134 old Irish ecclesiastical buildings were in the charge of the Commissioners; and under the Act of 1882 they received the guardianship of seven monuments of the prehistoric class. In 1892 a special Act was passed for Ireland extending the operations of the Act of 1882 to any ancient or mediæval structure or monument with respect to which the Commissioners of Works are of opinion that its preservation is a matter of public interest by reason of the historic, traditional, or artistic interest attaching thereto. This can only, however, be done at the request of the owner of the monument. Under this Act of 1892 forty-eight monuments, chiefly abbey ruins, ancient churches, round towers, and the like, have been added to the list; so that the whole number under the guardianship of the Board of Public Works in Ireland at the close of the year 1904 amounted to 189. There is available for their maintenance a yearly sum of about 1000*l.*, which contrasts markedly with the niggardly supplies on which the monuments in Britain starve.

The English official intelligence, toiling after the nimble Irish wit, achieved in 1900 'an Act to amend the Ancient Monuments Protection Act, 1882,' by which the

provisions of the Irish Act of 1892 were applied to England and Scotland, but in an amplified form, in accordance with which county councils have the same powers that were conferred in Ireland in 1882 and 1892 on the Commissioners of Works. This provision is very important, as introducing the German and Italian system of local organisation in place of the centralisation of the former Acts. There is another clause to the effect that Commissioners of Works or county councils may receive voluntary contributions towards the upkeep of any monument under their charge, and enter into agreements with an owner, 'or with any other person,' 'as to such maintenance and preservation and the cost thereof.' This again is a beneficial provision, since it brings official authorities into touch with private societies, such, for example, as the National Trust for Places of Historic Interest or Natural Beauty, as well as with individuals who may take personal or local interest in some monument or group. This combined action of official and private agencies is of the utmost importance for a satisfactory treatment of the monument question; and the want of such action in over-centralised France is specially commented on by Dr Clemen in his work on the subject. A provision for public access to monuments under the Act forms a useful adjunct, as there is no such provision in the original Act of 1882. Such access is, however, still subject to the good pleasure of the owner.

Under the law of 1900 no action has been taken from the side of the Commissioners of Works; but there is a prospect of some activity among local authorities. Already, in 1898, the London County Council had obtained the insertion of a clause in its General Powers Act of that year enabling it to purchase by agreement buildings and places of historical or architectural interest, and to undertake their maintenance; and in April 1900 the Council purchased for a considerable sum a notable old house in Fleet Street for the purpose of preserving it as a historical monument, while utilising it at the same time for modern ends.

Another function with regard to ancient monuments which foreign states acknowledge as a duty, but to which British Governments have not set their hand, has

been also undertaken by the London County Council, viz. the preparation of an inventory or register. The report of the Council for 1902–3 says: 'At an early stage the Council came to the conclusion that it would be desirable for a register to be compiled of historic buildings remaining in London.' Such a register had been already begun by a private society for the survey of the memorials of greater London; and the County Council, taking over this work, has issued one volume, compiled under the direction of Mr C. R. Ashbee, dealing with the parish of Bromley-by-Bow. The work has, for the moment, been discontinued, but will probably be carried forward on somewhat less ample lines. An inventory of houses and other buildings of historical and artistic interest in Edinburgh is also under consideration by the Town Council of that ancient city.*

The legislation already described represents important first steps towards a work which lies at the very foundation of a properly organised care of ancient monuments. It has been seen that in every European country, whether formal Monument Acts exist or not, the task of cataloguing is in full progress; and it is recognised that, before the national heritage in these possessions can be properly safeguarded, it must be known in what that heritage consists. In our own country, in one particular department of monument lore—that concerned with manuscripts—this work of cataloguing was undertaken many years ago; and the Historical Manuscripts Commission has done invaluable work in examining and describing the contents of British muniment chests, both public and private. Here is a precedent that might well be followed in regard to monuments in general. The appointment of a royal commission, with a view to the preparation of an inventory of all monuments of artistic or historical importance throughout the British Isles, is probably the most effective practical step which Government could take, while, at the same time, it is the easiest. A very considerable amount of the work involved has been already done; and, for a good part of the rest, voluntary

* As an example of what is done in this way abroad, it may be mentioned that in 1903 there was published at Lyons an excellent 'Inventaire Général du Vieux-Lyon,' with a notice of all the old houses of interest.

workers would certainly be forthcoming. The function of a commission would be to systematise and co-ordinate what has been accomplished or is still in progress, and to provide for the filling-up of *lacunæ*. It would not be sufficient to leave the whole work to local bodies; for unless the Government give a lead, the movement will be only spasmodic and partial.

A provincial borough in the north of England has lately supplied a pertinent object-lesson on the value of inventories of this kind. The town of Penrith possessed a couple of neo-classic house-fronts, probably designed by Robert Adam, and at any rate excellent specimens of the Adam style. Early in 1905 the urban councillors acquired the houses as a site for a town-hall, and resolved to demolish their valuable façades for the sake of replacing them by a modern structure after their own hearts. Protests were raised, but in vain; and the houses were hurried out of existence. The only plea by which the majority who decided on this piece of wasteful destruction could save their faces was that they did not know early enough that the houses were of value. They protested that, had the artistic and historical worth of the structures been recognised in time, the case would have been altered. The upshot is that the town itself, and the country generally, are the poorer by the loss of excellent work that can never be replaced, all because Penrith was without any such survey or inventory of its artistic treasures, the pressing need of which is here maintained.

Apart from the practical work of the preparation of an inventory, such a royal commission would perform a very useful function in considering and reporting on the question of the ownership of national monuments, and on the expediency of arming the executive with powers, to be used only in the last resort, of expropriating private owners on artistic or historical grounds. Our own Act of 1882 expressly refuses this power to the executive; but it has been already noticed that in foreign Monument Acts provisions of the kind are constant features. That a town council, as in the case of Newcastle, should not have property in its own city walls and towers, and that a private owner, who may be seised of some ancient monument of absolutely unique value, should be legally empowered to dispose of it to a foreign purchaser

are anomalies that would be hard to parallel outside our own borders. The relation of ecclesiastical bodies and persons to the treasures of medieval art actually within their keeping is another matter in which enquiry may become advisable. Hitherto, in the ecclesiastical mind, the sense of the historical continuity of the Church has been strong enough to invest the buildings and objects that represent this continuity with an inviolable sacredness; but will this feeling necessarily last? The power of money, when lavishly dispensed, is terribly great; and there have recently appeared some ominous signs that the sacredness referred to may become obsolete.

It is quite conceivable that the report of such a royal commission as is here contemplated might lead to legislative action in this country similar to the action which is being taken in so many quarters abroad. Apart, however, from the question of any general Monument Act of a sweeping kind, much may be done by permissive legislation, opening the way to local action in favour of preservation. The Act of 1900 gave certain powers to county councils, of which advantage is already being taken. Besides the action of the London County Council already described, the Northamptonshire County Council has moved in the case of the Queen Eleanor crosses within its jurisdiction, and has taken into guardianship the cross near the county town; it is also giving attention to the medieval bridges of the county. Urban bodies might similarly be encouraged to protect their civic possessions. There are two methods of procedure here. A local body may, on its own initiative, apply for certain special powers. Thus, by the Chester Improvement Act of 1884, no new erections of any kind are allowed to abut on the city walls save with consent of the Corporation; and Edinburgh, in 1899, obtained certain powers in advance of anything previously granted by Parliament for checking the abuses of advertisements.

On the other hand, the legislature may pass a permissive Act, like that of 1900, under which any local body may move at its will. The advantage of government initiative for the purpose in view has already been pointed out; and this applies especially to monuments in civic custody. County councils are evidently preparing to take up this part of the work open to them;

but the attitude of municipal bodies is by no means so encouraging. State recognition of the value of these older buildings would impress upon the minds of city representatives the importance of interests which are continually being thrust aside by utilitarian claims. As matters now stand, when acts of destruction are contemplated, like those at Berwick or Croydon or Penrith, the whole case for defence has to be built up from the foundation and argued out on first principles in memorials and letters to the local journal.

What is urgently required is a firmly expressed declaration on the part of the Government that this department of the national assets is of the highest intrinsic value, and that it behoves every public body to give serious attention to that portion of these assets over which it has control. The arguments that make for preservation should be stated in an authoritative document that will command attention, and to which reference can always be made. This does not mean that preservation is to be rendered in every case obligatory. It is at times impossible to arrest natural decay, which may decide the fate of structures we would gladly retain; and the exigencies of the present may at other times outweigh all other considerations. What government action would secure is the acceptance of the general principle that these things are of great value, and that a strenuous effort must in every case be made to hold them inviolate. When these principles, which underlie all intelligent efforts at preservation, are accepted as of unquestionable validity, the special features of each case as it arises can be dispassionately considered on their merits. There is no necessity for the practical interference of a government department in all these local questions. If Government will only establish on broad lines a national policy, it may safely be left to the patriotism of each province or city to supervise its working.

Art. IX.—THE EARLY ROMAN EMPERORS.

1. *Cæsar's Conquest of Gaul.* By T. Rice Holmes. New edition. London: Macmillan, 1903.
2. *Portraitures of Julius Cæsar.* By Frank J. Scott. London: Longmans, 1903.
3. *Augustus.* By E. S. Shuckburgh. London: Fisher Unwin, 1903.
4. *Augustus und seine Zeit.* By V. Gardthausen. Leipzig: Teubner, 1891–1904.
5. *Kaiser Augustus.* By Otto Seeck. Leipzig: Velhagen, 1902.
6. *Tiberius the Tyrant.* By J. C. Tarver. London: Constable, 1902.
7. *Caligula.* By H. Willrich. Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte, 1903.
8. *The Life and Principate of the Emperor Nero.* By B. W. Henderson. London: Methuen, 1903.
9. *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius.* By Samuel Dill. London: Macmillan, 1904.

HISTORIANS do not always find it easy to hold the balance evenly between their interest in the things that have been done and their interest in the men who did them. If history has sometimes been dissolved into biographies, there have also been instances where the supreme importance of the work achieved, and the difficulty of getting into close touch with the prominent actors, have led to an almost impersonal treatment of the subject, to a history without names. In the case of the period which extends from the first dictatorship of Julius to the death of Nero, the temptation to adopt this method of writing history is strong. The unsatisfactory nature of the literary tradition, and the rapid accumulation of evidence derived from other sources, have diverted students from the dubious and often pitiful records of the characters and careers of the individual Cæsars to an examination of the nature and working of the political system under which the civilised world lived for three centuries.

A powerful impulse was given to this tendency by the publication in 1875 of the volume of Mommsen's 'Staatsrecht' which dealt with the principate. It contained the first intelligible account of that anomalous form of govern-

ment for which the masterful genius of Julius had cleared the ground, which the statecraft of Augustus established, and which gradually developed under, and almost in spite of, his immediate successors. Mommsen's insight into Roman methods and habits of thought, his familiarity with Roman law and legal conceptions, above all his unequalled mastery of the evidence, enabled him to analyse and explain with a clearness never before attained, the nature of the famous compromise which gave Rome 'peace and a princeps,' and by which the republic was restored only to wither away into nothingness.

Ten years later Mommsen followed up his exposition of the legal structure of the principate by publishing the fifth volume of the 'Roman History,' the volume dealing with the provinces of the empire from the time of Julius to that of Diocletian. It was a marvellous effort of constructive historical imagination. In a series of brilliant chapters the principate was shown actually at work, where, as the author declares, 'its work is to be sought and to be found,' in the growing civilisations of Africa, Spain, and Gaul, in the frontier camps on Rhine or Danube, or where Greeks and Orientals lived securely under the protection of Cæsar. The picture drawn presented a welcome contrast to that which Tacitus, Suetonius, and Dio had made familiar, and rendered what Tacitus himself has called the 'cramped and inglorious task' of recording the vices, cruelties, and crimes of a Gaius or Nero even more distasteful than before.

The personal problem is, however, one that neither human curiosity nor the requirements of historical study allow us to set aside; and the list of books prefixed to this article shows, not only that interest in the problem is reviving, but that scholars are endeavouring to solve it. It may be worth while to ask if we are at all nearer to a solution than we were.

Two confessions must be made at once. The literary evidence is much what it was when the Abbé Tillemont wrote his history of the emperors more than a century and a half ago. Even the tombs and rubbish-heaps of Egypt have not yielded a single fragment of the lost original authorities whom Tacitus and Suetonius followed. The epigraphic evidence, it is true, has enormously increased in volume, but its value mainly consists in the

light which it has thrown on the system of imperial administration, and on the political, social, and economic conditions of the time; of the personalities of the rulers it has little to say. So far as the personal history and characters of the early Cæsars are concerned, only one document, the official record of the celebration of the Secular games in 17 B.C., has been found which can rank with the Ancyran monument or even with the bronze tablet at Lyons containing the famous speech of Claudius.

Yet, as a perusal of such works as Gardthausen's elaborate biography of Augustus, or Mr Henderson's brilliant, if not always convincing, study of Nero, will show, we do not stand to-day precisely where scholars stood forty or fifty years ago. Though Tacitus, Suetonius, and Dio are still our chief authorities, we are better equipped for understanding them. The department of historical investigation known as the 'criticism of sources' has made great strides of late years, and it has taught us much as to the authorities whom these writers followed, their methods of using them, and the standpoint from which they regarded the period of which they wrote. Moreover, our greatly increased knowledge of the political system, and of the general conditions existing in the empire, has inevitably modified our views of the Cæsars themselves.

It is, no doubt, with the successors of Julius and Augustus, with Tiberius, Gaius, Claudius, and Nero, that critics of the literary tradition have been most busy; and it is round the figures of these *epigoni* that the battle has been hottest. Yet even in the case of the two greatest of the Cæsars there are difficulties to be met and questions to be answered before final judgment can be given.

At the head of the list of books prefixed to this article we have placed two which deal with Julius—Mr Rice Holmes's admirable narrative of Cæsar's conquests in Gaul and Mr Scott's monograph on the 'Portraitures of Julius Cæsar.' They afford an excellent illustration of the precise problem which confronts the historian in this instance. Mr Holmes's feet are planted on the firm ground of Cæsar's Commentaries; and, notwithstanding difficulties in detail, chronological, topographical and otherwise, the figure of the great proconsul and the record of his doings are both clear and intel-

ligible. On the other hand, Mr Scott's search after the lineaments of Cæsar the dictator leaves the reader, as it seems to have left the author, in much uncertainty.

The truth is that, down to a certain point in his career, we know Cæsar more intimately than we know most of the great men of classical history. Thanks to Cicero and Sallust we are able to get very near to the brilliant and versatile patrician who dared to beard Sulla at the height of his power, the astute and aspiring politician whose personal qualities attracted Cicero as much as his ambitious designs alarmed him. After Cæsar exchanged the troubled politics of the Forum and senate-house for the proconsulship of Gaul, we can, with the aid of his own Commentaries, follow him closely in his work as the soldier and statesman who not only conquered the Gaulish clans, but won their loyalty for himself and for Rome. Even of Cæsar, as the daring and successful revolutionary general who, to the amazement of the world, met and defeated the invincible Pompey, the impression left by the records is vivid and consistent. So far we are dealing with an intensely human figure, the leading characteristics of which are unmistakable. The qualities by which he was best remembered in tradition, and on which most of the stories told about him turn, are conspicuous throughout—his personal charm, his varied accomplishments and wide interests, no less than his unfailing readiness of resource, his clear insight into men and things, his boundless self-confidence, and the ambition which, in the words of his remote successor Julian, would lead him to strive for supremacy even with Zeus.

But there is another Cæsar, a much less human and a more evasive figure, whom it is not so easy to fix and describe. In attempting the portrait of Cæsar the dictator, the absolute master for a brief space of the Roman state and empire, we are left to work with rather scanty material. We have no longer the guidance of his own Commentaries. Cicero, divided between his personal liking for Cæsar and his detestation of the new régime, turns his head away from this part of his career. We are thrown back on far inferior authorities of a later date, on Plutarch, Suetonius, and Dio. Nor does the evidence of inscriptions and monuments compensate, to any great extent, for the failure of the literary record.

Some facts are indeed beyond dispute. The clemency which Cæsar showed to opponents was a welcome surprise to men who remembered the 'Sullan domination.' But his rule was also characteristically vigorous and high-handed, for Cæsar had lost none of his old contempt for established forms and traditions. Nor did he fail to show his capacity for grappling at once and effectively with the urgent problems of the moment. Yet such measures as his reform of the calendar, or of the taxation of the province of Asia, or the compromise by which he staved off an imminent financial crisis, give us no clue to his general policy. And when we proceed to ask on what lines he proposed to reconstruct the commonwealth, the poverty of the material for an answer becomes plainer still.

The view is widely held that Cæsar contemplated substituting for the old city-state, with its subject allies, a single 'world-state' of which Rome might be the capital but not the mistress. Yet the evidence on which this view rests is far from convincing. Cæsar, as became a former leader of the popular party, and a kinsman of the man who carried the law enfranchising the Italians, was very probably favourable to a liberal policy in dealing with the citizenship. But, though he redeemed a pledge given in 65 B.C. and enfranchised the Transpadanes, and was generous both with Roman citizenship and with Latin rights in districts already so Roman in language and habits as Sicily and southern Gaul, there is no proof that he either made or contemplated making any wholesale grant of the Roman franchise. Nor is it safe to argue that, because he admitted into the senate a few 'half-barbarous Gauls,' he intended to make of the senate an imperial council, though it may well be that he wished to render it more amenable to his own will by the introduction of men, whether Gauls or old soldiers, who were loyal to himself. Sulla, who has never been suspected of imperial views, had also increased the numbers of the senate and placed on its roll partisans and creatures of his own. More hazardous still are the inferences drawn from the fragments of the law which critics are agreed in identifying with the Julian municipal law referred to by Cicero. It may be granted that the law was a statesmanlike attempt to introduce regularity and uniformity into the medley of municipal institutions, of various

dates, existing in Italy, and that its principles were intended to govern also the constitutions of all municipalities which might be established in the future. But the fact that, for some unexplained reason, clauses dealing with certain details of the local government of Rome are prefixed to the municipal law proper, does not justify the inference that Cæsar intended to lower Rome to the position of being only one, even though the foremost, among Italian towns.

If we cannot be sure what Cæsar meant to make of the Roman state, we are almost equally in the dark as to the shape which he intended that its government should assume. We may, of course, dismiss the idea that he contemplated a restoration of the republic in any real sense. The necessity for some centralised personal authority was patent; and Cæsar had used plain language about the ancient republican constitution. It is almost as unlikely that he had fixed on the dictatorship as the form under which the supreme power should be permanently exercised. Beyond this all is conjecture. There is much plausibility in the theory advocated, among others, by Dr E. Meyer, one of the ablest living German historians, that Cæsar intended to place at the head of the state a king, not, as Mommsen suggested, of the old Roman type, but after the pattern of the Hellenistic monarchies of the Seleucids and Ptolemies. The extravagant honours which Cæsar allowed to be heaped upon him gave significance to the talk of a proposal to allow him to assume the title 'Basileus' and the kingly tiara, while engaged in his projected Parthian campaign. His claim to descent from Venus Genetrix, in whose honour he built a temple in Rome, was carried a step farther by the Greeks of Asia. In a decree of the council of Ephesus he is described as 'the god made manifest, the son of Ares and Aphrodite.' His intimacy with Cleopatra, and the rumoured preference which he showed for his son by her, may have raised the suspicion that he contemplated not only an eastern title, but an eastern capital. Finally, the emphatically Roman policy of Augustus was possibly prompted by anxiety to prove his innocence of any such un-Roman designs as those attributed to his adoptive father. But, though Cæsar's usually clear judgment may have been temporarily warped by success and flattery, it

is difficult to believe that he would have permanently adopted a policy so alien to Roman feeling and so certain to imperil Latin civilisation.

It is safer to resign ourselves to a frank confession that we have no satisfactory clue to Cæsar's views for the future, even assuming that he had been able to form any. It is best to leave him where Roman tradition placed him, the deified progenitor, the eponymous ancestor of the long line of the Cæsars, whose temple stood in the Forum and whose star was seen in the heavens, but whose tragic death, and the chaos which followed, separated him as by a wide gulf from the new order of things shaped and settled by Augustus.

For it was always to Augustus that men looked back as the actual founder of the rule of the Cæsars. The powers given in turn to each emperor were those given first of all to Augustus; and the moment when, to quote the language of an edict of Vespasian, 'Augustus got hold of the commonwealth,' was that from which the existing arrangements of the Roman state were dated. His proverbial good fortune while alive has not failed him since. It gave him what was denied to the other Cæsars of the first century, a successor who reverenced his memory and loyally carried on his policy, and historians who, though lost to us, worthily and faithfully recorded his achievements. The result has been that, though the unfavourable criticisms passed on him, as Tacitus tells us, after his death have been repeated at intervals ever since, his position has never been seriously challenged. The Octavian of the triumvirate and the proscriptions has been almost forgotten in the Augustus who, like his prototype Æneas, emerged from the dark days of the civil wars purified and strengthened for his work of restoration.

It is as the man who restored peace and order, and inaugurated a new era of justice, clemency, and virtue, that he was remembered even in the doggerel verses of the Middle Ages:—

> 'Salvator voluit sub tanto principe nasci,
> Nam pax sub pacis principe nata fuit.'

It is under this aspect that Augustus is revealed in two striking memorials of his principate, both of which have been discovered within the last fifteen years. They may

claim a brief notice here, if only because Mr Shuckburgh, in his careful life of Augustus, seems scarcely to realise their importance as bringing vividly before us the strength and reality of the feelings which inspired the verses of Horace and Ovid. The first is the official record of the celebration of the Secular games in 17 B.C. which (we are quoting Mommsen), by the favour of the gods, 'quibus septem placuere colles,' was discovered in September 1890, during the construction of the new Tiber embankment. The record was graven on marble, by order of the senate, 'so that the memory of this great mercy of the gods may be preserved.' In interest it stands second only to the Ancyran monument, and it might well have found a place in Mr Shuckburgh's appendix along with that famous chronicle of the 'acts of the deified Augustus.'

It describes for us in detail the solemn ceremony which typified and commemorated the distinctive achievement of Augustus at what was the climax of his career. Peace had been established, and not without honour, for the Parthian had given back the standards lost at Carrhæ; the provincial administration had been reorganised; at home the old government had been restored, the old worships revived; and, only a few months before, laws had been passed which were to bring back the ancient virtues. And now on the first three days of June, B.C. 17, a date politely vouched for as the correct one by courtly lawyers and learned pontiffs, the old age, with its wars and massacres and vices, was to be buried, and the new age of peace and faith and purity was to be ushered in. We can read the preliminary instructions issued by Augustus himself, by the senate, and by the college of the 'Fifteen' specially charged with the arrangements for the ceremony. Then follows the record of the festival itself. The chief actors are the two men who had made it possible—the imperator, Cæsar Augustus, and his well-tried friend and colleague, Marcus Agrippa. The spectators included all, whether Roman citizens or not, who cared to respond to the invitation to witness a spectacle which none had ever seen before and none would see again. On each night in the Campus Martius near the Tiber sacrifices were offered by Augustus himself to mother earth, to the 'Mœræ,' to the 'deis Ilithyis.' The sacrifices by day were offered by both Augustus and Agrippa, for the first

two days, in the Capitol to Jupiter 'greatest and best' and to Juno the queen. On the third, the great day of the feast, sacrifice was offered on the Palatine to Apollo and Diana; and then, the sacrifice completed, a chorus of young men and maidens chanted the secular hymn first on the Palatine and next in the Capitol. 'The hymn,' drily adds the official chronicle, 'was composed by Q. Horatius Flaccus.' It is but rarely in ancient history that we are able to get so near to a great popular ceremony, charged with deep emotions of gratitude and hope.

Four years after the celebration of the Secular games Augustus returned to Rome from his visit to the western provinces. Horace bears witness to the feelings with which his return was anticipated and welcomed; and the note struck is much the same as in the secular hymn. Augustus returns to find the new era of peace and virtue fairly begun, the old age already buried away out of sight. In commemoration of his return an altar was erected to the goddess of peace, 'Pax Augusta' herself, in the Campus Martius; and there each year 'magistrates, priests, and Vestal virgins were to offer sacrifice.' So much we learn from Augustus's own record of his life. But it is only within the last few years that it has been possible to realise something of the beauty and significance of this 'Altar of Peace.' Here, again, we have to regret an omission on Mr Shuckburgh's part; while Gardthausen, though his book was mostly published, like Mr Shuckburgh's, before the most recent excavations beneath the Ottoboni palace, has made good use of the researches of Von Duhn and Dr Petersen. For the historian, interest centres in the success which has rewarded the patient efforts of scholars to reconstruct, out of the scattered fragments which remain, the great series of reliefs which adorned the walls of the courtyard. The reliefs, the finest extant specimens of the art of the Augustan age, Greek in their grace and beauty, but with a stateliness and dignity genuinely Roman, show us a procession which may well have been that which celebrated either the foundation of the altar in 13 B.C., or its dedication in 9 B.C. The high officials of state are there, the priests and Vestal virgins, symbols of the restored republic and of the ancient faiths; but there also are the men who had achieved the great work which the altar

commemorated—Augustus, Agrippa, and with them, probably, the heroes of Rome's most recent victories, Tiberius and Drusus. Quite as much as the record of the Secular games, the frieze of the Altar of Peace enables us to realise the 'halo as of the dawn' which, in Mommsen's words, gave its peculiar glory to the reign of Augustus.

It must not, of course, be imagined that there are no points on which the historians of Augustus have differed. Was he in earnest about the restoration of the republic? Dr Meyer, in a brilliant little paper, argues warmly that he was. Gardthausen, in his elaborate study of Augustus, is equally positive that he was not. What view Mr Shuckburgh holds is not very clear. On the whole we think the balance of probability is on the side of Meyer, and that Augustus intended something more than a polite but unreal concession to Roman feeling. There are indications of a serious endeavour on his part to infuse life, not into the senate only, as Meyer's language might be taken to imply, but into the republican institutions as a whole. We need only refer to his attempts, quite unsuccessful it is true, to reinvigorate the popular assembly, and to charge the magistrates with a definite responsibility for the local government of Rome.

It is often urged that Augustus must have known that such attempts were doomed to failure. But, though we may grant that he miscalculated, it does not follow that he did not believe in his scheme, or that in January 27 B.C. he had not reasons for doing so. As to one condition of its successful working, his own moderation and self-restraint, he was presumably confident; and as to the other, it is by no means clear that he was bound to despair of the republic without further trial. The Roman community was not so corrupt and effete as the language of many historians would lead us to believe. Neither the remnant of the old nobility nor even the city populace were utterly rotten. As to the great body of Roman citizens, Augustus, himself Italian on his father's side, and knowing Italy well, may reasonably have argued that, although the civil wars and the prevailing insecurity of the last twenty years had rudely shaken the fabric of society and produced a temporary demoralisation, yet there existed germs of vigorous life which required only the restoration of peace, confidence, and settled

government to develope and expand. It was clearly to this Roman people, to the Italy of Virgil and Horace, that he looked. They had been alienated by the narrow exclusiveness which guided the policy of the later republic; they might now be invited to play their part in a wider Rome, not as the subjects, together with Greeks and barbarians, of a supreme despot, but as a self-governing imperial race. Nor was his confidence altogether misplaced; for, although little is said of it by ancient writers whose horizon was bounded by the walls of Rome, the century that followed the compromise of 27 B.C. witnessed a great outburst of vigour and a rapid diffusion of prosperity in Italy. In one respect, indeed, Augustus's hopes were falsified; the activities which he set free did not run in the channels which he had marked out for them. Their effects are seen in literature, in commerce and agriculture, and in municipal life; but they left untouched the ancient political institutions of the city state of Rome, the primary assembly, the elective magistracies, and even the senate. Yet Augustus's ideal was no unworthy one. He will never exercise over the imaginations of men the influence of Julius, but he saved for posterity a Latin civilisation, and postponed for two centuries the triumph of undisguised military despotism.

With the death of Augustus the criticism of the history of the Cæsars enters upon a new stage. The literary tradition of antiquity treated Augustus with respect; on his four next successors it passed a verdict of almost unqualified condemnation, for such comparatively lucid intervals as the first days of Tiberius or the 'quinquennium Neronis' only serve to deepen the prevailing gloom. This verdict has been repeatedly challenged; not only Tiberius and Claudius, but even Gaius and Nero have found able and zealous defenders who have unquestionably succeeded, notably in the case of Tiberius, in proving that the verdict was in part at least unjust. There is, however, a prior question which has hardly received its due share of attention, at any rate in this country. We may grant that Tiberius, for instance, was not so black as he is painted; but it is important to try to understand why he was painted so black. In other words, why did Tacitus—for it is he who has given the tradition

its currency and authority—paint the rule of the Cæsars from 14–69 A.D. in such unfavourable colours? The theory that he was himself malevolently disposed towards these Cæsars has deservedly fallen out of favour. We may accept his own statement that he was not moved either by resentment or affection. Very possibly he was not unwilling to set off by contrast the happiness of that 'most blessed age' in which he wrote; but we find it difficult to accept Mr Tarver's ingenious theory that in blackening Tiberius, Tacitus is really taking his revenge upon Domitian.

Tacitus was, in truth, above all things an artist, aiming at painting, from the materials before him, a picture of the period with which he is concerned and of the chief actors in it. He found ready to his hand an established tradition of the characters and doings of the last four Cæsars of the Julio-Claudian line. This tradition, in the main, he accepts, and he sets himself to reproduce it as effectively as possible, throwing in skilful touches and deepening the shadows, so as to give the desired impression. He was not malevolent or dishonest, but he exerted the whole force of his genius to give to his own generation and to posterity a presentation of this old régime, with its extravagant luxury, wild excesses, and terrible catastrophes, which has held the attention of men ever since. It was a picture which not only he but his contemporaries were predisposed to accept without much question. For the comparatively sober, *bourgeois* society in which Tacitus lived the 'ancien régime' that perished with Nero had a weird fascination.

It is necessary, therefore, to go behind Tacitus to the tradition which he followed. It was a tradition bitterly hostile to the Cæsars; it emanated almost exclusively from writers who belonged to the senatorial order; and it reveals something like a standing feud between the Cæsars and the nobility of Rome. What, then, is the explanation of this feud? It is to be found, as Mr Dill has pointed out in one of the best passages in his book, not alone in the vices and faults of either emperors or nobles, but also in the political and social conditions of the time. The difficulties which these created became acute when death removed the great master of statecraft who had planned the delicate compromise on

which the principate rested, and whose unrivalled services to the state and consummate tact silenced opposition.

Tiberius has been often represented as making a new departure in policy; and a learned German writer describes his reign as a 'transition to tyranny.' In reality the most marked characteristic of Tiberius' policy is his unwavering attachment to that of Augustus, whose deeds and words 'were to him a law,' and whose 'advice was a command.' He did not enjoy the unique personal prestige of his predecessor; he was a soldier rather than a statesman, and by temperament as ill-fitted as Augustus was well-fitted for a policy of compromise. It is, moreover, easy to understand that the long duration of Augustus's principate had so strengthened the position of one party to the arrangement as to make the Augustan theory of a dual control far more difficult to work than had been the case forty years before. The pathos of Tiberius' situation lies in his conscientious efforts to carry on a policy which was becoming every year less practicable, which was in many ways repugnant to his own temper, and which tried his patience to the breaking-point. At each step the difficulties and the friction increased. Even in the department of foreign policy his loyal adherence to the 'maxims of Augustus' gave occasion for sneers, to which Tacitus, true to his artistic method, has given epigrammatic force and a permanent place in literature. His recall of Germanicus, his indifference to Britain, his temporising policy in the East, were all, as Tacitus incidentally lets us know, in strict accordance with Augustan rules; but almost in the same breath they are quoted as proofs of his jealousy of rivals, his inertness or his vacillation. More serious were the difficulties at home. It is, we think, beyond dispute that Tiberius endeavoured, with almost pathetic fidelity, to respect the two fundamental assumptions on which the compact of 27 B.C. rested—that the republic had been restored, and that the *princeps* was no more than a private citizen entrusted by senate and people with powers wider than those of any of his colleagues, but still limited and defined. At the outset Tiberius's deference to consuls and senate alarmed that experienced adviser, his mother Livia. Throughout the first twelve years of his principate he made constant use of the senate as

his advisory council, consulting it even on matters which touched the 'arcana imperii' so nearly as the enlistment and discharge of soldiers, or correspondence with foreign powers. While the proconsuls of public provinces were reminded that they were responsible, not to him, but to consuls and senate, he insisted that his own servants should remember that they were not officials of state. He was equally resolute in avoiding the outward accessories of monarchy; and here, no doubt, the theory of the constitution coincided with his own tastes.

But he was attempting the impossible. No effective partnership was possible where the real strength was all on one side. Nor was it possible to remain only the first citizen of the republic when he was frankly acknowledged as a monarch. The difficulty of governing efficiently under a system which he increasingly felt to be impracticable, but which loyalty forbade him to abandon, fretted and soured his somewhat dour temper. The effect was equally unfortunate on public opinion in Rome, especially among the senatorial nobility. Some resented the attempt to play the citizen on the part of a man who had none of Augustus's civilities, and neither provided nor shared in the amusements of the people. In others his reserve excited suspicion, which, after his withdrawal to Capri, took shape in the wildest gossip as to his private life. The mass of the senators were equally unwilling to take their partnership in the government seriously, and resentful of any attempt to ignore their claims. In a few cases other motives were at work—the pride of birth, which refused to acknowledge a superior even in a Claudius, or a sentimental republicanism which fed on the traditions of Cato or of Brutus.

To these causes of friction and mutual mistrust and suspicion must be added the general sense of insecurity and the plentiful crop of intrigues due to what was an essential feature in the Augustan system, the open question of the succession. It was this more than anything else which encouraged conspiracy and family feuds and lent a dangerous significance to the influence which might be gained over Tiberius by those nearest to him, his mother or Agrippina, or a too powerful prefect of the prætorium. The situation grew steadily worse. He was soured by the consciousness that his loyalty to the

maxims of Augustus had made him unpopular without any good results. His reserve and his mistrust increased. He left Rome in weariness and disgust, only to find that his absence intensified suspicion and encouraged intrigue. The gloom of the last few years weighed heavily both on Rome and on Tiberius, now (to quote his own words) 'an old man and alone.' But it had a more far-reaching effect. It gave to the contemporary literature its tone of bitter hostility, and so provided the materials for that portrait of Tiberius which, thanks to the genius of Tacitus, has fascinated posterity.

At the present day we listen readily enough to the apologists of Tiberius. With his successor, Gaius, the case is different. Yet it is not impossible to make Gaius, not perhaps more admirable, but at least more intelligible. Herr Willrich, in his careful study of Gaius, or 'Caligula, as he prefers to call him, does not profess to undertake the task of white-washing him. He does not deny his extravagance, vanity, and cruelty, nor, we think, does he disturb the fixed belief of Gaius's contemporaries, that the illness which seized him early in his principate unhinged his mind and clouded his judgment. Yet he has rendered good service by insisting that many of the features in Gaius's policy which most bitterly offended Roman society, and have been ever since quoted as indications of mental disease, are directly connected with a political theory which, though at variance with the Augustan system, had never been without adherents since the days of Julius, and was carried out by Gaius with characteristic extravagance and disregard of consequences. If the principate of Tiberius illustrates the difficulty of working the plan of a dual control of the empire, the rule of Gaius shows how near the sober principate of Augustus stood to an avowed monarchy of the Hellenistic type. The tendency to treat the princeps as much more than first citizen, or even first magistrate, was already strong. The half-orientalised Greeks of his household easily transferred to their lord and master the language long familiar in the courts of the East. The provincials of Asia Minor habitually overstepped the limits imposed on their devotion by Augustus and Tiberius; and even Westerns like Seneca allowed themselves to speak of the Cæsars in terms of almost Oriental servility.

This growing extravagance of homage had been sternly checked by Tiberius. But Gaius had been bred amid influences which inclined him to welcome it as his due and frankly to accept the position of more than human pre-eminence assigned to him. In the palace of his grandmother, Antonia, he breathed an atmosphere very different from that which surrounded either Tiberius or even Livia; for the latter, though autocratic in temper and policy, was Roman to the core. Antonia herself, after the withdrawal of Tiberius to Capri and the death of Livia, was the prominent representative in Rome of the house of the Cæsars. Her palace must have been a powerful social and political centre. L. Vitellius, Valerius Asiaticus, and Vespasian haunted her reception-rooms and paid court to her freedmen and freedwomen. From among the former came some of the prominent favourites and servants of succeeding emperors, Pallas and his brother Felix, probably also Callistus. Through her father, Antony, she had numerous affinities with the ruling houses of the native states which still flourished under the suzerainty of Rome, and, above all, with those of the East, the 'orientis regna,' with Thrace and Pontus, and with the Herods. Her palace, with its traditions of Antony, was their natural meeting-place in Rome. Here they cultivated relations with the powerful and astute freedmen, and here paid their court to the destined successor of Tiberius, the young Gaius. They pandered to his tastes, flattered his vanity, and instilled into him the ideas of sovereignty as they understood it; they became his 'instructors in tyranny.' The lessons they taught were perfectly learnt. Almost from the first Gaius posed as a monarch of the Greco-Oriental type. His accession dispelled the dark clouds that had gathered over the empire during the last years of Tiberius. 'The newly risen sun-god,' so runs an inscription of the time, 'lighted up with the brightness of his rays the kingdoms of his empire'; for he was like his eastern models, at once divine and a king of kings.

The verdict of tradition upon Gaius's successor, Claudius, is thoroughly characteristic of the time. The uncle is not denounced with the bitterness excited by the nephew's cruelties, but he is ridiculed and despised; and the reason is plain. Claudius, as even the tradition allows us to see,

had merits as a man and a ruler; but his merits and demerits were almost equally distasteful to Roman society, since both ran counter to its most cherished prejudices. Born in an age keenly susceptible to physical beauty, and in a family conspicuous for the possession of it, Claudius was awkward and ungainly almost to deformity. The son of Drusus and the brother of Germanicus was shrewdly suspected of being a coward. He succeeded to the principate in humiliating circumstances. He was credited with a liking for low society, vulgar pleasures, and studies which, in the opinion of society, were almost as unworthy of a Roman gentleman. To crown all, he was said to be weak and easily led by those nearest to him, his women and his freedmen.

This portrait of Claudius was probably in the main true to life. But we are shown another and somewhat different aspect of this Roman James I. The same authorities who dwell on his weakness and pedantry charge him with having been audacious enough to fling aside the venerated 'maxims of Augustus' and to initiate a new departure in the government of the empire. To the modern student it is sufficiently clear that in this matter Claudius gave proof of genuine statesmanship and showed himself capable of conceiving, carrying out, and, as his famous oration indicates, of defending a broad and liberal policy. It is equally clear that this policy was not only almost as completely at variance with 'Augustan maxims' as Gaius's extravagant claims to omnipotence, but that it wounded as deeply the susceptibilities of Roman society. Seneca, whether he is caricaturing Claudius for the benefit of Nero and his court, or putting into Nero's mouth a formal repudiation of his predecessor's methods, leaves us in no doubt as to the points on which hostile criticism fastened. Claudius was charged, in the first place, with endeavouring to ignore the division of labour established by Augustus, and to concentrate in himself the 'duties of senate, magistrates, and laws.' Secondly, he was accused of confounding the 'household of Cæsar' with the commonwealth of Rome, and of placing his freedmen 'on a level with himself and the laws.' Finally, in contrast with the wise parsimony of Augustus, he was said to have favoured so wide an extension of Roman citizenship that, if the fates had not cut short his career, not enough aliens would have been left to keep up the stock.

The first of these charges need not stay us. Claudius' taste for business, especially for judicial business, was as marked as the distaste shown by Nero, and the growing desire of the public to get their cases heard by Cæsar facilitated its gratification; but there is no indication in this direction of any new policy. It is otherwise with the second charge. It is now generally agreed among scholars that the principate of Claudius coincides with a marked development of what may be called Cæsar's own administrative service as distinct from the public service of the state. The status of at least his principal household officers, his secretary (*ab epistulis*), his controller of accounts (*a rationibus*), and his receiver of petitions (*a libellis*), was improved; and these private servants, though freedmen, were invested with the insignia of Roman magistrates. Similarly his revenue officers in the provinces (*procuratores*) received the most distinctive prerogative of public magistrates, jurisdiction. These measures could unquestionably be described as involving a confusion of the household with the commonwealth; and they were a departure from the policy of both Augustus and Tiberius. Nor did Claudius content himself with thus raising his private servants to the dignity of state officials. He also sensibly extended the area of their activity at the expense of the old magistracies of the commonwealth. To mention only a few instances, the duty of superintending the unlading of the cornships at Ostia, the care of the public lands in Cisalpine Gaul and of the grazing-grounds in south Italy, were all transferred from quæstors to imperial officers; while, in the charge of the water-supply of Rome, the senatorial commissioner was replaced by a procurator of Cæsar.

This policy cannot be dismissed as due simply either to Claudius' love of meddling or to the influence of his freedmen. It was an attempt to deal with a genuine administrative difficulty. The Augustan partnership in administration between Cæsar and the magistrates of the state was fast breaking down owing to the inefficiency of the latter. Alike in Italy and in the provinces, the difference between the departments administered by Cæsar's officers and the rest was unmistakable. But, though the extension of the sphere assigned to Cæsar promoted efficiency, it meant, as things stood, the increased prominence and activity of the 'household;'

it involved, in short, 'palace government.' For, if we except the legates who ruled Cæsar's provinces or commanded his legions, the bulk of the officials who carried on his government were not, in the eye of the law, officials at all, but private servants, often freedmen, or, at the best, Roman knights. The fact was not only a source of weakness to Cæsar, but a standing offence to Roman society, in whose eyes the ability of those low-born agents, and the importance of the duties which they discharged, were no excuse for their undue prominence and influence. Two centuries later, when Cæsar's service had lost this domestic and private character, the greatest nobles were ready to fill the 'officia palatina,' the offices in the household. For this change the time was not yet come, but Claudius undoubtedly prepared the way for it by investing these posts, even while held by freedmen, with something of the dignity of magistracies of state.

As to the last of the charges brought against Claudius, that of indiscriminate lavishness in granting Roman citizenship, we are inclined to think that both Dio Cassius and modern historians have taken the language of Seneca's famous satire too literally. Neither Tacitus nor Suetonius, it should be noticed, supports the charge. The extant fragments of Claudius' speech on the admission of the Gaulish chiefs to senatorial dignity do indeed prove that he was in favour of that liberal policy of comprehension, which, as he argues, had been the policy pursued by Rome from quite early days, and pursued with the best results; but in this case there was no question of granting citizenship, for the Gaulish chiefs already possessed it. Nor is it safe to assume that his undoubted activity in founding colonies, or in creating Roman 'municipia' in the provinces, involved any large addition to the numbers of citizens. On the other hand, there is no evidence of any grant of citizenship or even of Latin rights by Claudius on a large scale. As a possible explanation of Seneca's language, we would suggest that it merely gives exaggerated expression to the resentment felt in Roman society at Claudius' partiality for the Gaulish chiefs, whose countryman he was by birth, who had loved and honoured his father, and who were bound by many ties to the Cæsars, whose name they bore. Claudius, says Seneca, was a Gaul; it was

natural that under him the Gauls should capture Rome. But this peaceful invasion of Rome by Gauls was as unpopular as that of England by the Scots under James I, or, at a later period, under Lord Bute. There was, as Claudius implicitly allows, this amount of reason in the prejudice, that the chiefs, to whom seats in the senate and the honours of consulship or prætorship were now granted, as little resembled the peaceful burghers from the Romanised towns of southern Gaul or Spain as Fergus MacIvor did Bailie Nicol Jarvie. They were still the hereditary rulers of strong and warlike clans; they were wealthy; and, above all, it was they and their clansmen who, side by side with the legions, kept guard on the banks of the Rhine against the Germans.

We must pass to the emperor with whom, as Suetonius says, 'the progeny of the Cæsars ended.' The principate of Nero has left a more indelible mark on tradition than that of any of his predecessors, for in his case the hatred of Christians for the first persecutor of the Church has combined with the denunciations of pagan authors to keep his portrait fresh and vivid. The lurid reflection of the flames which consumed half Rome has coloured all the accounts of his reign, and has, it may be suggested, even tinged those of the Cæsars who preceded him. We are therefore entirely at one with Mr Henderson when he urges that in judging Nero it is even more essential than in the case of his predecessors to take into account the rather distorted medium through which the writers of the second century viewed him. We may dismiss the idea that he was a madman. We are justified in disbelieving, as Tacitus probably disbelieved, the story that he fiddled while Rome was burning. We may agree both with Mr Henderson and Professor Dill in recognising that Nero had good impulses, that he could and did inspire affection. He was certainly not destitute of ability, and he had a real if somewhat misdirected love of art. Nor had he any of the defects which made Claudius ridiculous, or the cynical contempt for human life, and the serene belief in his own omnipotence, which distinguished Gaius. But he followed where his passions led him, whether the ruling passion for the moment was lust or extravagance or, as it often was, fear; and once launched on this career he knew no scruples. That he

may have inherited from his paternal ancestors, the Domitii, a vein of ferocity is possible; but he lacked the stern courage and resolution characteristic of them and, still more, of his mother, Agrippina.

It is just because Nero was above all things the slave of uncontrolled impulse and passion that we find it difficult to follow Mr Henderson in his attempt to credit him with statesmanship and a rational policy in public affairs. That he liked applause, that he could be generous, and that his fancy was at times caught by visions of universal benevolence or universal conquest, may be admitted. But the evidence which justifies us in applying the term statesman to Tiberius or Claudius is wanting in the case of Nero. Thanks to Seneca and Burrus, and by contrast with what followed, the first five years of his principate, the 'quinquennium aureum,' were years of quiet and good order. But it was only on the surface that there was any reaction against the Claudian policy or any return to the maxims of Augustus. Nero disliked affairs as much as Claudius loved them, and so far the senate and magistrates had freer play; but both senate and consuls were as much afraid as ever of acting without the imperial knowledge and approval. Nor will Nero's achievements in the way of domestic or economic reform bear the emphasis which Mr Henderson lays upon them. We have a grandiose scheme on paper for a canal, and a momentary fancy of abolishing indirect taxation, both characteristically Neronian; when we have added the settlements of veterans at one or two decaying towns in Italy, a harbour at Antium, intended probably mainly for the convenience of the imperial palace, and a few more privileges granted to the corn merchants, we have virtually completed a list which compares badly with the Claudian harbour at Ostia, the Claudian aqueducts, the two roads which opened up the inland valleys of the central Apennines, and the draining of the Fucine lake. Abroad, the most important achievement of his principate was the settlement of the Armenian question on a rational basis; but this was the work, not of Nero and his advisers in Rome, who did their best to prevent it, but of Corbulo. Of Nero's visionary schemes for further eastern conquest, we have only space to say that we cannot take them so seriously as Mr Henderson appears to do.

That matters on the whole went well in the provinces and on the frontiers is true; and the fact, while not proving Nero to have been a wise ruler, illustrates what is perhaps the most characteristic anomaly in the political situation throughout this period. On the frontiers and in their own provinces the Cæsars of the first century were openly and formally recognised as supreme by the original constitution of the principate. Here there were no irritating constitutional fictions to be respected, no colleagues equally jealous and timorous to be conciliated or ignored, and here the senate could only step in if Cæsar himself invited it to do so. But, if Cæsar's authority abroad could be frankly displayed and openly exercised, any tendency to a capricious use of it was checked, and the results of incompetency in Cæsar himself were partially neutralised, by a solid framework of official tradition, in parts as old as Augustus, in parts older still, which steadied the administration on the frontiers, in the camps, in provincial chanceries, and gave to the foreign policy and the provincial government of the Cæsars its remarkable continuity.

It was otherwise in Rome. On the one hand, under the Augustan constitution, Cæsar was only one of several authorities whose prerogatives he was bound to respect, and on whose departments he was not to encroach. In the administration of justice there were tribunals of equal rank with his own from whose decisions no appeal lay to himself. He was, moreover, confronted with a wealthy aristocracy, nervously alive to every indication of a tendency on his part to overstep his appointed limits. On the other hand, there was the general consciousness that this division of labour and these limitations were fictitious, and that in the background, but near at hand, were the prætorian cohorts. The fact of this unacknowledged, irregular, but very real, power dominated the situation in Rome; it paralysed the courage and excited the secret resentment of Cæsar's colleagues, of the senate and the nobles, while few Cæsars, even though they did not, like Gaius, cast all disguise to the wind, could resist the temptation of exercising their power when irritated by opposition or alarmed by fears of treachery. Nor is it surprising that, when exercised under these conditions, it was exercised capriciously and cruelly.

A word must lastly be said of the man who has divided with Nero the interest and attention of posterity. Opinions differed as to Seneca's character and merits even among his younger contemporaries. That we have not yet arrived at a general agreement is clear from the judgments passed upon him by Mr Henderson and Professor Dill; and we must confess that with neither of these judgments are we in complete accord. Professor Dill's view of Seneca is sufficiently indicated by the title of the chapter which he has devoted to him, 'The Philosophic Director.' Seneca, in Mr Dill's eyes, is a 'pagan monk,' a 'saviour of souls,' conscious of an 'evangelistic mission.' Such phrases seem to us inconsistent with the whole tone and temper both of Seneca himself and of his age; they overlook the difference which separated both from the Antonine period—a difference which went deeper than the change in literary taste which caused Seneca's full-blooded and rather florid style to turn the stomachs of Tacitus and even of Quintilian. Seneca has much of what we are accustomed to call the 'eighteenth century' temper, and little or nothing of the detachment from practical life and the mysticism of the later philosophic missionaries and theologians with whom Professor Dill seems inclined to class him.

Mr Henderson's portrait of Seneca strikes us as truer to life; our quarrel with him is that he lays too much stress on Seneca as a philosopher, and consequently on the inconsistency of much in his way of life with his philosophic pretensions. The truth, so we are inclined to think, is that Seneca has been unfortunate in more ways than one. In the eyes of the writers of the next two generations he was part of a régime which had passed away, with its exuberant vitality, its excesses, its splendours and its crimes. Tacitus's generation was all for simplicity and severity, alike in habits of life and in literary style. They looked back, where Seneca's contemporaries looked forward; they lived in a quieter, safer, but also a more prosaic present. Therefore, as orator and writer, Seneca went out of fashion. A second misfortune for Seneca was the manner of his death. The circumstances attending it gave him a place on the roll of stoic martyrs, and labelled him philosopher for all time. The inevitable consequence was to draw attention

to the many points in which he fell lamentably short of the philosophic ideal as understood in the second century. These supposed inconsistencies became naturally a favourite theme with his depreciators, and they have influenced opinion about him ever since. Even the close relationship in which he stood to Nero was judged in the light of Nero's later excesses and crimes.

Yet a careful reading of Tacitus and of Quintilian makes it clear that it was not as a philosopher that Seneca won his fame. It was for his learning that he was chosen to be Nero's tutor by Agrippina, who shared the view held by Seneca's own mother, and by the mother of Agricola, that philosophy was a thing of which a Roman gentleman might easily have too much. To the elder Pliny, an encyclopædist himself, Seneca is the 'prince of scholars.' Quintilian praises his wide and varied knowledge, but adds, 'he was no great student (*diligens*) of philosophy.' It was, in short, as an erudite scholar that he was pre-eminent. With his erudition went, as we learn, a singular facility of speech and a courtly urbanity of manner, neither of them attributes characteristic of the professed philosopher. In spite of his wealth and the splendour of his surroundings, his personal habits were simple; but the simplicity was far more probably due to the 'provincial frugality' of his Spanish home than to any deliberate asceticism. He was no dreamer or mystic, but a shrewd and successful man of business. In his writings he moralises gracefully, if at somewhat wearisome length; but he is most at home when curiously enquiring into natural phenomena, the origin of the Nile flood, or the causes of earthquakes.

If we dismiss the claim put forward on his behalf, mostly by later writers, to rank as a professor of philosophy, we may also dismiss many of the worst charges brought against his private life and conduct. He was vain, as scholars have been before and since; he was a courtier; but in paying court even to powerful freedmen he did not stand alone, as the tales of Vespasian prove. The grosser accusations against him rest mainly on the well-known denunciation of his life and character in Dio; but in this passage, as a comparison with Tacitus shows, Dio or his epitomator merely reproduces the bitter invectives hurled at Seneca by the informer Suillius.

Seneca, as he appears to us, was neither a confessor administering consolation to souls in distress, nor a professing philosopher whose philosophy was artificial, and whose private life was unworthy of his profession. He was a man of learning and letters, pre-eminent in his generation for varied knowledge and ready speech, and sharing with his contemporaries their somewhat florid tastes and their want of interest in antiquity; he was kindly and courteous, sometimes to excess; he loved money, and was a shrewd man of business; but he retained also other qualities even more characteristic of the provincial *bourgeois*, simplicity of life and strong family affections. Fate, or the good judgment of Agrippina, gave him a colleague, a provincial like himself, Afranius Burrus, bred, as the Vaison inscription has told us, a soldier, then, for at least twenty years, a trusted agent in the household of the Cæsars, and finally promoted to the prefecture of the prætorium. With Burrus his alliance was close and unbroken—'a rare thing,' remarks Tacitus, 'between colleagues in power'—and together for five years they directed the policy of the state and held in some check the wild impulses of Nero.

H. F. PELHAM.

Art. X.—PREFERENCE: THE COLONIAL VIEW.*

1. *Papers relating to Resolutions passed by Colonial Legislatures since* 1890 *in favour of Preferential Trade relations with the United Kingdom*, 1905. [Cd. 2326.]
2. *Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the Liberal Party.* By J. S. Willison. Two vols. Toronto: Morang, 1903.
3. *Protection in Canada and Australasia.* By C. H. Chomley. London: King, 1904.
4. *Canada and the Empire.* By Edwin S. Montagu and Bron Herbert. With a preface by Lord Rosebery. London: King, 1904.

I. CANADA.

THE books mentioned above deserve a fuller treatment than we have at present space to give. The life of Sir Wilfrid Laurier is, in effect, an admirably written history of public life in Canada for the last quarter of a century. The commanding position which the Prime Minister has attained in his own country, and the eminence which he enjoys here and abroad, are of themselves evidence of a high personal character and of a great genius for public affairs. Mr Chomley's book, not the least useful of a useful series, gives a concise account of the origin, growth, and consequences of Protection in our great self-governing dependencies, and includes a chapter on preferential trade. The little work by which Mr Montagu and Mr Herbert have enlightened the fiscal controversy contains in a small space a curious and valuable contribution of Canadian opinion, gathered in personal interviews, by correspondence, and by travel. It is with the questions discussed by these authors that we propose to deal.

The mental attitude of Canada towards the scheme of preferential trade is not so easily defined as many public men and many daily papers would have us believe. 'It is the duty of the newspapers,' said Bishop Creighton, 'to tell us what to do; it is our duty not to do it. If things were as simple as our critics make them out, we should have done what they advise long ago.' If Canadian opinion were so perfectly clear as many people assert, there would be no room for differences of opinion. Such differ-

* These articles are by residents in Canada and Australia respectively.

ences do exist, and are stated with some degree of vehemence by people of sufficient character and intelligence to save them from the suspicion of stupidity or falsehood. It will be useful to treat the subject first of all historically, and to show how public opinion has expressed itself at various periods. The popular will is most surely to be found in customs laws, orders-in-council, parliamentary decisions, and the public declarations of ministers. Let us see what opinion these oracles indicate.

The tariff history of Canada began even before the acquisition of responsible government in 1847. The idea of Protection was not absent at even that early period. Each province maintained a tariff against all the others. That of Nova Scotia was called a 10 per cent tariff; that of New Brunswick was 12½; that of Prince Edward Island was 11 per cent. There were also different currencies in each; and between the tariffs and the currencies the difficulties in the way of doing business were many and great. These difficulties, indeed, in addition to internal political dead-lock and external pressure in the form of Fenian invasion, combined to bring about federation in 1867. It was the tariff of the united province of Canada (Upper and Lower) which influenced fiscal legislation before that date, and formed the basis of it subsequently. Little interested in manufactures, the maritime provinces were in favour of Free Trade; but little by little manufacturing industry arose; and, in order to conserve the West India trade, to encourage coal production and to promote sugar refining, as well as to foster various small industries, the policy of Protection found favour.

It was in Upper Canada, united by the Act of 1841, that the first protective and preferential tariff was adopted. In 1842 the legislature passed an Act which has a curious bearing on the Dominion preference legislation of 1897. This Act put a duty of 3*s*. per quarter on wheat imported into Canada from the United States. It was passed

'in the confident belief and expectation that, upon the imposition of a duty upon foreign wheat imported into the province, her Majesty will be graciously pleased to recommend to Parliament the removal or reduction of the duties on wheat and wheat-flour imported into the said United Kingdom from Canada.'

This was the first offer of preference. The Governor reserved the Act for the consideration of the home authorities; and, after due consideration, it was allowed. By chapter 29 of the Imperial Acts of 1843 the duty on wheat from Canada was reduced to 1*s.* per quarter, and on wheat-flour in due proportion. It was not stipulated that the wheat should be grown in Canada. Had that been done, the subsequent results would not have been so disastrous. The immediate effect of the Act was the investment of a large part of the available capital of Canada in mills, the importation of great quantities of wheat from the United States for grinding, and a large expenditure on improving the means of transport—all on the faith of the continuance of the policy of preference.

In 1846 all this artificial and precarious business was destroyed by the free-trade legislation of the time. The Colonies were not altogether without warning. The official correspondence of the time shows that on January 28, 1846, a remonstrance was sent to Mr Gladstone, then Under-secretary for the Colonies, from the Executive Council of Canada. The evils of a change in the corn laws were set forth. The enlarging of the canals had been undertaken on the good faith of the Act of 1843. The tolls on the canals would now fail, and the St Lawrence route would be ruined. The means of paying the interest on the debt incurred would be taken away; and England would have to pay the interest she had guaranteed. The shipping interest would be injured; the forwarding trade destroyed; the importations of British goods would be lessened. Mr Gladstone exerted his fullest powers in reply to show the Canadian Government that on every point they had raised they were economically wrong. The Canadians were not convinced. They protested and petitioned. Protests were ignored and petitions were in vain. Mr Gladstone offered cheerful advice and a high strain of lofty consolation, but no Protection and especially no Preference. His despatch of June 3, 1846 (Commons Papers, 1846, vol. 27), was his supreme effort of argumentative reply. Among other things it contained a peremptory rejection of all further preferences such as were offered and accepted in 1842–3.

'It would' (he said) 'be a source of the greatest pain to her Majesty's Government if they could share in the impression

that the connexion between this country and Canada derived its vitality from no other source than from the exchange of commercial preferences. If it were so, it might appear to be a relation consisting in the exchange not of benefits but of burdens; if it were so, it would suggest the idea that the connexion itself had reached, or was about to reach, the legitimate term of its existence. But her Majesty's Government still augur for it a longer duration founded upon a larger and firmer basis,' etc.

There may be something in the advice thus tendered that is worth consideration at present. The high temper of the controversy at the time, and in the years which followed, arose out of the result of an economical experiment which failed. The omen is not obscure.

From 1846 the policy of Canada began to precipitate itself rapidly towards avowed Protection. Meetings were held to advocate it, and resolutions were passed by large majorities. The unfortunate events of 1849 which so disturbed the career of Lord Elgin, following on the bankruptcy and distress caused by the failure of the preferential policy, turned the minds of many men towards the United States, where the benefits of Protection were alleged to be obvious. In 1854, however, another change took place. The Reciprocity treaty of that year, negotiated by Lord Elgin, brought about a new state of things, including discrimination against Great Britain. Reciprocal trade continued with the United States for thirteen years. On the whole, it is now generally admitted that the balance of advantage was with the United States. The prosperity of Canada from 1854 to 1866, when the treaty was petulantly abrogated by the United States, was largely due to the demands created by the war in the Crimea and the American Civil War. Had these events not occurred, the natural operation of the treaty would probably have been observed to be of doubtful commercial value. Politically it might have prevented the formation of the Dominion.

Even the Reciprocity treaty did not prevent a short period of depression. The year 1857 was an unfortunate one for Canada. The harvest failed, alike in Canada and in the United States. Canada was caught by the disaster in a state of extravagant over-expenditure, public and private. A general bankruptcy took place. The public

revenue fell off. It was necessary to provide means for carrying on the government. The tariff of 1858 was the experiment adopted. It was frankly protective, so far as the terms of the Reciprocity treaty permitted. The introduction of this tariff marks a stage in colonial constitutional government. The Governor sent home the tariff for consideration. Manufacturers in England protested against its protective provisions. The Duke of Newcastle expressed in a despatch (Commons Papers, 1864, vol. 41, p. 79) his agreement with the manufacturers, and allowed a hint to escape him as to disallowance. Upon this, Mr (afterwards Sir Alexander) Galt, on behalf of the Government of Canada, peremptorily reminded the British minister that Canada was the sole judge of its own fiscal necessities, and warned him that he must not interfere unless he were 'prepared to assume the administration of the affairs of the colony irrespective of the views of its inhabitants.' This despatch has long been looked on as a Declaration of Right in regard to customs laws in Canada.

The tariff of 1858 was in force till 1866, when, in view of the abrogation of the Reciprocity treaty and the approaching federation of all the provinces, a compro mise tariff was prepared for the purpose of conciliating the various opinions that prevailed. A general rate of 15 per cent. was adopted on unenumerated articles; and the protective character of the tariff was maintained. This measure was adopted in 1868 by the Federal Parliament. In 1873 there was a change of government; and from that year to 1878 there was a constantly growing demand for Protection. The new Government so far yielded as to increase the tariff to 17½ per cent., but felt itself unable to concede more. The Opposition formulated year after year, from 1876, a policy of Protection. In 1878 the Government was beaten; and a new Ministry, under Sir John Macdonald, came into power. It was pledged to Protection, and to retaliation on the United States, with the view of forcing that country to adopt a reciprocal policy. The tariff of 1879 was protective in a high degree, and was called the National Policy. Under this tariff, with various changes, sometimes by way of reduction, sometimes by way of increase or readjustment, the country worked till the year 1896. In

1891 there had been a slight decrease; in 1894 further reductions were made; but the protective principle was kept in view. Indeed the reductions were made on the ground that the principle had been a success.

In 1896 there was again a change of government; and, though the economic question had not been the chief topic of discussion, the tariff was necessarily an important question for the new government. The result of elaborate investigations by ministers was the tariff of 1897, by which the preference offer was freely made, and the whole tariff readjusted; but the protective principle remained untouched. The demand for higher protection, loudly uttered by many candidates during the general election of 1904, was not accepted by the constituencies. A demand was made by a deputation of importers in January 1905 for a further reduction on manufactured imports; but, as the Prime Minister said, the demand was unique; more protection, not less, was the usual cry. In February the makers of felt unanimously demanded more protection, especially against British manufacturers. The makers of woollens have declared for a year past that without more protection they must be ruined. But the desire for reciprocity with the United States has been generally abandoned; and that element of uncertainty may be considered as removed, at least for the present, though it can never be wholly absent. The tariff, with its preference clause in favour of Great Britain and the Colonies and India, its German surtax, and its revised dumping clause, is now complete. And there the matter stands.

Now let us see how the preferential offer and the Preferential Act bear upon the situation in Great Britain. The offer was not made, ostensibly at least, as the offer in the tariff of 1842–3 was made, with an avowed intention of producing a return of preferential advantages in the British market. It was, as Sir Wilfrid Laurier told us in 1897, a free gift, to show loyalty and to exhibit a willingness to discuss at least a wider and more imperial scheme. The Opposition in Canada condemned the offer as having been needlessly made without any condition of reciprocal advantages. An aggressive party in Great Britain, ably led, is now demanding a reciprocal policy. What hope is there, under present conditions, that such

reciprocal policy can be framed, or that, if framed, it will be accepted in Great Britain or in Canada? Let us define the situation in both countries.

In the case of Canada, we have a country committed since 1858 to a constantly increasing policy of high Protection for a vast number of industries. There is no possible hope that this policy will be modified to such an extent as would beneficially affect the manufacturing industries of Great Britain. No legislation has been proposed, no promise made, that would lead us to indulge in that delusive dream. The preference of 1897 still leaves Canada with heavy customs duties against every article of manufactures imported from Great Britain; that point is not always fully understood. The percentage of duty collected on dutiable imports into Canada since 1897, the year of the preferential offer, is as follows:—

1897	$19,891,996 77	26·8	per cent.
1898	22,157,788 49	27·3	,,
1899	25,734,228 75	26·2	,,
1900	28,889,110 13	25·5	,,
1901	29,106,979 89	25·2	,,
1902	32,425,532 31	25·3	,,
1903	37,110,354 59	25·8	,,
1904	40,954,349 14	26·2	,,

That is still a pretty stiff tariff with which Canada has to deal in giving preference in these markets. That Canada will materially reduce it is beyond all present hope.

The rise and progress of the demand for a general scheme of Imperial preference has never, so far as we know, been chronologically narrated. It began at the colonial conference of 1887, though, by consent, no special resolution was then passed. Mr Hofmeyr, representing the Cape of Good Hope, brought forward this proposition:—

'Whether it should not be recognised, as part of the duty of the governing bodies of the Empire, to see that their own subjects have a preference over foreign subjects in matters of trade.'

He urged this proposal by arguments which have been since adopted by public speakers who have not been too fastidious as to the morality of inverted commas. We hear these arguments from the platform; we read them in the press; and we find ourselves murmuring, 'Who

fished the murex up? What porridge had John Keats?' Mr Hofmeyr's repertory has been robbed by people who used to shout Free Trade when he was whispering Protection, but who are now enthusiastically redelivering his speeches in fragments, and then binding them in volumes for somewhat piratical distribution. The celerity of their conversion is remarkable. Their ingratitude is obvious, but perhaps not remarkable.

The question was again raised at the colonial conference at Ottawa in 1894. A resolution was moved by the Hon. G. E. Foster, then Finance Minister, as follows :—

'That this conference records its belief in the advisability of a customs arrangement between Great Britain and her Colonies, by which trade within the Empire may be placed on a more favourable footing than that which is carried on with foreign countries.'

This resolution was carried on a vote as follows: for the resolution, Canada, Tasmania, Cape of Good Hope, South Australia, Victoria—5; against it, New South Wales, New Zealand, Queensland—3. Since that time all the governments represented have undergone changes; the whole political situation has altered.

In 1897 the question was again brought before a colonial conference, at which the following resolutions were unanimously adopted :—

1. 'That the Premiers of the self-governing Colonies unanimously and earnestly recommend the denunciation, at the earliest convenient time, of any treaties which now hamper the commercial relations between Great Britain and her Colonies.'

2. 'That in the hope of improving the trade relations between the mother-country and the Colonies, the Premiers present undertake to confer with their colleagues with the view to seeing whether such a result can be properly secured by a preference given by the Colonies to the products of the United Kingdom.'

Under the first of these resolutions the two treaties with the German Zollverein and Belgium, against which Canada had several times protested, were terminated. Under the second the preferential offer of Canada was enlarged in 1898. But on the question of general mutual Preference

no resolution was passed; and Mr Chamberlain indicated its difficulty as follows:—

'Undoubtedly the fiscal arrangements of the different Colonies differ so much among themselves, and all differ so much from those of the mother-country, that it would be a matter of the greatest complication and difficulty to arrive at any conclusion which would unite us commercially in the same sense in which the Zollverein united the Empire of Germany.'

The Canadian parliamentary history of the resolutions in favour of a general scheme of Preference is far from satisfactory. In 1892 Mr McNeil moved a resolution,

'That if and when the Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland admits Canadian products to the markets of the United Kingdom upon more favourable terms than it accords to the products of foreign countries, the Parliament of Canada will be prepared to accord corresponding advantages by a substantial reduction in the duties it imposes upon British manufactured goods.'

This resolution, having the support of the Ministry, was passed. An amendment asking for an immediate reduction of duties on British goods, in view of the fact that the British market was free already, was voted down. In 1893 a resolution in favour of reciprocal trade with all nations willing to make concessions was similarly rejected. In 1897 and 1898 came the new Ministry's offer of Preference without conditions. In 1899 a motion asking Canada to respond to advances from leading British statesmen for preferential relations was negatived. In 1900 a similar motion met with the same fate, though a motion approving of Canada's unconditional Preference was accepted. In 1901 the leader of the Opposition moved for more protection at home and for a preferential policy with Great Britain. The motion was rejected. In 1902 he repeated his motion with no better result. In 1903 his motion was a third time negatived. In 1904 he abandoned the preferential policy, but moved for more 'adequate protection.' This also was defeated.

We remark (1) that all the resolutions in favour of general preferential trade, save that of 1892, have been rejected by Parliament; (2) that all the men who proposed them lost their seats in Parliament; (3) that the

party which gave them its support has been defeated at three general elections, in 1896, 1900, and 1904; (4) that at the recent general election (Nov. 3, 1904) the question of preferential trade occupied a very inconspicuous place in platform discussions; (5) that the ministers who concede that they are, like their opponents, theoretically in favour of the policy, have yet decided to take no further steps till the general election in Great Britain is over, and the British Government is in a position to make advances of a practical kind.

That this is so we have proof enough in the Budget speech of the Hon. W. S. Fielding, the Finance Minister, who, on June 7, 1904, in the Canadian House of Commons, was sufficiently explicit. Referring to the relations of the two parties in Canada on the question he said:—

'We may differ in detail, but I think I am justified in saying . . . that practically the two great political parties in Canada are a unit to-day in favour of the principle of preferential trade. Though they may differ as to particular items of detail, or as to the best method of bringing it about, there is practically no difference in Canada.'

But with regard to the attitude of the Ministry of Canada he continued as follows:—

'It has been sometimes said that Canada should take some further action in endorsing that principle. I do not think we are called upon to take any step beyond that which we have already taken. The attitude of Canada has been clearly laid down at the colonial conference; and, while every phase of the government policy has been discussed in this House, there has been practically no exception taken to the position assumed by the Government at that conference on the question of preferential trade. Now that the matter has become one of party controversy in England, we naturally hesitate to take an active part in it.'

Nothing can be clearer than these emphatic declarations. Nor is Mr Fielding alone in this announcement of policy. Tariff questions in Canada seem to be left usually in the hands of the Minister of Finance. The Prime Minister, however, has not been reticent on the question. In winding up the Budget debate on June 14, 1904, he said:—

'We did not imitate any other nation; we were the originators. We adopted a policy which we thought suited to our

condition, both as a colony and a young nation, believing it to be in accord with sound economic conditions. We adopted a policy which we thought would advance Canadian trade with Great Britain, our mother-country, and which would at the same time afford considerable relief to the Canadian consumer. A year ago we imposed the German surtax. In doing so we did not borrow legislation from other countries; we devised a remedy which we had reason to believe would compel a powerful nation to give us the fair treatment which that nation denied us, or, at all events, would force him to respect us. This year again, in order to meet a modern evil which has resulted from new methods in highly protected countries, we have invented a policy which we have every reason to believe will prove entirely effectual. As it was in the past, so it shall be in the future; we shall face any difficulties, we shall face any problems, as they arise, and we shall endeavour to settle them by ways and means altogether Canadian in their conception, altogether Canadian in their character.'

Nor was this his last utterance on the subject. At Sorel, on September 28, 1904, just before the general election, he made an eloquent general declaration of his policy and concluded thus:—

'Are you going to continue that policy? On that point the answer is easy. It has been before the country for two years. It was given, not in Ottawa or in Canada, but in the heart of the Empire at London, at the colonial conference, when I declared to the Empire that I and my colleagues of the Government were ready to make a trade treaty. We said, "We are ready to discuss with you articles on which we can give you a preference and articles on which you can give us a preference. We are ready to make with you a treaty of trade." Mark those words coming from a colony to the mother-country without offence being given or taken. What stronger proof could you want of the immense development we have made in our legislative independence when we say to the British Government we are ready to negotiate with them? There is the most complete vindication, not only of our Government, but of the tolerance of the British Government in its relations with the Colonies.'

The views of the Prime Minister are quite in accord with those of the Finance Minister. They both indicate clearly that nothing more can be expected from Canada till Great

Britain is in a position to treat. In the meantime the advocates of the preferential policy are looking, in Great Britain, for advances from the Colonies, while endeavouring by means of Blue-books to prove, not very successfully, that the advances have been made. The situation has a humorous side which has a historical precedent—

> 'The Earl of Chatham, with sword drawn,
> Stood waiting for Sir Richard Strachan;
> Sir Richard, longing to be at 'em,
> Stood waiting for the Earl of Chatham.'

The Blue-book (Cd. 2326, 1904) which has been put forward, as we have said, to prove that the Colonies are very much in earnest on the subject of preferential trade, is not a convincing document: it requires explanation. The first resolution quoted is that of 1892, to which we have already referred (p. 6). That resolution was voted against by all who now remain in public life of the party then in opposition and now in power. It was passed by the party which is now in the minority. Its authority as a measure of public opinion is therefore small. The second resolution, to which also we have referred (p. 6), is that which was passed in 1900. It runs as follows:—

'This House regards the principle of British preference in the Canadian customs tariff as one which, in its application, has already resulted, and will, in an increasing measure, continue to result, in material benefit to the mother-country and to Canada, and which has already aided in welding, and must still more firmly weld, together the ties which now bind them, and desires to express its emphatic approval of such British preference having been granted by the Parliament of Canada.'

This was voted against by all who remained in public life of the party which passed the resolution of 1892. It was, however, carried by 91 votes to 46. It simply represents the opinion of the dominant party in favour of the unconditional preference of 1897–8, and has no reference at all to the general scheme of mutual preference within the Empire. That this is so is proved by the fact that, in the same session, the following resolution was rejected by a vote of 88 to 48:—

'That this House is of opinion that a system of mutual trade preference between Great Britain and Ireland and the Colonies

would greatly stimulate increased production in and commerce between those countries, and would thus promote and maintain the unity of the Empire; and that no measure of preference which falls short of the complete realisation of such a policy should be considered final or satisfactory.'

It will thus appear that parliamentary opinion in Canada on this subject is still an uncertain quantity. The resolutions given in the Blue-book, as passed in the provincial legislatures, require similar explanation. They can hardly be considered valuable. That of Manitoba is as follows:—

'This House strongly commends and endorses the policy advocated by the Right Honourable Joseph Chamberlain, involving certain fiscal changes within the Empire, and is of the opinion that the inauguration and putting into practical effect of such policy would be of paramount importance and benefit to the people of Manitoba.'

It is necessary to explain that an amendment to the above was moved in the following terms:—

'That the people of Canada, to assist in the successful carrying out of this policy, should be prepared to make such further substantial reductions in the Canadian tariff against British goods as shall ensure to the British manufacturers an enlarged market in Canada in return for a preference by Great Britain upon Canadian food products.'

This amendment was rejected; and its rejection is evidence of the fact that any further substantial reduction of the Canadian tariff is not contemplated nor desired, even in the corn-producing province of Manitoba. In conclusion, we may point out that there are no resolutions from Ontario, nor from Quebec, nor from Nova Scotia, nor from British Columbia. We may therefore put the other provinces aside.

The most authoritative opinion from non-official sources which has been expressed on the subject was that of the general meeting of Chambers of Commerce of the Empire which took place at Montreal.

The resolution then passed, after much discussion and some amendment, was as follows:—

'It is resolved that, in the opinion of this congress, the bonds of the British Empire shall be materially strengthened, and a union of the various parts of his Majesty's dominions greatly consolidated, by the adoption of a commercial policy based upon the principle of mutual benefit, whereby each component part of the Empire would receive a substantial advantage in trade as the result of its national relationship, *due consideration being given to the fiscal and industrial needs of the component parts of the Empire;* and that this congress urges upon his Majesty's Government the appointment by them of a special commission, composed of representatives of Great Britain and her Colonies and India, to consider the possibility of thus increasing and strengthening the trade relations between the different parts of the Empire and the trading facilities within the Empire and with foreign countries.'

In this resolution we find the characteristic weaknesses of the whole case—(1) the assumption that somehow the welfare and unity of this Empire depend upon a new fiscal policy; (2) that this new fiscal policy must in no way threaten any of the present or prospective interests of the Colonies or limit their right to protect their own industries; (3) that a new conference—all the others having failed—is the way to arrive at finality. The most casual reader will see, when he examines the resolution, that, if the new policy is not adopted, this Empire will probably not perish; that a policy, the permanence of which must always depend on the reserved right of the Colonies, and of Great Britain, to alter their own tariffs to suit circumstances, is not likely to be stable; and that a new conference, to which all the members will come fettered by local jealousy, local interests, and local political exigencies, will end as the others have ended, in Blue-books and bathos.

What are the practical results, so far, of the measure of Preference accorded by Canada? That they are in dispute, alike in Canada and in Great Britain, is natural enough, since, in both countries alike, they are in the arena of politics, and it is not easy to disentangle what is economic from what is political in the figures and arguments presented. The statistics are, to some extent, rendered of doubtful value by the fact that, from 1892 to 1896, there was a period of depression in Canadian

trade, and that from 1897 to the present date there has been a period of unusual activity due to the opening up of the Yukon territory, the rapid extension of railways, the great increase in population, and the liberal expenditure of public revenue by an energetic government. It follows that the conditions for a comparison of trade figures over long periods, such as we find in the Colonial Office memorandum and the Canadian reply in the report of the colonial conference of 1902 (Cd. 1299, 1902), are not normal. But the conditions during the period from 1897 to 1904 offer a fair basis for deduction from the figures given in the Blue-books. The following tables give us a fairly clear idea of the course of trade during these six years and of the general effect of the preference given by Canada:—

—	1897.	1904.	Increase.
	$	$	$
Canadian Exports to Great Britain	77,227,502	117,591,376	40,363,874
Canadian Exports to United States	49,373,472	72,772,932	23,399,460
Canadian Imports from Great Britain	29,412,188	61,777,574	32,365,386
Canadian Imports from United States	61,649,041	150,826,515	89,177,474

—	Great Britain.	United States.	Balance in favour of U.S.
Canadian Imports free of duty before and since the Preference	1897. $16,286,341	1897. 31,231,524	1897. 14,945,183
	1904. $16,792,692	1904. 74,061,271	1904. 57,268,579

		Exports.	
Canadian trade with Germany before and since the Surtax	1902. $2,692,578	1904. 1,819,223	Decrease. 873,355
		Imports.	
	$10,823,169	8,175,604	2,647,565
		Exports.	
Canadian trade with West Indies before and since the Preference	1897. $2,643,360	1904. 3,583,475	Increase. 940,115
		Imports.	
	$1,678,870	4,813,815	3,134,945

Imports from Great Britain under General and Preferential Tariffs and Surtax . . . .

1904.		Duty.
	General Tariff.	
$5,781,301		$3,094,910
	Preferential Tariff.	
38,475,505		7,454,733
	Surtax.	
683,023		288,373
44,939,829	total dutiable	$10,838,016 total duty
16,837,745	free goods	
$61,777,574	total	

From these tables it seems to be clear that while, so far as regards British trade with Canada, the results of the preferential policy have been successful, as regards Germany and the West Indies Great Britain has no special cause for rejoicing. She has shared, indeed, in the expanding trade of Canada; but the United States have shared much more largely. She has, indeed, the one substantial advantage of one third off the duty collected under the Preference clause ($7,454,733); but whether this advantage is sufficient to justify her in altering the conditions on which a trade of more than 903,000,000*l.* sterling with all the world is conducted, is a point about which it is impossible to entertain any doubt.

That any further reduction of the customs duties of Canada on the manufactures of Great Britain can be expected is quite out of the question. The Canadian ministers made that clear in their memorandum in reply to the Colonial Office memorandum presented to the conference of 1902 in criticism of the operation of the preferential tariff of Canada. They said:—

'In this connexion it might be noted that the Canadian Government has been attacked by Canadian manufacturers on the ground that the preference is seriously interfering with their trade. The woollen manufacturers have been foremost in the attack, and they have made very bitter complaints to the effect that the industry is threatened with ruin through the severe competition from Britain brought about by the operation of the preference. In brief, these manufacturers claim that the rates on woollens are too low to be protective of their industry.'

That the free list can be extended so as to be of any further service to Great Britain is equally unlikely, for

the reasons laid down by the ministers in the same document. They said:—

'The policy of the Canadian Government is (and the necessities of the country require it) to admit free of duty, as far as possible, raw materials for the manufacturing industries, and necessaries for agricultural, mining, fishing, and other great industries. These raw materials and necessaries are largely produced in the United States. Many lines are not produced in Great Britain at all, and many others cannot be obtained by Canadians there to advantage. Great Britain cannot hope to compete in the Canadian market to any appreciable extent in the raw materials we require. It should be observed at this point that the free list of the Canadian tariff is open to all countries. There are no restrictions.'

It is not particularly consoling to be told that there are no restrictions when we are told also that we have no chance to compete. And our confidence in the existence of a controlling body of Canadian opinion in favour of Preference is not increased when we are told that the Canadian Government is attacked by the manufacturers for the preference already accorded.

The advocates of preferential trade in the Colonies are face to face with the intellectual difficulty, which deters even the dervishes of the new faith in Great Britain, viz. how to reconcile Preference with Protection in the Colonies, and how to reconcile Preference with Free Trade at home. In Great Britain there is, on the part of the official preferentialists, a great show of respect for Free Trade—

> '(Free Trade's) the King he caps to,
> Laughing in his sleeve.'

But the official respect is qualified by enough concessions to retain the support of those who have no respect at all. In the Colonies the official respect is for Protection, with enough reservations to retain the support of those who look upon Preference as a step to Free Trade, at least within the Empire. When the colonial preferentialist is asked if he is willing to abandon any part of the present fiscal freedom of the Colonies, or any part of the protection afforded to local industries, his answer —prompt, peremptory, and without exception—is, 'not

a particle.' If pressed upon the subject, he takes refuge in the familiar platitude that 'some plan can be formed at a conference.' This was the statesmanlike attitude of Mr Micawber, who always hoped that 'something would turn up.' There have been four conferences, and nothing has yet been evolved. But the hopes of Mr Micawber remain unshaken.

One point remains for consideration. What prospect would there be of continuity in a policy which must at once alter the whole commercial policy and practice of the United Kingdom and change the business methods of millions of business men? Once embarked on a policy of inter-Imperial Protection, the ingenuity of the whole outer world would be stimulated to defeat us. We have seen, not so long ago, the United States endeavouring to secure at least the trade of the West Indies by preferential offers; and the West Indies were ready to yield to the temptation. The British Government, however, felt bound to reject the proposals of the United States (C. 4340, 1884–5) on various grounds, public and private, but ostensibly on the ground that 'the proposed arrangement is deficient in the element of stability which Her Majesty's Government consider to be essential to the value of any commercial treaty.' We have seen the same country, in 1893 and in February 1905, making official efforts to detach Newfoundland from Canada commercially by preferential offers. The British Government, after an angry protest from Canada, interfered to check the negotiations in 1893 (Bond-Blaine treaty); and the Senate of the United States, contrary to the policy of the administration, but in assertion of its own peculiar position as the treaty-making power under the constitution, has saved the Imperial Government the trouble of a second interference by rejecting the Bond-Hay treaty in February last. Other nations would be equally solicitous to seduce or to coerce the separate members of the new Zollverein, which has, for its own part, neither the promise nor the potency of universal domination.

What defence would Great Britain enjoy? She would have a 'treaty' with the Colonies, subject to revocation at any time. She would have a series of tariffs openly declared to be subject to revision at every meeting of a colonial legislature whenever the changing conditions of

manufactures, or colonial political exigencies, seemed to call for a change. For example, since the Canadian tariff of 1897 was enacted there have been nine separate Acts altering in some particular the original tariff. As an additional example, take the Preference clause itself. It was originally contained in the tariff of 1897. It had to be altered and enlarged in 1898; it was again altered and enlarged in 1900; it was changed again in order to impose the surtax against Germany in 1903; it was changed again in 1904 in order to make it apply to importations to Canadian ports, and in order to provide a 'dumping clause'; and in the first month of 1905 the dumping clause had to be altered by order in council.

This last alteration suggests another source of trouble. In all the Colonies the tariff is subject to various forms of alteration—(1) by the Governor in council; (2) by order of the Minister of Customs or Commerce; (3) by the Board of Customs. All these alterations have to be closely watched by exporters to Canada and other colonies who do not wish to involve themselves and their consignees in serious practical difficulties. The Parliament of the United Kingdom would have to follow suit; but it could never be certain from year to year what the tariff would be. Every budget of the Chancellor of the Exchequer would be looked for with anxiety. Contracts for any period longer than a season would be hazardous. The whole capital of the country embarked in manufactures would be liable to sudden risks by changing legislation, at home, in the Colonies, and abroad. The whole situation would become intolerable.

To sum up, we have in Canada a country committed since 1858 to a policy of increasing Protection. In 1843 she tried the experiment of a preferential tariff with Great Britain: the result was disaster in 1846. In 1854 she tried a treaty of reciprocity which was preferential as regards the United States: the result was disaster in 1866, qualified by the formation of the Federal Union of 1867. As regards the present scheme we have before us the declarations of ministers—(1) that they are in a general way favourable to it as an idea; (2) that they do not hope for its speedy acceptance in Great Britain; (3) that they will take no further steps till after the general election in Great Britain; (4) that the scheme, when propounded,

must not limit their fiscal freedom or lessen the protection accorded to local industries; (5) that the policy of Canada is purely Canadian in purpose as in origin.

On the other hand, Great Britain has been committed since 1846 to a policy of Free Trade, under which she has established, by individual enterprise as well as by public treaty, trade relations of a profitable character with all the world. She is now asked to abandon this policy and to embark on a policy entirely new, of very doubtful commercial advantage, and, as the experience of protective countries shows, probably detrimental to public morality.

II. Australia.

In order to show clearly the existing state of Australian opinion on Preferentialism, it is advisable, first, to give a survey of its history in the Parliament of the Commonwealth. Mr (now Sir) Edmund Barton attended the Imperial Conference of 1902 as Prime Minister of the Commonwealth, and, like other delegates, undertook to submit to his governments, at the earliest opportunity, 'the principle of preferential trade between the United Kingdom and his Majesty's dominions beyond the seas.'

Nevertheless, the question of preferential fiscal treatment was only introduced into Australian politics at the general elections in December 1903, and then in a form very different from that contemplated by the Conference. Mr Deakin had then succeeded Sir Edmund Barton as Prime Minister and leader of the Protectionist party, and he fought the election on the policy of 'fiscal peace and preferential trade for a White Australia.' But he was not prepared to take the initiative in the establishment of preferential trade. On the contrary, the condition on which he and his party insisted was that the initiative should come from the mother-country. The following quotation from his address, delivered on October 29, 1903, in which he formulated the policy of his government, clearly shows this attitude, as well as the kind of preference which he then contemplated, and still contemplates, as his subsequent utterances show :—

'Before giving preference to the mother-country, the South African Federation raised their duties 25 per cent. If Aus-

tralia took the same step, it would not be condemned. When Mr Chamberlain makes his proposals, the Australian Government will be prepared to take them item by item, considering all the circumstances and the importance of the industries to the Commonwealth. The difficulty is that, when we are willing to make such reductions or increases as may be required, we have, instead of the tariff we desired, a tariff so low that it scarcely admits of reductions.'

The Free-traders, under the leadership of Mr G. H. Reid, the present Prime Minister, with few exceptions, opposed preferential treatment, and advocated the reduction of duties to a revenue basis, as a policy productive of greater benefits to the people of the Empire. Mr Reid and several of his followers, however, declared themselves as willing to make this concession. In the event of the electors giving a majority in favour of Protection, they would give substantial preference to British goods by lowering the duties in their favour. But this concession they would make independently, without asking for any return from Great Britain; and they would enter into no bargain which might tie the hands of either the British or the Australian Government.

The elections, resulting in the return of 24 Protectionists, 27 Free-traders, and 24 Labour men, failed to give a majority to either side. The Labour party thus held the balance of power, but they forfeited it by defeating the Deakin Ministry. A Labour Ministry was formed under the leadership of Mr J. C. Watson. It assumed exactly the same attitude towards Mr Chamberlain's policy as that held by the preceding government. Nothing was said or done in Parliament; but, when Mr Watson addressed his electors in August 1903, he referred to Preference in these terms:—

'We should therefore wait until the mother-country has made up her mind on the subject. The first move must come from the mother-country, because she has the largest interest at stake. I have no intention to allow any words of mine to be used as a lever one way or the other.'

Soon afterwards the Free-traders and the majority of the Protectionist party formed a coalition, which resulted in the defeat of the Labour Ministry, and the advent to power of the Coalition Government under the

leadership of Mr Reid. The main condition which made this coalition possible was that the fiscal peace insisted upon by the electors should not be disturbed; and that all parties, the members of the Ministry included, should have a free hand with regard to Preference. Owing to the secession of several Protectionists, the majority of the Reid Government was exceedingly small, amounting to two votes only. The allied Opposition, therefore, might reasonably hope to defeat it if subjects could be brought forward on which the supporters of the Government might be divided. Mr Watson, the leader of the Opposition, consisting of the Labour party and the seceding Protectionists, then pleaded the urgency of increasing duties on several articles of importation, and, more important still, of offering preferential treatment of her imports to the mother-country, without waiting for her to take the initiative. Sir William Lyne, one of Mr Watson's protectionist allies, consequently gave notice of a motion in favour of Preference. Mr Deakin, who had so far been the leading advocate of Preference, succeeded, however, in substituting a resolution of his own for that of Sir William Lyne, and in bringing it to debate towards the end of the recent session. His avowed aim was to unite all sections of the House in support of his proposal by making it vague and indefinite. On this aspect of his resolution Mr Deakin said :—

'Every clause of it has been shaped so that those who profess free-trade principles, as well as those who are Protectionists, may unite in declaring their willingness to take any further advance which may be possible consistent with their principles towards the consolidation of the trade of the Empire. . . . None of us can disguise the fact that as we proceed our paths will separate. . . . We shall afterwards be found so widely separated that we shall probably come to open conflict. Those who may go hand in hand up to the point of declaring in favour of preferential trade relations with the mother-country, will commence to differ so soon as the measure and character of these preferences have to be decided.'

Mr Deakin's resolution ran as follows :—

'Inasmuch as every increase in trade between the mother-country and the Colonies, or any of them, would be of mutual advantage commercially; while eventually, by multiplying

their production, profitable employment, population, and exchanges, such increases must enhance the unity and power of the Empire; this House resolves that:—

(1) 'The encouragement of industry and commerce within the Empire is a high national aim of paramount importance to all its peoples.

(2) 'The proposals of the Secretary of State for the Colonies at the Colonial Conference of 1902, as then approved and since tentatively defined, in order to foster inter-Imperial trade, outline a patriotic and statesmanlike policy of internal development and external influence, whose details should be discussed by a further conference at the earliest opportunity.

(3) 'The Prime Minister be requested to consider the existing openings for preferential trade relations between Australia and other colonies.

(4) 'The Prime Minister be invited to obtain all data necessary for the preparation of a measure granting a preference to British imports into Australia, which compete solely with imports from foreign countries.

(5) 'The Prime Minister is hereby authorised for and on behalf of the Commonwealth to offer to the Government of the United Kingdom a preference upon its exports to Australia, in return for a preference on our exports to Great Britain and Ireland, such preference to be reciprocally adjusted according to schedules sanctioned by Parliament.'

The ensuing debate was instructive as to the attitude of the Commonwealth Parliament. Except when Mr Deakin and Mr Reid addressed the House, the attendance of members rarely reached a quorum; and during most of the time, including that occupied by the address of Mr Watson as leader of the Opposition, it varied from five to ten. The galleries, generally crowded when an important debate takes place, were as deserted as the benches of the members. During the three days' debate, only one Free-trader and one Labour member spoke in favour of Preference; Free-traders and Labour men generally showed themselves hostile by interjections or speeches; the non-Labour Protectionists alone gave it anything like unanimous support. No vote was taken on the resolutions themselves, though the Protectionists were very anxious that this should be done. But on the third day of the debate, the motion for its adjournment

gave an opportunity to measure the respective forces, for it was understood that, if adjourned, the debate would not be resumed. The vote on the adjournment became, in these circumstances, virtually a vote on the resolutions in favour of Preference, and was so regarded inside and outside Parliament. Though the adjournment was moved by the Prime Minister, all his protectionist supporters, inclusive of ministers, voted against it, as well as all other Preferentialists. On the other hand, all the opponents of Preferentialism voted for the adjournment together with one or two members who may as yet be in doubt. Especially significant is the fact that only three Labour members supported their leader in voting against adjournment, while seven voted for it, several of them being ardent Protectionists. The motion was carried in a thin house by a majority of five, the voting being 22 for and 17 against the adjournment. That this vote amounts to a defeat of the principle of fiscal Preference is generally recognised, and even admitted by the Melbourne 'Age,' a journal which, more than any other, has, by continued advocacy, given it such prominence as it possesses in Australia. On December 14, 1904, two days after the vote was taken, the 'Age' remarked :—

'There is nothing whatever to be gained by minimising the meaning of the protectionist overthrow. The cause—as a cause—has sustained a set-back which is quite undeniable.'

This vote indicates that a majority of the Federal Parliament is opposed to any offer of Preference. Yet it is generally admitted that a majority of the electors was in favour of Preference at the general elections, and that a majority of the elected candidates had given it some measure of support. But the motives by which these supporters were animated were too various, and even conflicting, to promise any stability of conviction. Mr Reid described the condition fairly correctly when, in the course of the debate, he said :—

'I honestly admit that a majority of the electors of Australia at the last elections pronounced themselves to be in favour, in the abstract, of a policy of preferential trade. . . . But I believe that the greatest mass were anxious simply to do anything which the mother-country thought would help her. I believe that a large number more were fascinated by the

attractive prospect of an enormous market for Australian produce with a fence raised against other competitors. A large number of Protectionists were also fascinated with the prospect, because they did not think arrangements would be so adjusted as seriously to injure the protected industries of Australia.'

This statement, however, might be amended in two respects. One is, as will presently be shown, that a considerable section of the Protectionists expected, and still expect, such an adjustment of duties under Preference as would increase their protective efficiency. The second is that, while the majority of electors pronounced in favour of the principle of Preference, large numbers did so on condition that the preferential policy should first be adopted in the mother-country, they being actuated, not by any love for Preference, but by the desire loyally to acquiesce in any Imperial policy adopted by the people of Great Britain.

Since the elections, however, considerable changes have taken place in public sentiment; and these have affected the attitude of many members of the House. The course of the discussion in the mother-country has shown that a large section—perhaps a majority of the English people—do not think that Preference will be of advantage to Great Britain; and this fact has affected the attitude of those who voted for Preferentialism under the impression that the British people desired it. Furthermore, the Protectionists amongst the rank and file of the Labour party, who generally were in favour of Preference, have, as will presently be shown, altered their opinion in sympathy with the hostile attitude of the working classes of Great Britain. This change of opinion has affected the Labour members of the House of Representatives, the great majority of whom are now opposed to Mr Chamberlain's proposals. Thus the original majority in favour of the principle has become a minority.

The parliamentary party in favour of Preferentialism now consists almost solely of non-Labour Protectionists with a few Free-traders; and these supporters are united on the general principle only, while they differ widely on the method of application. For, while these Free-traders would give preference by lowering existing duties in favour of empire goods, the Protectionists are,

one and all, opposed to such a course, and, with the exception of one or two articles in which the mother-land already commands almost the whole trade, will only increase the duties against foreign goods. The utterances of the leading supporters of Preferentialism made during the debate on conciliation are most instructive in this respect. Mr Deakin, who endeavoured to avoid the subject, was forced to deal with it by an interjection. Mr Bruce Smith asked:—

'Does the honourable and learned member remember telling the Prime Minister, when he sat on this side of the chamber, that he would not be a party to the reduction of the duties?'

Mr Deakin replied:—

'I beg the honourable member's pardon: I did not say that. I said that any proposal that preference should be given by a general reduction of duties must come from the other side. That is still true. Any general reduction is not likely to be proposed or supported by me; but I said then, and still say, that reductions are possible. We have to consider the interests of Australia.'

Mr McLean, Minister of Customs (Protectionist), said:—

'We wish to divert as much of the existing trade of foreign countries as we can to Great Britain, without injury to Australia. I believe that result can very readily be accomplished by judicious readjustment of the tariff when we come to deal with details. In the bulk of cases I believe that we can increase the duties operative against the foreigner whilst allowing them to remain as they are against Great Britain. In some instances, however, I have not the slightest doubt that we can decrease the existing duties in favour of the mother-country. In addition . . . we have a large free list upon which we can operate.'

Sir William Lyne (ex-Minister of Home Affairs and Protectionist, opposed to the Reid Government) said:—

'I now propose to discuss the question of what we can do in connexion with any such scheme. I claim that we can increase the existing duties against the foreigner. Under present conditions we cannot in any way seriously reduce those duties in favour of Great Britain and at the same time protect native industries.'

Mr J. C. Watson, late Prime Minister (Protectionist), in answer to a question whether he would allow India to share in the preference, said:—

'No. Except in regard to such products as tea, I would not give any preference to products made by Asiatic labour, which would come into competition with the products made by white people, though I am prepared to give such a preference to the products of the white labour of Great Britain. I think that Australia might very well increase her duties against the foreigner. . . . Speaking generally, I say that our duties for the maintenance of industries are, as protective duties, very low.'

The passage referring to India in Mr Watson's statement deserves particular attention because it faithfully mirrors the attitude of the Labour party, of those who oppose preference as well as of the few who favour it. No preferential arrangement would or could receive a single Labour vote which did not exclude from preferential treatment the British colonies and possessions that rely upon coloured labour for the conduct of their industries, South Africa included. It may also be instructive to indicate the class of articles the duties on which the protectionist Preferentialists are prepared to lower in favour of the mother-country. Two such articles only have so far been mentioned either inside or outside of Parliament—cutlery and cotton goods. No cotton goods and little cutlery are made in Australia; and nearly all such goods are imported from the United Kingdom. Out of the total imports of cutlery, amounting to 98,000*l.*, not less than 83,000*l.* came from Great Britain; and from the same source are derived 1,900,000*l.* worth of cotton and linen goods, the total import of which comes to 2,000,000*l.* Preference on such articles therefore would be merely nominal and of no value to the mother-land.

The attitude of the members of the Commonwealth Parliament is necessarily a reflex of that of the electors. Their attitude is most correctly described by the word 'apathy.' A minority, composed of ardent Free-traders and of the bulk of the Labour men, is actively hostile; some ardent Protectionists, mainly manufacturers, are actively friendly; but the great mass of the people of

the Commonwealth are utterly apathetic. The proof of this statement will be found in the following facts. No public meetings have been held for or against Preferentialism, except in Melbourne. Though the Chamber of Manufacturers has assured Mr Chamberlain in letters and telegrams that his proposals receive the ardent support of the Australian people, it has not ventured upon any attempt to obtain such an assurance from the people themselves. This is unprecedented in Australia, where every question of public interest is habitually discussed in public meetings.

This apathy is shown, not only in the towns, but even by the farming population, which alone can expect any pecuniary advantages from preferential treatment of food-stuffs in England. If any section of the Australian people might be expected to show an active interest in Preferentialism, it would surely be those who are to be benefited by it. Yet not a single meeting of farmers has been held in favour of it; nor has one of the numerous bodies representing the farming community, i.e. shire councils, agricultural societies, farmers' leagues, etc., pronounced in favour of it. As already stated, the only exception to this remarkable abstention took place in Melbourne; and the result has been still further to demonstrate the apathy of the general public towards Preferentialism. Towards the end of October last the three associations which uphold Protection in Victoria, and which then were also agitating for an increase of protective duties, i.e. the Protective Association, the Chamber of Manufacturers, and the Trades-hall Council, united in order to institute a campaign in support of Preferentialism. The published programme provided for a great meeting in the Melbourne City Town-hall, and subsequent meetings in every town-hall throughout the metropolitan area. The campaign, however, collapsed after two meetings, one in the Melbourne Town-hall and one in that of Prahran (a suburb of Melbourne), both of these meetings being utter failures as regards attendance, and revealing a remarkable balance of opinion.

The facts as to the Melbourne meeting are especially interesting. Not only had it been advertised largely in every newspaper, but the 'Age' devoted several articles and many paragraphs to the same purpose, while even

the 'Argus' assisted by publishing a hostile leader on the morning of the meeting. The speakers, moreover, were ably selected, comprising, with the exception of Mr Reid, all the public men whom the Melbourne people most desired to hear—Messrs Deakin, Isaacs, Watson, Trenwith, and others. Nevertheless, the audience which was attracted by them was surprisingly small, being less than 700 in a hall which has room for 2400, and which has always been filled to overflowing whenever prominent speakers have addressed themselves to any subject in which the people are interested. Furthermore, of those present, not more than one half could be induced to vote on the resolutions; and these were so evenly divided for and against that the Lord Mayor, who presided, hesitated for some little time before declaring the principal resolution to have been carried.

The second meeting, with which the intended series prematurely closed, gave a similar result, as is shown in the following letter published in the 'Argus,' and signed by Mr Rupert Nicholson, the mover of a hostile amendment. No reply has been made to this letter.

'Sir—I must protest against the action of the organisers of the Prahran meeting in cabling to London that their meeting was indicative of Australian feeling in regard to Mr Chamberlain's policy. There were not more than three hundred people present, of whom only about fifty voted for the resolution and about the same number for the amendment. To represent this result as worthy of consideration by the British public is to grossly mislead them, and ought not to be supported by the chief magistrate of the city in his official capacity.'

Moreover, at this same meeting, Mr Charles Atkins, president of the Chamber of Manufacturers and chief organiser, in moving the principal resolution, complained that he 'had some difficulty in getting speakers for the meeting, because the subject was more or less new, and public men were waiting "on the fence" to see how the cat would jump.' Nothing could more clearly exhibit the apathy of the public than this reluctance of politicians to commit themselves in favour of Preferentialism.

It remains to show that the Preference offered by the only active supporters of Preferentialism—the Protec-

tionists outside Parliament—is of the same futile character as that offered by their compeers in Parliament. The principal resolution carried at the two meetings referred to reads as follows:—

'That this meeting cordially approves of preferential trade between the mother-country and Australia, having at all times due regard to the industries of the Commonwealth.'

Mr S. Barker, secretary of the Trades-hall Council, and representing it at the Melbourne Town-hall meeting, explained the meaning of the qualifying clause in this resolution as follows:—

'He would support Britishers against any other nationality, but wanted the local market protected for our own workers. If on enquiry it was found that those seeking preference would grind down the people, they would have nothing to do with it. . . . When there were articles which we could not manufacture, should we not give the British manufacturer preference over the outsider?'

Of the remaining bodies under whose auspices these meetings were organised, the Protectionists' Association had previously passed the following resolution:—

'It is further resolved that every tariff alteration made for this purpose' (Preference) 'should be based on the principle that the Commonwealth protective duties continue to cover the difference between the cost of labour in Australia and that of other parts of the Empire, so that the fiscal preference given shall be by additional duties upon imports from foreign countries and by discrimination in the free-list or merely revenue-producing items.'

As showing the attitude of the third body, the Chamber of Manufacturers, it may be stated that one of its members, Mr I. Jacobs, has repeatedly urged the necessity of defining the Preference which the Chamber would be prepared to accept. Being unsuccessful, he moved, at the meeting of the Chamber on December 19, 1904, the following resolution, which was made a notice of motion for February 6, 1905, when his object was again defeated, an amendment being carried deleting all the words after 'local industry':—

'That this Chamber earnestly desires to encourage and foster trade with the United Kingdom in preference to trade

with foreign nations, subject to the paramount necessity of promoting and conserving local industry. To obtain both these results it recommends a preferential fiscal treatment of British goods, provided that the duties imposed on such goods equal the difference in labour-cost of such goods as between the United Kingdom and Australia, plus the freight payable to Australian ports.'

The Melbourne 'Age' also has constantly urged that preference to British goods must not be allowed to interfere with the exclusive policy of Protection. Thus, on October 5, 1904, it said:—

'Preferential trade with Great Britain can be brought about in two ways. One is by reducing our present tariff duties on English goods and retaining them against the foreigner; the other is by increasing our duties against the foreigner while retaining them, as at present, against British exports. Seeing that our present tariff is so low in its duties, we cannot consent, either from the revenue or the protective standpoint, that these duties be decreased. We therefore reach the conclusion that a preferential trade policy in Australia means a considerable increase of duty as against the foreigner.'

This attitude of the Australian Preferentialists has, of course, been repeatedly dwelt upon by the opponents of the policy. To quote only the most important of these critics in the press, the Melbourne 'Argus,' on October 9, 1904, wrote as follows:—

'Seeing, then, that we can gain no advantage for ourselves, are the proposers of the preferential revival so generous that they are prepared to give away something to the mother-country? The fact that they comprise our most severe restrictionists answers this question. They are the people who complain that Great Britain is dumping her manufactures on our shores. They are the advocates for starting an iron industry at enormous cost to the electors in order to shut out British iron. They are crying for the raising of duties on imports from Great Britain. Mr Chamberlain has been led to believe that Australians are eager to admit British trade; and all the "preference" the restrictionists are prepared to give them is to put up the duties on goods which Great Britain does not export to Australia.'

The Sydney 'Daily Telegraph' wrote, on September 15, 1904:—

'One result of the preferential trade debate in the House of Representatives has been a frank avowal of the selfish provincial grounds on which the Preferential party here advocates what Mr Balfour and Mr Chamberlain profess to believe necessary for the high patriotic purpose of solidifying the Empire and maintaining its unity. No substantial remissions of duty are to be made in favour of Great Britain; and the compensation proffered to the Britisher for having the price of his food increased is the knowledge that the foreigner is being treated even worse than himself.'

The Sydney 'Morning Herald,' on December 16, 1904, wrote in the same strain.

The representative mercantile associations of Australia are the Chambers of Commerce of the several states, which are combined under a general council. At the two last annual sittings of the 'General Council of the Chambers of Commerce of Australia,' the question of fiscal preference was debated with the following results. At the annual meeting held in June 1903, Mr S. J. Jacobs (Adelaide), president, moved:—

'That in the opinion of the Council the adoption by the Commonwealth of Australia of preferential trade arrangements with Great Britain is calculated to place the export trade of Australia at a serious disadvantage, and is inimical to the best interests of the commerce of Australia.'

The following amendment was moved by Mr R. J. Alcock (Melbourne), and carried by ten votes to seven:—

'That this Council declares that the adoption by the Commonwealth of preferential trade relations with Great Britain is one that requires earnest and thoughtful consideration, but the Council is unable to express a different opinion thereon until more fully acquainted with the details of the proposal.'

At the annual meeting for the year 1904 an even more pronounced course of apathetic inaction was adopted. Mr W. H. Phillips (Adelaide) moved:—

'That, having due regard to the geographical position of Australia, the circumstances which govern its production, and the consequences of limiting our markets, it has not yet been shown that it is advisable for us to enter into preferential trade arrangements with the United Kingdom.'

On this resolution an amendment was moved by Mr R. J. Larking (Melbourne) to the effect

'That this Council reserves its opinion on the question until the result of the special board of enquiry in England be known.'

After an interesting debate both the original motion and the amendment were withdrawn, the meeting separating without any pronouncement on the subject.

The attitude of the Australian press towards Preferentialism is generally hostile. Of the important dailies, the 'Age' (Melbourne), the 'Advertiser' (Adelaide), and the 'Courier' (Brisbane), advocate it; while the 'Argus' (Melbourne), the 'Daily Telegraph' (Sydney), the 'Register' (Adelaide), the 'Morning Herald' (Sydney), and the 'West Australian' (Perth), as well as 'The Miner' (Kalgoorlie), are hostile. Hostile also is the whole of the Labour press throughout Australia, inclusive of the 'Bulletin' (Sydney), politically the most influential weekly publication in the Commonwealth.

A few words more are needed to make clear the attitude of the Labour party, which elects one third of the members of the House of Representatives and nearly one half of the members of the Senate. This party includes both Free-traders and Protectionists—the fiscal question being treated as not a party subject. Mr J. C. Watson, the leader of the party, is a moderate Protectionist, and, like the rest of that section of the party, gave a mild support to Preferentialism at the general elections. The Victorian members of the party are all Protectionists, as is the great majority of their electors. The latter are politically represented by the Trades-hall Council and the Political Labour League. These two bodies, till quite lately, supported Preferentialism, subject to its not interfering with the protective policy. Through various causes, the principal of which is to be found in the attitude of the English Labour Unions, this support has now been changed into opposition. Thus the Political Labour League passed the following resolution, and sent it for publication to the press on December 5, 1904:—

'That this meeting of the Melbourne branch of the Political Labour Council of Victoria resolves that the Chamber-

lain scheme of preferential trade will be of no benefit to the working classes of Australia; that it tends to further increase national and racial animosities; that it is against the economic development of Australian industry; and further, that we call upon our fellow-workers in Australia and the United Kingdom to be not misled by the sophistry of capitalistic cliques, whose sole aim and object is the continued exploitation of the working classes of both hemispheres.'

More significant still is the change which has come over the attitude of the Melbourne Trades-hall Council. In October 1904 this body resolved, by a considerable majority, to join in the propaganda for Preferentialism. On December 3, 1904, it was moved to rescind this resolution, and the motion was carried by 23 votes to 17; but, as a majority of two thirds was required, the motion was declared lost. Repeated efforts have since been made by the majority to obtain a declaration expressing hostility to Preferentialism, but have so far been defeated by an ingenious use of the standing orders. Still, the fact remains that the majority of the Trades-hall Council, previously favourable, is now as hostile to Preferentialism as are the working classes generally.

The following, then, is a summary of the situation as it exists in Australia to-day:—

(1) The vast majority of the people are utterly apathetic as regards Preferentialism.

(2) The active friends of Preferentialism are mainly protected manufacturers, who expect that an increase in existing duties against foreign goods may give more complete protection to their own products, but will not consent to such a reduction of duties on British goods as would make it easier for these to compete with native industries.

(3) Till such time as Preferentialism has been adopted in the United Kingdom as an Imperial policy, the Commonwealth will take no steps towards preferential treatment of British goods.

(4) If Preferentialism is adopted in the mother-land, the majority of the Australian people will, in all probability, be in favour of concluding some arrangement for reciprocal preferential trade relations within the Empire.

(5) Even then, it is doubtful whether a majority

could be found for any practical proposal, the obstacle being the division, apparently irreconcilable, between the protectionist and free-trade supporters which the adoption of the principle would call forth. A union of the opponents of Preferentialism with either of these supporting wings would probably be strong enough to wreck any measure embodying reciprocal preferential proposals.

Finally, attention may be drawn to the Australian treatment of an aspect of Preferentialism which looms somewhat largely before British eyes. It has been stated that a larger colonial contribution to the defence of the Empire is dependent upon the establishment of the preferential policy. This theory, however, has not found any exponents in Australia. It is universally ignored. Moreover, the free-trade party, hostile to Preferentialism, has repeatedly been pledged by its leader, Mr Reid, to an increase of the Australian contribution. And not only does the majority of the Protectionist party, favourable to Preferentialism, oppose any additional contribution for defence, with or without Preference, but a large section of it favours a discontinuance of the present contribution and the application of the money so set free to the creation of an Australian navy. Similar views are expressed by most of the Labour members. The adoption of Preference by Great Britain is therefore not likely to result in any increase of Australia's contribution to Imperial defence.

Art. XI.—THE CONDITION OF RUSSIA.

ANARCHY employed by the nation as a stepping-stone to order; crime perpetrated by its leaders as a means of establishing law; rebellion fomented by the government as a homeopathic specific against revolution; and ruthless massacres prescribed by Grand-dukes as a cure for disaffection—such are the salient features of the Muscovite panorama which is quickly unrolling itself before the fascinated gaze of the civilised world. Opinions are still divided as to whether we are in presence of a revolution, or merely a temporary splutter of indignation against the régime which is responsible for the war and its consequences. The truth would seem to be that, on the one hand, we are so close to the men and events that we cannot easily view them in correct perspective; and that, on the other, most of our notions, not only about Russian affairs in general, but also about the boons for which the Tsar's subjects are now struggling, stand in need of thorough revision and correction.

To the bulk of Western observers Russia has hitherto seemed to be something apart, a country and a people to which Western notions cannot be applied. Russia, they say, is a civilised and a Christian state, working out its own salvation under its own conditions, governed without a parliament, and subjected to certain curious and perhaps irksome restrictions, but still immensely powerful, immensely rich, and therefore deserving of respect. Its people are satisfied; and what right have strangers to be more exacting? Restless Russian students are the fanatical devotees of a peculiar revolutionary philosophy; the lawless band of Nihilists are the mystics of anarchy. If, in their Oriental frenzy, they occasionally kill a minister or even an emperor, that is only natural; and it is equally natural that for such conduct they should be sent to Siberia, which recent accounts prove to be a region not nearly so inhospitable as people once thought it. But the bulk of the Russian people is quite content without a parliamentary system of government. Religion is part of their politics, and politics an aspect of their religion, while a mystical devotion to the Tsar seems to proceed from both. True, one could not but regret such a mas-

sacre of the Jews as that which took place in Kishineff; but, on the other hand, the Jews are an alien element, and the presence of such keen drivers of hard bargains is no doubt very trying to the Russian population. It is a great pity, too, that the autocracy saw fit to deprive Finland of its liberties; but, after all, it is a law of nature that the strong must swallow up the weak, and one ought not to be too sentimental, in view of the inevitable expansion of a great nation, and the necessity for symmetry and homogeneity in a non-federalised state.

So long as such prepossessions as these hold the Western mind, it is not wonderful that Russian affairs are weighed in balances different from our own. As some of the letters of the Russian alphabet, while identical in form with ours, are in reality very different, so political and social terms, when used in Russia, connote quite other ideas. Among a people who regarded happiness as compatible with absolutism, and religious beliefs as dependent upon imperial ukases, revolution appeared to be wholly inconceivable. The employment of violence seemed foreign to the ideas of the nation. The greatest Russian writers, with all their ethical ardour, proclaim a lofty quietism, a persistent and ungrudging self-renunciation, wherein no echo could be heard of that battle-cry of liberty that broke the chains of despotism in western Europe. A quiet acceptance of suffering and hardship, the freedom of a spirit that claims nothing for itself but lives constantly under the spell of the sweet sad music of human sorrow, to share in which meant purification and redemption—this seemed to be the *nirvana* towards which the loftiest Russian aspiration tended; a goal of the East, not of the West; a striving of the cloister, not of the market-place; an ideal of renunciation, not of progress. And the fact that the teaching of Tolstoy, and, in a less degree, that of Dostoieffsky, found a footing in western Europe, seemed to indicate that Russia's ethical contribution to the process of Western civilisation was to be of the negative rather than of the positive order; and that, on the vexed question of the relation of institutions to national development, she would probably make no definite pronouncement.

These traditional conceptions of Russia's temper and accepted forecasts of her destiny have been rudely shaken

by the tempestuous events of the past five months. It has now become clear that the Russian people is made of the same clay as European nations. For from out of the turmoil of conflicting forces a cry of liberty has been heard; and its note is as pure and fresh, as passionate and inspiriting, as when it first rang out in the early morning of modern Europe. Even Slav resignation has its limits; and Muscovite mysticism cannot wholly detach itself from the things of the material world. In Russia, as in France, the monarch whose severity exceeds that of the written law is a tyrant; and in the East, as in the West, dishonoured bills and unpaid debts ultimately lead to bankruptcy.

In reality the conflict between people and government has been going on for many years; but its manifestations were till recently so well hidden or disguised by the authorities that to outsiders the process was like that of some insidious yet ravaging illness whose symptoms are internal and painless. The root of the evil is what it has long been—the substitution of arbitrary caprice for the uniform action of law; but the change of conditions effected during the last generation now renders the fruits more deadly than before. On the other hand, the mental and material advance made by the Russian people of late years enables it, not only to see the source of its suffering, but to make an effort to seal it up. All nationalities, all classes, all sections, professions, and public bodies, frankly laid their grievances before Prince Mirsky. A year ago this audacity would have been punished as a crime.

But people and Government cannot come to an understanding so long as the one asks for reform and the other offers palliatives, so long as the one complains of a upas-tree and the other holds out no more than hopes that certain of its branches may some day be lopped off. On the one hand, the autocracy persists in carrying on the affairs political, social, intellectual, and religious, of 140,000,000 of human beings by means of arbitrary orders issued by several thousand officials, each of whom participates in the absolutism and the impunity of the Tsar. On the other hand, the people ask to be governed by law, which shall be respected by all classes and individuals alike. Thus the popular demand implies a permanent guardian of legality, while the Government offer pro-

claims that any such guardianship would supersede the autocracy. Such is the essence of the dispute between the partisans of the Tsar and the body of the nation.

Nicholas II, in his ukase of last December, confessed that legality had taken no root in his realm, while making the noteworthy avowal that law is the most important mainstay of the throne in an autocratic state. It is not easy for a logical mind to make these admissions and yet to shrink from the conclusions which flow directly from them. If the law-breakers have always been the bureaucrats, it is evident that one cannot honestly appoint them to be the guardians of the law. The wolf may be willing to offer his services as a sheep-dog, but he will never be a good substitute for the collie. Whether, therefore, the Tsar confides the task to the Senate, the Council of the Empire, or the police, is immaterial. No branch of the law-breaking bureaucracy can play the rôle of guardian of legality against the caprice of the bureaucracy, because to do so would demand a degree of civic virtue and selflessness on the part of the bureaucrats so high as to render all checks and barriers superfluous. Moreover, what the Tsar has given the Tsar may take away. Autocracy and legality are therefore incompatible.

Examples are numerous and instructive. A comparison between the administration of Prince Mirsky and that of his successor will reveal a whole series of them. Speaking summarily, one might say that Mirsky's régime was an attempt to entrust to a half-free press that defence of law which could not be confided to the bureaucracy without insulting the Russian people. But the experiment, in so far as it was an endeavour to avoid facing the problem fairly and to substitute a sham for a reality, was a failure. What it proved, and proved conclusively, was that a free press, were it really free, would serve as a powerful lever, sufficient to lift up and remove all the obstacles in the way of other reforms. The timid spirits among the Liberals, the men who, instead of amputating a shattered limb, would fain treat it with sugar-coated pills, asserted then that almost enough had been accorded, and that the liberty enjoyed by the press never would, never could, be curtailed. They were optimists whose forecasts have since been belied by events. All the Liberal papers but one which then sprang up have since

ceased to appear. The one exception is the 'Son of the Fatherland,' which has again come out after three months' suppression. But this paper, printed and made up, has to be laid before the censor at eleven o'clock every night on the eve of its issue. The journals which remain are not allowed to keep the public informed of the historic events of the day. A Russian whose knowledge of the contemporary history of his people is derived only from the journals of St Petersburg and Moscow, would still be ignorant of the dimensions of all the great strikes, of the details of the massacre of Vladimir's Day, of the insurrection in Guria, of the atrocities of Baku, of the disaster of Mukden—in a word, of nearly all the salient events which are changing the face of Russia.

Nevertheless, it was the Tsar himself who exhorted the press to collaborate with him and his ministers by publishing the truth; and it is by order of the Tsar that his ministers are now concerting measures for freeing the press from the fetters which they are continuing to forge for it. In like manner, they are discussing, with the hair-splitting ingenuity of theological casuistry, the extent to which they can remove some of the more harrowing features of religious persecution without granting liberty of conscience. Thus the wounds may be healed which the madman has inflicted, but the knife will not be snatched from his hand, nor will a keeper watch over his movements. In a very short time, perhaps at this very moment—thanks to the vigorous advocacy of M. Witte, whose weight has been hitherto thrown into the scale on the side of popular liberties—nearly nine hundred persons imprisoned for swerving from orthodoxy will be set free. They will be released after long terms of confinement, some having languished for over a quarter of a century in damp, murky cells. But the arbitrary power that sent them thither is not to be curbed. Not even M. Witte's pleading could work that miracle. The injury done to them several years ago may consequently be inflicted on their fellows to-morrow. That privilege screens the serpent that gnaws the Yggdrasil of Russian autocracy, and has well-nigh eaten it away.

What is there to hinder the autocrat from repealing six months or six days hence, the concessions which he bestowed to-day? 'Nothing,' answers history; 'Nothing,

echoes the people; 'Nothing,' exclaims the monarch. This is the point at which the hostile forces must sooner or later clash, for there is no reconciliation possible. Nor is it a mere matter of theory to Nicholas II; he is minded to exercise to the full the discretionary power which he claims as his right. On March 3, when he issued his last manifesto and rescript, he also published a ukase to the Senate, bestowing upon his people the right to petition the Government on the subject of their needs. Sixteen days later the men of letters of the Russian capital met together to avail themselves of this right. The superintendent of the police forbade the meeting. The men of letters appealed to the Prefect of Police, who duly informed them he had received a 'restrictive interpretation' of the imperial ukase, according to which that document allows private persons to send petitions 'only one by one,' but not conjointly. The would-be petitioners objected that the interpretation was not only illegal, but absurd; for 'if,' argued the president, 'we wish to petition the minister to allow us to revive the Authors' League, we cannot do it one by one.' Thereupon the Prefect generously modified the restrictive construction he had so mysteriously received, and stated he would allow a meeting, but not to more than thirty persons. And after the Tsar's ukase the right to petition is less than it was before. In a word, autocracy, while willing to prune the leaves, and perhaps even cut off a branch, of the upas-tree, insists on letting it grow and thrive as before. On the other hand, the leaders of the people are resolved to tear it up by the roots. Manifestly these two forces must clash; they can never unite.

The autocracy will not surrender its position, except under compulsion, and force is accordingly being applied. The question has been asked whether the compulsion which is now being brought to bear upon it from all sides amounts to a revolution? Those who regard the movement as short-lived point to the fitfulness of its manifestations, its lack of organisation, the meagreness of its results, the ease with which the Government violates its promises and withdraws its concessions; and they ask triumphantly where the Russian counterpart to the storming of the Bastille or the Tennis-court oath is to be found? One answer is that a revolution, in the

restricted historical sense, has not begun. And yet the Russia of the twentieth century is demonstrating in manifold ways that blood is the price of liberty and dethronement may be the wage of tyranny. The existing system *is* giving way under the pressure of force.

Force was applied first by the Japanese, with whom the autocracy went to war, confident of victory, which would have meant a new spell of license at home. For before the rupture with Japan there seemed imminent danger of a conflict in Russia between the rulers and the ruled. It had become dangerously acute when the first shots were fired in the Far East. Soon the foreign enemy, by blow after blow, exposed the glaring defects of the autocratic system, not only to the dazed Russian people, but to a world that rubbed its eyes in astonishment at the fading away of its old belief in the reality of Russia's power. The national pride, upon which the autocracy could always count with such confidence, was dragged in the dust; and in the humiliation of defeat the people began to perceive certain political truths to which its old delusions had kept it blind. Thus in one short year the war has matured and given the finishing touches to a mental revolution which a quarter of a century of propaganda would have failed to accomplish, for it has placed the misdoings of the Russian administration in the fierce light of a national tragedy. The most durable work accomplished by the Japanese arms is not the crippling of Russia's finances, the slaughter of her soldiers, or the infliction of a serious blow upon her military prestige; it is the education of the mass of the Russian people to a conception of its urgent political need.

A peasant from a district of the province of Tver goes to the war and receives a bullet in his leg at Liauyang. The wound is badly dressed, and the sufferer is flung into a cold-goods waggon and taken by slow stages to Irkutsk, where he is transferred to a 'sanitary' train. His wound is not washed or dressed; he shivers in the frosty air that finds its way through crack and crevice; and, receiving just food enough to keep him from actual death on the journey, he suffers agonies of hunger. When finally, all skin and bone, and with a festering wound, he reaches his native place, it is only to learn that his father and mother have gone to St Petersburg,

and that in the village not a single relative is left. Sick in soul and body, he applies to the *zemsky nachalnik*, the nobleman who is paid to exemplify, to the two or three thousand peasants under his charge, the Tsar's care of his people. 'My father and mother,' he says, 'have gone to St Petersburg. I am ill and cannot work yet. I have no money, and there is no one here to help me. Be merciful, your honour; give me a few coins to take me to my parents. God will repay you and so will I when I am able.' 'Begone from here,' replies the *nachalnik* gruffly. 'Almsgiving is none of my business.' That peasant has received a lesson in politics; and, if his soul now turns with bitter hatred against all those who, to him, represent authority—against self-indulgent officers, negligent ambulance officials, all who in the long days of his exquisite suffering passed him coldly by and would not lend him a helping hand, the autocracy may congratulate itself upon the success it has achieved in the work of supplying a political education to its backward peasantry. 'France is better off than Russia,' one of them recently remarked, 'for there is no Tsar there!'

Take another example. It is the depth of winter in a district near St Petersburg. Out of doors a bitter wind is blowing over the snow-covered fields and the frozen river. In the kitchen of a manor-house a tall, red-bearded peasant is drinking vodka and talking excitedly to the squire's son. 'Aye, your honour, such is fate. I have to start for the war this very evening; and God only knows whether a day will dawn on my return. I can't say no to the summons. There's no help for it. But why do they summon me?' he continues angrily. 'Look, I have five children and a wife, and there'll be no one to work for them when I've left. Who's to get in the corn this year? how are the taxes to be paid? how are the children to be fed? If I were a single man I shouldn't care. It wouldn't matter then if I were killed. But now—good Lord! At home starvation, and out there—still worse. I saw a fellow that came back a few days ago. He was wounded out there. Once, he told me, when they were four days without food, they ate dog's flesh, and then human flesh. And they take you from your family to send you to such horrors. Good Lord! Good Lord! Why does the Tsar want Manchuria so?'

Shakhnenko is the name of a man of the village of Obukhovitch, in the province of Kieff, who was called the other day to serve. He prayed to be let off, but in vain. He pleaded that he had a wife and three children, of whom the oldest was only five, and that they would have no means of subsistence, literally nothing at all. It was true, only too true, some people whispered; for the peasants who could afford to pay twenty or thirty pounds remained at home. Shakhnenko was told that there was no discharge in this war—at any rate, none for the likes of him. So he went to the war. His wife was forced to go about begging for herself and her babies from hut to hut, where she met numerous competitors;* for none of the families of the men at the front had received the money owed them by the State. Is it surprising that that man and his kindred bear a grudge to the system of which these are the fruits?

It is under such conditions that Russian peasants go to the front. In the war they learn their politics and bring their lesson home with them. And their politics are very simple—irreconcilable hostility to the vague mass of persons and institutions that condemn them and theirs to such wanton suffering. The wrath is spreading in the villages, fed by the long-smouldering flame of resentment against old wrongs, by the utter lack of law and equity, the crushing burden of taxation, the petty tyranny of *starchina* † and *zemsky nachalnik*, † the misery of life without hope of improvement. That sentiment is being enlightened and directed against the Government by the persistent efforts of revolutionary agitators, who, in spite of the watchfulness of the police, carry on a vigorous and successful propaganda in the rural districts of central Russia. It is important to dwell on the effect of the war upon the peasant's attitude towards his Government, because herein lies the chief element of danger to the existing system. But much more than the system is menaced by the peril. The ancient spell of blind and abject loyalty once broken, forces will be let loose, the direction and impetus of which no man can estimate. It is clear, however, that unless they become

* 'Slovo,' March 9, 1905; Gazette of Kieff, March 5.

† Rural officials, who, as a rule, are deservedly unpopular.

absorbed in some powerful constructive process their effect will be indiscriminately destructive.

If the war in the Far East has had the effect of accelerating the first stage of revolution, the Socialist revolutionary party takes care to give point to the growing demand for liberty by applying force in forms hitherto regarded as criminal. In a country where lawless violence and patriotic duty are at opposite ethical poles, and no attempt to join them can seem justifiable, the phenomenon requires explanation. It is to be found in the conditions held to justify every revolution known to history and welcomed by men, conditions which are aggravated by the numbers of the Russian people, the intelligence of the educated classes, and the cynicism with which the autocracy plunges the masses in ignorance, superstition, and misery.

The force which, in revolutionary England and France, spent itself in open insurrection has no such outlet in contemporary Russia; it cannot even embody itself in journalistic articles or eloquent speeches. In a word, all the peaceful means, legal and illegal, of influencing the autocracy are placed beyond the reach of the reform party. Drastic remedies are required; yet nothing can be effected but by violent means. The bomb, the revolver, the dagger have thus usurped the functions of the mass petition, the public speech, the leading article. Yet a short time ago the revolutionary party were not hopeful of success. Plehve's assassin, Sozonoff, in the defence which he wrote in prison while awaiting his trial, stated plainly that he did not venture to hope to bring about any change in the régime. He wanted merely to kill the petty tyrant, but did not expect to damage the political framework of the government. To visit Plehve's many crimes on his head, that, he said, was his motive. He described how, during the whole of his journey from Siberia, he was urged on by voices that exclaimed, 'To Plehve you must go! You must go to Plehve!'

Yet much more was attained than Sozonoff dared to hope: a new era was inaugurated. The concessions bestowed under Mirsky have indeed been rescinded; but the blow that struck down Plehve made an advance which cannot altogether be retraced. It is only natural that the temporary success should embolden the Revolutionists

and win them new recruits. It is not surprising to learn that the Social Democratic party, which was hitherto an implacable enemy of violence, has lately endorsed the views of the Revolutionists, and expressed the conviction that the bomb, the revolver, and the dagger are the only means of which Russians now dispose to modify the misrule of the autocracy. And lest there should be any ethical misgiving in the minds of these men of action, Russian society has signified in no uncertain terms its approval of methods which, under less severe conditions, it would brand with an indelible mark of obloquy. These facts should be borne in mind by those who sit in judgment on Russian revolutionists.

The Terrorists have some grounds therefore for regarding their policy as successful, in so far as it tends to strike a wholesome and paralysing fear to the hearts of those who have the will and the power to make mischief. But it cannot be denied that the autocracy is able to retaliate in many ways; and the pestilence that worketh in darkness is a force which the Russian authorities know how most cunningly to employ. Much of recent history is made up of the manifestations of police terrorism, the baleful results of which may yet darken the future of the whole nation; for it has raised a spirit which, once conjured up, may not be laid until it has wrought havoc. One day in February a startling report was circulated throughout Russia that a formal battle was raging in Baku between Tartars and Armenians. When details of the calamity reached St Petersburg it became clear that it was not so much a battle as a butchery. It was a butchery much more gruesome and inhuman than that of Kishineff, but the methods employed were the same.

The massacre at Baku was carried out with the connivance and, there is good reason to believe, at the direct instigation of the police authorities. There is also strong evidence in favour of the statement that an unforeseen incident hastened the horrible proceedings by a couple of days. A Tartar spy had been killed by Armenian terrorists. Certain bands of Tartars, recruited from the suburbs and supplied with army-rifles and revolvers, immediately fell upon the Armenians on the pretext of avenging their co-religionist. The police made no attempt to interfere with their allies; the soldiers in the streets carried on

friendly conversation with the Tartar assailants, and even protected the Tartar shops. No interference was permitted. Armenian and Russian workmen, who set out from the industrial region of Bibi-Ribat to do what the soldiers and police ought to have accomplished, were stopped on the way by Cossacks. The houses of prominent Armenian merchants were leisurely burned, and their inmates deliberately murdered, because the police believed that they concealed a stock of weapons belonging to the Armenian Terrorist Committee. Demonic fury, paralysing terror, and bestial enjoyment were elements of the saturnalia. For five days the slaughter raged; streets ran with blood; corpses lay on the pavement unburied; wounded men and women quivered in death-spasms while soldiers and police smoked cigarettes and cracked jokes. And the Governor made no sign. Finally, Armenian ecclesiastics, knowing that there was no quarrel between their people and the Tartars, and believing that the slaughter had been artificially arranged, appealed to the Mohammedan chief sheikh; and at once there was peace. Then, and only then, orders were issued by the Tsar's representatives. It was 'mustard after dinner,' the Armenians said. They added—and their statement still awaits refutation—that the origin of the butchery was this. A political demonstration of the inhabitants who, without racial or religious distinction, were in favour of a legislative assembly, had been planned to take place on a certain day; and the police, with a refinement of ingenuity, resolved to divert the attention of the people from the crimes of the autocracy by evoking an outburst of racial hatred. They planned the massacre accordingly for the date fixed for the demonstration, but the murder of the Tartar spy hastened its beginning by two days. The police proved successful, but short-sighted. If, for a short space, they turned the attention of the people from the misrule of the Tsar to scenes of internal strife, they diverted for a long time the sympathies of the civilised world from the Russian autocracy.*

The Baku massacre is perhaps the most startling illustration of the methods which the police have applied

* Since this paragraph was put in type, a letter from Mr H. F. B. Lynch, confirming most of the particulars here stated, has appeared in the 'Times' (April 1).

with stealthy diligence in all parts of the Empire at every critical moment. Where there were Jews, as in Riga, proclamations were freely distributed inciting the Orthodox rabble to attack them. In Rostoff-on-the-Don both Hebrews and Armenians were marked out as the victims. Where the population is purely Russian, it is urged to maltreat the class most obnoxious to the authorities. In Moscow the report that the police were organising groups of roughs who were to club students and 'intellectuals' led to a timely appeal by the population to the Prefect of the Police to take measures to ensure order. But police promises tranquillised no one; and the Town Council has seriously begun to consider the advisability of organising a militia force in order to defend the population of Moscow against its paid defenders. Other cities and towns have followed the example of the ancient capital; and, if the Government refuse to authorise the creation of a civic guard, people will probably arm and make common cause against the official protectors of the Tsardom. Truly this implies a powerful indictment against the autocracy; but the *prima facie* evidence is strong. In Kursk and Kaluga, for instance, schoolboys were brutally beaten while the police calmly looked on as though violence were a duty. In Kaluga two of the roughs were arrested, presumably by way of saving appearances; but they were released on the receipt of a letter from the chief of the gendarmerie declaring that they were his head-men. Reasonable fears were entertained that the police intended to use the same cruel and demoralising weapon in St Petersburg, and were collecting gangs of ruffians for the anniversary of the emancipation of the serfs to beat and kill students and prominent members of the Liberal party. But society took precautionary measures and warded off the danger.

When a system can be bolstered up for a time by downright demoralisation, and when its professional supporters can devise nothing less harmful, it is fair to conclude that its lease of existence is running out. To sow dissensions among various sections of the people had long been an expedient of the autocracy. The non-Russian or non-Orthodox elements of the community were saddled with the responsibility for national misfortunes. Jews,

Finns, Armenians, Poles, Stundists, Uniats, Dukhobortsy, were fiercely denounced in turn. But now, in the extremity of its distress, the autocracy has raised this method to the rank of an administrative principle. Its agents, unhampered by prejudice, pit the well-to-do burgher against the working-man, the working-man against the 'intellectual,' the peasant against the member of the Zemstvo, the Tartar against the Armenian, the Orthodox against the heretic, the 'hooligan' against them all. Terror is the watchword; and, as the morbid fancy of the writer Andreyeff discerns in the horrors of the Manchurian war nothing but the grim insanity of a 'red laughter,' so to the overwrought imagination of many Russians has appeared the vision of a more fearful 'black laughter' that, with the fierce derision of the lowest depths, will sweep away that earnest of freedom which a short time ago seemed within their reach.

It is the arbitrary and unrestricted application of force on both sides that gives the present conflict between the Russian Government and its people something of the aspect of a revolution. The conditions are not those of eighteenth century France. A Slav revolution, working over vast stretches of space and intervals of time, and marked by Slav passivity, cannot resemble the upheaval of 1789. Country, people, epoch, in a word, all the elements of the struggle are different. At present the extent of revolutionary operations within purely Russian territory is very slight, being confined almost entirely to fitful acts of terrorism on the part of the Socialist revolutionary party. The only portion of the Empire in which an organised revolt might break out is the Caucasus, which has indeed been in a state of smouldering insurrection for two years past. Russia has never been able to assimilate the motley population of that province; and her efforts to extinguish national differences by open force or masked violence have had the result of accentuating these differences, and implanting in the hearts of Armenians, Georgians, and highlanders an irreconcilable hatred of her rule. Her hand is against all races and all religions there—even her own. The Georgians, for instance, are as orthodox as the Tsar; and for that reason among others the Government might be expected to treat them with favour or justice. But the autocracy pro-

scribes the Georgian tongue even in elementary schools, and stupefies Georgian children by a pantomime which is supposed to initiate them directly into the mysteries of the Russian language without the medium of their own. Even in the Church services the use of the Georgian language is being forbidden. The Georgians delight in war; and since the days of Prince Bagration, of Napoleonic fame, some of the leading officers of the Russian army have been members of that chivalrous race. But nowadays, when the time comes for a Georgian youth to serve his term as a soldier, he is sent off to Siberia, or to the interior of European Russia, where the unwonted rigours of the climate work havoc with his health, and the enforced exile embitters him against Russian rule. And in the background of this picture of harassing restrictions the student of history discerns a long line of violated Russian pledges and broken treaties extending back to the days of Paul I.

The Armenians are no better off; indeed in many respects their lot is much harder, because their religion is not identical with that of the autocracy. They, too, have had to remain passive while the Government strove to make them think Russian thoughts by eradicating their native tongue. In the time of the Minister of Education, Delyanoff, himself an Armenian, the Armenian language was forbidden in schools; but the sphere of religion was left untouched until two years ago, when M. Plehve threw the whole people into a ferment by ordering the transfer of Armenian ecclesiastical property to the Russian treasury. Since then there has been no peace in the Caucasus, nor will there be until that and other unjust measures have been repealed. Armenians, Georgians, Mingrelians, Imeritians, and the manifold tribes of the mountains, have long been suffering all the hardships of Russian arbitrary rule, aggravated by the personal whims of military and civil officials, some of whom, like the ex-Governor-General, Prince Galitzin, were mentally and morally abnormal. Count Vorontsoff-Dashkoff, who has just been appointed Viceroy of the Caucasus with extensive powers, bears the reputation of a moderate, well-meaning man and a good administrator. If he come out of the Caucasian ordeal unscathed, he will have given convincing proof of sterling

qualities exceedingly rare among the latter-day public servants of the autocracy.

Meanwhile revolution, in the most unequivocal sense of the word, has become an accomplished fact in the Caucasus. For a long time past the Armenian National party (the Droshakists) and the Georgian National party (the Sakartevlists) have been endeavouring, under difficulties, to work among their respective compatriots the machinery of government which the Russians had transformed into an agency of demoralisation. The most conspicuous result of their activity is that, in the rural districts of the provinces of Kars and Erivan, the Crown courts have virtually been replaced by secret native tribunals which administer rough justice to the peasantry swiftly and cheaply. The positive evils which emanated from the Russian police have thus been counteracted or lessened by the employment of a form of violence to which, in other countries, the epithet of criminal would be given as a matter of course.

The tragic element in the situation, not in the Caucasus only, but throughout the dominions of the Tsar, lies in the circumstance that the so-called legal influences are the sources of wanton evil; while such good results as are obtained are produced by agencies which we are wont to consider baneful. Thus the Armenian Nationalist Committee, which has long been in practical possession of the province of Erivan, has successfully maintained order and banished vulgar crime there. The Georgian Sakartevlists are leading a not unsuccessful revolt in Batoum and Kars; while the entire population of the Ozurget district,* which is Orthodox, has risen against the Government and practically cut itself off from the Russian Empire. Arms and ammunition are imported into the disturbed districts in large quantities; and from time to time one reads of the seizure of rifle-cartridges or the discovery and confiscation of a couple of mountain-guns by Russian officials. The two great Nationalist parties have further agreed to unite with the Socialists, who had hitherto been opposed to violent methods, and to organise a general insurrection in the spring.

* It is generally known as Guria, and lies between Batoum and Tiflis on either side of the Kura.

The authorities, callous and inexorable when the people are peaceful or disorganised, display a yielding disposition before the armed tribes of the Caucasus. Thus, some time before the rising, the libraries of the Gurians were closed by order of the Governor-General, and the language of the inhabitants was proscribed. But to-day General Alikhanoff has published an order permitting them all to be reopened. Concessions granted under such conditions are tantamount to premiums on organised rebellion, and are thus interpreted by the people of central and southern Russia, who see the promises uttered by Prince Mirsky and the Tsar himself infringed or withdrawn without apology or explanation. That is doubtless why the entire Russian people are making ready to put powerful pressure upon the Tsardom in the spring.

From the armed and successful insurrection of the Caucasus to the protests of St Petersburg workmen who are shot down for proclaiming their trust in the Tsar, a gradual transition is offered by the Polish movement, which partakes of the characteristics of both. The desire to rescue precious national possessions from the withering grasp of the bureaucracy is no less strong amongst the countrymen of Sienkiewicz than amongst the Armenians or Georgians; but the dread of German interference is perhaps more powerful even than antipathy to the Russian Government, and contributes to check for the moment the display of national aspirations in any form more provocative than that of a party programme or a respectful petition. Down to the end of M. Plehve's régime there were only two alternatives in Polish politics, either servile conformity to Russian rule or revolutionary conspiracy; and the latter was eschewed by all. The relaxation of tension that accompanied Prince Mirsky's entrance upon office supplied a welcome opportunity for the formation of groups less extreme in their aims and more practical in their methods. Of these the Progressive Democratic party is the most influential; and its programme indicates the minimum of demands whose satisfaction would content the Polish people at this moment. Briefly these are: (1) the restoration to Poland of the political organisation it enjoyed at the time of its incorporation with Russia; (2) autonomy based on an organic statute elaborated by a Polish assembly elected

by direct and secret vote, such autonomy, however, not to exclude the kingdom of Poland from participation in the affairs of the Russian Empire as a whole; (3) equality of rights for the Poles in Lithuania and Little Russia.

Among the reforms implied by this programme are included the restoration of the native language to its position as the medium of common intercourse in Poland, and its employment in schools, law-courts, and administrative institutions; the abolition of restrictions and privileges derived from nationality or religious belief; the legal recognition of the marriages of Uniats,* and the pardon of all Uniats imprisoned or exiled for fidelity to their creed; freedom of association, freedom of assembly, freedom to strike work, freedom of belief and of public speech; inviolability of persons and dwellings; abolition of the administrative method of dealing with political crimes; amnesty for persons condemned for political reasons; equality of rights as between Poles and other citizens of the Empire; compulsory elementary education under the control of the community; and autonomy of the urban and village communities. This union of national and economic claims with demands of a more general character, to which every Russian citizen might subscribe, characterises accurately the present temper and situation of the fettered people.

The remarkable thing is that no attempt has been made during the present crisis to enforce these demands by anything in the nature of an armed rising. This is all the more strange because the demoralising lesson of the value of violence as a means, indeed the only means, of obtaining redress has been inculcated with special stress in Poland. Towards the end of March last a deputation of Poles repaired to St Petersburg and presented humble and respectful petitions to various ministers, asking that Polish children might use their native language in their schools. A humble petition, at a moment when rifle-cartridges and bombs were in vogue, ought to have impressed the authorities favourably. Besides this, some of the ministers had beforehand privately assured the Poles of their sympathy and support. Yet when they came to

* Members of that branch of the Eastern Church which, while it observes the rites and ceremonies of the Russian Orthodox community, recognises the authority of the Pope, and is in communion with the Vatican.

the point, the deputation was gruffly received, even by its whilom supporters, and was informed that neither now nor in the future could any hope of such concessions be held out. Moreover the Government informed the teaching staff of the private schools in Warsaw that, if they dared to teach children in private houses, they would be disqualified for ever for the career of education. It would not be surprising if the Polish people, thus humiliated, were to yield to temptation and, like their brethren in suffering, to have recourse to force. But of this there is at present little apparent probability.

A different course has been adopted by Polish operatives, whose demands are not identical with those of the national leaders. The workmen have begun to realise that they may exert a powerful influence by simply refusing to work, and that the concession of political rights is the first step towards the attainment of those economical reforms for which they have recently, under the influence of the Socialist parties, learned to strive. It is at this point that the agitation in Poland displays its fundamental unity with the Russian movement as a whole; for in the Russian internal situation at the present moment one of the most salient facts is the sudden recrudescence of the Labour movement.

The Labour movement had its origin in the west and south of European Russia; and, under the direction of the Social Democratic party, its aims were primarily of an economic character. On the whole, the great strike which spread through the south of Russia in the summer of 1903 maintained this character consistently, though the interference of the administrative authorities on behalf of the employers imparted a political colouring to many of the workmen's demonstrations; while in Odessa an immediate impulse to the strike came from an association of operatives that had been specially organised by one of Plehve's agents for provocative purposes. The chief demands of the men were for shorter hours and more wages, while the immediate object of the leaders was, in the main, to educate the workmen to a consciousness of the strength which union and discipline bestow. The political element in the Russian movement was very little stronger than it would be in an ordinary American strike; and the self-restraint of the men was astonishing. Equally astonish-

ing was the circumstance that the only answer which the Government could think of was formulated in terms of rifle-bullets and sabres. For the moment 'order was restored.' This grandiose effort was not followed up by other workmen's demonstrations on a large scale, chiefly, as it would seem, because its easy suppression seemed to prove that Russia was not yet ripe for a Labour movement on the Western pattern.

The situation began to change when, in Baku last December, the operatives of the naphtha wells, by resolutely eschewing work, scored an economic victory which their comrades in Europe and America might well regard with envy. The echoes of the Baku triumph had hardly died away when the Labour movement throughout Russia sprang without any warning into life, this time to direct its attacks, not primarily against the employers, but against the Government. The impulse went out from that very St Petersburg which had for long been the despair of socialist agitators. George Gapon, an indifferent priest, a mediocre citizen, and a fanatical leader, who could fire men's souls, had materially contributed to the work. Under the very eyes of the police, and armed with special tokens of imperial favour, he had educated a strong band of workmen into a clear consciousness, not only of their economic, but also of their political needs. Guided by an extraordinary instinct, which stood him in better stead than all the learning of the schools, he chose the best possible method of tearing from the eyes of the St Petersburg working-man the veil of traditional loyalty that had blinded him to the most essential difficulty of his situation —his lack of liberty of action. For, when the Cossacks, in the Tsar's name, fired upon the Tsar's petitioning subjects, and upon the symbols of their loyalty, their nationality, and their faith, the workmen realised, with the finality of absolute conviction, that it was his Government that stood in the way of his deliverance.

Like an electric shock the news of the St Petersburg massacre (January 22) spread through the Empire; and in hundreds of factories and workshops men laid down their tools and walked out in fierce indignation at the action of the Government. The opportunity was naturally utilised to present certain economic demands to the employers; but in many cases, where these were granted,

the men struck again after a few days' work. On a number of lines the railway-men stood idle; and traffic in many parts of the Empire would have come to a complete standstill if the Minister of Ways and Communications had not, by liberal promises on the one hand and menaces on the other, induced the men to return to work. In Riga the workmen, who were armed, fought against the troops; in Poland the strike was accompanied by political demonstrations, which the police attempted to counteract by encouraging looting on the part of the roughs. In St Petersburg the men began, after a few days, to return to their occupations, sullenly and under the compulsion of hunger, but only to strike again when the pinch of starvation had ceased to be felt. The Minister of Finance having consulted with the employers, the latter declared that the causes of the strike were primarily political, while the Minister as stoutly averred that they were economical. Some thirty workmen, routed out of bed before dawn, roughly washed and newly clad, were escorted by detectives through rows of armed soldiers to the palace at Tsarskoe Selo, where the Emperor received them and read an allocution. To the kidnapped and trembling representatives he announced, in an almost inaudible voice, his gracious pardon to the workers for the crime which they imagined, and still believe, he himself had committed against them. And when they returned home, instead of finding their comrades released from prison, they learned that many others had been deprived of their liberty.

In the meantime the strike spread to other sections of society. Shop-assistants struck for more wages and shorter hours; the barbers in Moscow, domestic servants in Kieff, and apothecaries' assistants in both Russian capitals, ceased to work. More serious, more imposing, and productive of more excited discussion than any of these, was the strike of the students of all the higher educational institutions of Russia. In no country in the world has the extraordinary spectacle been seen of 50,000 students of all faculties refusing to attend university lectures, thereby sacrificing a fourth of their academic career and entering upon their professions a twelvemonth later, solely in order to express their condemnation of the existing régime and their deep sympathy with the

demands of the working-men. A large number of professors approved the students' movement; and public opinion upheld both teachers and scholars.

The students' strike bears the character of a purely political protest, and brings out in strong relief the essential significance of the working-men's agitation, which, chaotic and disorganised as it is, eludes precise definition. Roughly speaking, Gapon's petition presented the working men's chief needs in a form that corresponded to their semi-articulate desire. In that petition political demands were in the forefront; and they have remained in the forefront ever since. This was demonstrated very strikingly by the fate of the Shidloffsky Commission—a body of officials whom the Emperor charged with the task of studying the local labour problem and remedying the men's worst grievances at once. It was to consist of representatives of the Government, of the employers, and of the operatives. Senator Shidloffsky, an official whose record was unknown to the outside world, was appointed president; and notices were posted up in prominent positions inviting the operatives to choose electors who in turn would elect delegates to represent the working-men on the Commission. Workmen read, shrugged their shoulders, wondered, consulted, and finally agreed that it might be worth while to send electors as the authorities requested. But they took rigid precautions beforehand.

'You want us to elect comrades to speak for us?' said the men of the Putiloff works to the policemen who were urging them. 'That's all very well; but we must be careful. You see, we elected representatives who were to go before the Tsar, and you pounced upon them and put them in prison. They are still in gaol. How do we know that you will not imprison other spokesmen if we choose them?' The police saw the point, and, after some beating about the bush, promised that during the elections the men should be unmolested and their representatives should be secure against arrest. Then the difficult job of sifting began, a process which, little as the Government desired it, was simply a continuation of the course of political instruction that had been so successfully inaugurated on January 22. At the various mills and factories the 'hands' met in their workshops or in courtyards, and with all due formalities, including the ballot-box, indicated

the men from among whom were to be chosen their representatives on the Commission. The electors were to demand before everything freedom of association, freedom of assembly, and freedom to strike. The police hovered on the outskirts of the meetings; their spies were present within; but on the whole the authorities refrained from interference. The meetings presented an excellent opportunity for political agitation, of which the workmen's leaders took full advantage.

The proceedings at one such gathering—that held on a cold Sunday morning at the cartridge factory on Basil island—are typical of many. When the men assembled in the courtyard they found themselves under the surveillance of Cossacks and a body of police. 'You must go out of this yard,' said the men, 'or else we shall do no electing.' Cossacks and police accordingly left, after extorting a promise that the men would allow no outsiders to enter. As soon as the representatives of authority had vanished, eighteen individuals unbuttoned their overcoats and disclosed students' uniforms. They were greeted with shouts of welcome, which were subsequently turned to cries of anger, when it was discovered that the men were not students but police spies. Then they were roughly mauled and expelled without ceremony. Then speeches were made—speeches against the war speeches in favour of the war, speeches against the Government, and speeches in favour of the Government, speeches by Socialist revolutionaries, by Social Democrats, and by *agents provocateurs*. Finally, the *agents provocateurs* were eliminated by violent means. After that the Social Democrats placed before the assembly the irreducible minimum of the demands which the workmen ought to make to the Commission. These included, besides the points already mentioned, the release of their comrades who had been arrested at the time of the massacre. The assembly agreed that nothing less could be demanded; and the resolution was signed by practically every one present. Sheets of paper were hung up for the benefit of those who might wish to record their opposition to the demands; but, as a band of stalwart operatives stood ready to deal violently with any one who might attempt to sign, the white pages remained clean.

The first stage of the election having been traversed,

350 electors were to prepare for the next. On the first day they formed themselves into groups, according to the nature of their respective industries; on the second day they agreed to present their irreducible minimum of preliminary demands to Senator Shidloffsky, pointing out that, unless he granted these, they would refuse to proceed to the election of delegates. Senator Shidloffsky, on the third day, signified his inability to comply with the requests, and uttered a sufficiently clear warning that those who persisted in making political demands would be arrested. Thereupon the electors carried out their threat, refused to choose deputies, and inaugurated a fresh general strike, this time as a purely political demonstration. Though the strike did not become general, but retained the intermittent character that has been habitual since the day of the massacre, a government would be blind indeed that refused to see the menace to its own existence contained in this desperate effort to maintain passive resistance. Yet the Tsar's Government goes out of its way to provoke action. Hundreds of working-men have been arrested since then, and sent, together with criminals, through forwarding prisons to the places of their birth, where they must turn to agricultural labour, for which fifteen or twenty years' work in mills has unfitted them; while strikers who happen to be Jews are rejected by the employers, acting under the direction of the authorities. The Tsar's promise that the Shidloffsky Commission would relieve the workmen has been withdrawn, and the Commission itself dissolved.

Everywhere old needs have become articulate. The semblance of national unity that prevailed so long as 'order' of the kind affected by the autocracy could be maintained, has fallen away now that the stern hand of repression has perforce been relaxed. The silence that was construed to mean absolute cohesion has given place to a very babel of protests from all classes, professions, and races, that might seem to connote utter dissolution were it not for the fact that they all are directed against one object—the Government. Poles and Finns, Armenians and German Jews, Stundists and Old Believers, landed proprietors and peasants, nobles and commoners, employers of labour and working-men, merchants and artists, students and professors, academicians and doctors,

lawyers and men of letters, are all at one. There is hardly a class that has not joined in the insistent demand that the nation should be allowed to govern itself.

To this demand the Tsar and almost all the members of the dynasty resolutely demur. They are emboldened to uphold autocracy at all costs by a band of adherents whose motives are discredited by their antecedents, and whose methods would irremediably damage a truly noble cause. As these men, foremost among whom was the late Grand-duke Sergius, enjoy the fitful confidence of Nicholas II, and recoil from no means that may appear to them effective, the absolutist régime will presumably be maintained at home as Russian hegemony is being perpetuated abroad. If sacrifices of men and money can accomplish the feat, they will be made ungrudgingly.

But the bulk of the thinking classes, including many state dignitaries and some ministers, is profoundly convinced that the lowest cost of temporarily rescuing the autocracy from the dangers that now beset it would be ruinous to the nation. Hence they are partisans of reform. They know that until and unless this change is accomplished, neither law nor order nor security for property or life can be maintained in a realm which comprises one sixth of the habitable globe. Assassinations, massacres, the burning of manors, the devastation of estates, armed risings, successful insurrections, general strikes, and the unimaginable frenzy of benighted peasants whom famine has driven mad, are among the phenomena which will be associated with the present and last phase of one-man rule in Russia. It is painful to reflect that these abnormal conditions, and the untold misery which they inflict upon millions of innocent people, are the direct and indirect results of the action of a man to whom personal cruelty has never been brought home. And that impression is made more painful still by the reflection that a stroke of his pen would suffice to put an end to that widespread and acute suffering, and would at the same time bestow more real power upon himself as head of a constitutional régime than he ever possessed as a lonely autocrat. But it is to be feared that, left to himself, he will never discern the dilemma nor realise the necessity of choosing between the alternatives.

Every government reform, every administrative act

which has righted wrongs or alleviated misery during the past twelve months, has been wrung from the autocracy by dint of violence. In no recorded case has the Tsar taken the initiative; and he and his intimates, whose names the public has never heard, set themselves to circumscribe the action of ministers by creating accomplished facts. It was thus that the March manifesto was clandestinely written and illegally promulgated, and is now being iniquitously used by the rural clergy to inflame popular passions against the best sections of the people. That document, published in spite of the law, and without the knowledge of the Tsar's advisers, stung these to the quick and moved them to prompt action. The reform rescript was then literally wrung from the autocrat by ministers turned conspirators. It was a new version of a palace revolution, organised by loyal but indignant servants. Unless the same ministers are inspired by nobler motives to insist on its execution, Russia may be plunged in the horrors of a civil war, the accompaniments of which will cause Western peoples to shudder.

Nicholas II, whose character offers unplumbed depths to the psychologist, might perhaps not recoil from this extreme consequence; and such an issue seems to be rendered probable by his determination to continue the war with Japan. The Tsar is a law unto himself, and will remain so to the end. But it is questionable whether self-respecting ministers, whose duty is to advise and enlighten him, ought to countenance by their presence a policy which is subversive of rudimentary morality and productive of gigantic crime. The future historian will hardly offer an apology for the pusillanimity of officials who refused to ward off a national disaster when nothing more violent is needed than a ministerial strike. While it would be unfair summarily to condemn a monarch for firmness in resisting encroachment on his privileges or severity in repressing rebellion against the Crown, there is little to be said in favour of a prince who is blind to the consequences of misrule, and, both by his action and his inaction, is, to all appearance, hurrying his country to the brink of the abyss.

Art. XII.—WATTS AND WHISTLER.

It has been no small good fortune to Londoners to have had this winter three great exhibitions open at the same time, which, by their juxtaposition, emphasised so many points of contrast and together symbolised so clearly the close of a period in modern art. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century the art represented in these three galleries has been as stimulating, as vehemently canvassed, and often as violently decried as any. Now, for the first time, even those who took a share in the discussions of the day can look at what our age produced with a steadier gaze, and can say what they feel without fear of offence and without the exaggerated fervour of partisanship. It is true that some of the great men of the French Impressionist school are still happily alive; but their battles are over, they have entered into their heritage of fame; and it is possible even to some who have always opposed their aims to recognise their achievement as simply and unhesitatingly as if they had been old masters. What that achievement was we do not intend to discuss here; but it will be impossible, in talking of Watts and Whistler, to avoid occasional glances at contemporary art in France by way of contrast and comparison. For, if we take Watts and Whistler as in some ways typical of English art, we are at once struck by their extraordinary unlikeness, while in the French group, in spite of vivid contrasts of temperament, we find a tendency to formulate a common style, to fight a common battle, and to combine forces in a 'movement.'

The French, with all their supposed 'intransigeance,' their theoretical love of revolution, are in many ways more traditional than we are. The tradition of Ingres lives in Degas; and how far back through Poussin does not that take us? It would be almost impossible to find a French artist who renounces Poussin and Claude; while, among contemporaries, the opportunities of friendly intercourse are better cultivated, the solidarity of all genuine workers is more readily acknowledged. On the other hand, the characteristics of a nation with a hundred creeds and only one sauce make themselves felt even in our art. Our individualism is so innate and so extreme

that our great men tend to isolate themselves from any close spiritual intercourse with their kindred. Like Watts, they go their own way so directly and so unconscious of their lonely progress that they do not even proclaim their dissent; or, like Whistler, they find in their isolation at once a source of inspiration, by the sense of superiority it gives, and of irritation, so that they cry aloud the grounds of their disagreement.

Our English masters, then—and after all Whistler was more English than French—are alike only in their segregation. And indeed Whistler will be found to agree less with the French Impressionists than Watts does; for the French painters loved life, and they followed nature with an almost pathetic faith; and Watts, though from quite a different approach, also had a sympathy for life and a reverence for nature. For him, too, art was an organic part of human life, affected by its conditions and expressive of its needs. But Whistler's creed was absolute and unbending. He asserted the unique nature of the sense of beauty, its uselessness, its separation from all other human faculties, and its supreme claims.

Whistler, the pamphleteer, the journalist, the dandy, the pugnacious litigant, was always in evidence. One might have supposed then that here at least was the man who, loving publicity and the stir of city life, would have been able to say, in a sparkling and witty idiom of his own, something about life. Even if he had not interpreted its deeper significance, we might have expected from him some close and convincing statement of its fashions and its follies. But no artist ever shrank from life more than Whistler. No one approached it with more haughty and self-contained reserve. He was never really on terms with life; his keen intelligence made him alert to detect fallacies in the proverbial philosophies of his day, and his corrosive wit made his exposure of them bitterly resented. He became a negative Mephistophelian figure; his geniality shrivelled, his sympathies were crushed both from within and from without. But the very fastidiousness of taste, both intellectual and æsthetic, which thus set him in opposition to life prevented him from giving vent, as a Swift or Carlyle, to the rage of his heart. The fire burned within him, but he spoke only ephemeral witticisms in the press;

he never painted the satires that he conceived; for the root of all his quarrel with life lay in the one really deep emotion he possessed—the love of pure beauty.

If there be such a thing as a religion of beauty, Whistler was its hierophant. To an unbelieving and sentimental generation he proclaimed its severe and unaccommodating dogmas with all the paradoxical insolence of a true prophet. The world laughed; and the terrible irony of his situation lay in the fact that, on the main issue, a stupidly emotional world was right and the prophet wrong. For beauty cannot exist by itself; cut off from life and human realities it withers. It must send its roots down into other layers of human consciousness and be fed from imaginatively apprehended truth, as in religious art, or from human sympathy, as in dramatic art, or from a sense of human needs and fears in the face of nature, as in all great landscape art. But Whistler, like Oscar Wilde—who was in some ways a similar product of the same moment in modern life—wanted beauty to be self-contained and self-sufficing. In both there was something heroic, in the insolent haughtiness of the protest they made, in their refusal to come to terms with the common intelligence of the age, in their demand for martyrdom. Wilde, as 'De Profundis' has so eloquently proved, did, through the revelation of pain, learn the truth of humility, the artistic meaning of sorrow, but Whistler, embittered and saddened though he was, was never forced to amplify his theories.

His theory, then, that the æsthetic emotion is entirely distinct and self-sufficient, made it a point of honour for him to eliminate from his painting all that indignation with a gross generation which might conceivably have inspired in him an art of terrible denunciation like Daumier's. His fiery and militant spirit concentrated itself on the perfection of beauty, on the search for it in its purest aspects, where its elements could be seized apart from any possible meanings they might connote. He made almost a fetish of the artistic conscience. His negations and exclusions became more and more exacting, his points of contact with life rarer. In his early picture of the 'Piano,' objects have their solid relief; they are enveloped in a warm atmosphere; the figures live and are capable of motion and tender human feeling. But, in the

face of all that had beset English art, and was once again, with the waning of Preraphaelitism and the growing ascendency of Millais, overwhelming it in a flood of commonplace sentiment and obvious narrative, Whistler became more and more Quixotic in his chivalrous defence of the artist's point of honour. Real beauty, he recognised, must be always something medicinal to the mass of mankind; and he protested against diluting the drug with sugar and water, against any attempt at making it immediately palatable. For beauty of a striking and original kind has always, at least since the *bourgeoisie* ruled, appeared in the light of a personal insult.

It is now unintelligible to us that Whistler's Nocturnes should have appeared to spectators in the seventies meaningless or chaotic; to us their language is as simple as Tennyson's; but the generation that found 'In Memoriam' hopelessly difficult, found neither sky nor water nor bridge in Whistler's 'Battersea by Night.' Nor could they pass it by unheeded; to them it was the impudent imposture of a charlatan. When we blame Whistler—and his later life was calculated often to exasperate his most generous admirers—we ought to remember what the shock must have been to a man who saw in his own Nocturnes all that we now see, and who heard them derided by the leading critics of the day, by Tom Taylor and Ruskin, and by all the shouting mob. He was 'Athanasius contra mundum'; he hardened his heart and circumscribed the limits of the artist's faith, making his creed narrow, pedantic, and inhuman.

The creed was exposed once and for all in Swinburne's eloquent reply to the 'Ten o'clock'; but Whistler never consciously gave it up, and he worked on the assumption that beauty existed in and for itself. He believed that design meant a perfectly harmonised pattern, that certain colour combinations pleased the eye more intensely than others. He refused to see that the mere beauty of a pattern could be heightened if it were at once a pattern and a drama, that the chord of colour would vibrate more richly to the eye if at the same time it woke an echo in the imagination. For him a picture was a flattened-out porcelain jar, in which we look primarily for the highest and most subtle stimulus to a sense of sight, trained by long apprenticeship to appreciate the most delicate per-

fections of quality. He realised Taste in its highest development. For him it became no mere casual predilection, but a separate and highly refined activity, which, if not actually a function of the intellect, implied at least a constant discrimination and selection, and required a disinterested effort similar to that of intellectual apprehension. For its perfection it required too a scrupulosity and *ascesis* which made it analogous to moral purity. He carried it about with him as a prophylactic against the contaminations of a vulgar age; he lived by it as a religious by his rule; he almost sank the genius in the man of taste.

He showed it, too, in a certain scrupulous exactitude and finish in the minor affairs of life. The world could not but recognise that he left a stamp of completeness upon the most trivial and casual affairs. He showed it, for instance, when, some few years ago, he was asked to contribute to the show of old silver held at the Fine Art Society's in Bond Street. The whole show-case in which he had confided his treasures expressed the man almost as clearly as a picture by him. Collectors generally reveal something of themselves in what they gather round them, but much remains inexpressive, the result of the mere chances of the market or the desire to get what is acclaimed as authentic; but Whistler seemed to have himself designed every one of the pieces, a hundred years old or more, which he showed. So rigorous had been the selection, so exclusive the choice, that what remained was pure Whistler; it had his sense of proportion, his austere elegance, his unmistakable perfection.

For Whistler, then, this educated discrimination which we call taste was the great artistic function; and this he found exemplified in the art of the Far East as nowhere else, with the doubtful exception of Greece. There, in China and Japan, the tact and self-restraint that taste implies were almost national characteristics; and Whistler's importance for the art of Europe consists not a little in his introduction of Japanese canons. It may even be that the difference between the disgust with which his 'Battersea Bridge' was once received and the enthusiasm it now arouses is due to the fact that, in the meanwhile, we have become accustomed to the Japanese angle of vision. Certain it is that what was most original in

Whistler's art was in part due to his powers, not as a creator, but as a connoisseur. He discovered, not Battersea Bridge, but the Bridge of Kioto; and Hiroshige, rather than nature, taught him the perfect harmonies of his Nocturnes.

We are at last beginning to treat the classic art of China and Japan with the same reverence that we have long extended to Greek art. But as, in the case of Greek art, pioneers like Winckelmann worshipped Græco-Roman copies that we now despise, so Whistler stopped at the threshold to admire as the authentic divinity the comparatively trifling and decadent work of later Japanese artists. To us for whom, thanks in part to Whistler himself, roads have been opened up in this new country, it is now clear that, in the great classic art of China and Japan, design does not mean mere agreeableness of pattern, but embraces that perpetual play of two motives —the motive of form as a delight to the eye, and of form as directly expressive of moods and images to the feelings and the intelligence.

It was partly through Rossetti, that great explorer of new kingdoms of delight, that Whistler was started upon his quest of Oriental beauty; and, having once started, he went to lengths which brought him into opposition with Preraphaelite doctrines; for he came to side with the Eastern artist as against the Western in his views upon relief. It is this perhaps more than anything else which made him so singular, so isolated a figure in the art of the nineteenth century. For the West has always loved to give to its painted images the utmost possible effect of solid relief. The Greeks knew the joy of this power of relief and used it, if we may trust their critics, for the vulgarest effects of illusion, as in Theon's picture of the hoplite; and the love of relief in painting is endemic in the West, for the whole art of the Renaissance shows a continual struggle with the rebellious flatness of the painted surface. But the Eastern artist has always felt that the proprieties of an art of design on the flat demanded a more symbolic treatment; that relief in painting is a vulgar emphasis by the artist on that which the mind of the spectator is supposed to embody in response to his delicate indications. We need not decide here which is right; the Western ideal is

certainly more difficult, and more dangerous, in that it lets in more non-æsthetic elements, and may, in fact, obscure the whole meaning of the art of design; but, at the same time, it may lead to more imposing, more irresistible triumphs.

In any case, Whistler took sides definitely with the East, and, in the middle of a society which was enamoured of the crudest actuality in art, insisted on painting large pictures in oils like the 'Mother' and the 'Carlyle,' the whole point of which was the negation of relief, the reduction of the figure to its value as a flat scarcely modelled silhouette. And how exquisitely the silhouette is elaborated! Who but Whistler would have thought of getting what he did out of Carlyle, letting the coat fly open at the breast, buttoning it tight round the hips in a way which threatens to turn Carlyle into his own 'Dandiacal Body,' throwing out the hand as an embroidery of the line. As pure pattern it is a masterpiece; and with what subtlety too is the substance of the paint wrought so as to become at once lovely in itself and subordinate to the desired flatness. Whistler once said to an artist whose water-colours he admired, 'Why don't you paint in oils?' The artist replied, 'I don't know how. I have no technique.' To which Whistler answered, 'Nor have I. Do as I do: paint oils like water-colours.' And this is true. In his early pieces, like the 'Piano' or the 'Building of Westminster Bridge,' he used paint for its relief-values, for the expressiveness of rich impasto and transparent shade; but, after he had once conceived the idea that the flat silhouette was the highest expression of pictorial design, he painted with an even thinness; and pictures such as the 'Mother' and the 'Carlyle' are in fact *gouaches* done in oil. For this purpose he developed a technique of thin lacquered surfaces which has rare beauty and of which he alone knew the secret.

But taste, which thus led him to refine on life and reject its invitations, however chaste, is, like asceticism, a negative and cloistered virtue; and its too exclusive cultivation led Whistler to expose himself to his enemies, led him even to justify in some sort their accusations. He arrived at the point where the calligraphy of his celebrated signature came to seem almost a sufficient assertion of his power. So that in many of his litho-

graphs and not a few of the later etchings he gives us only a few brilliant scratches just sufficiently adumbrating a scene in Venice or a blacksmith's forge at Lyme. Worst, and most pathetic of all, the calligraphy of his strokes is here no longer superlative; and not only is the execution slight, but too often the idea is trivially pretty or utterly banal.

What comes out for us most at the present time is the isolation of Whistler. People were fond of calling him an impressionist, and so, in a sense, he was, in that he tried to confine himself to the visual impression, to exclude from his work the associated ideas of objects. But the gulf which separates him from men like Degas, Monet, and Renoir, is immense. They nod recognition to Watts behind Whistler's back, for they are all interested in life, ironically, scientifically, or lyrically, as their temperaments incline. They may protest that they hate literary art, and class Watts as a *littérateur*; but their pictures belie them. Whole pages of Zola are in Degas' 'Washerwomen'; a story by de Maupassant is in every Renoir; and Watts is so far of their company that, in his grandiose abstract manner, he too felt the warm attraction of human life, he too interpreted, though through the thicker veils of English convention, something of that femininity which inspired Renoir. But Whistler stands alone untouched by the imitations of life, protesting that beauty exists apart, that the work of man's hands is fairer than all that nature can show. He is a monument to the power of the artist's creed in its narrowest interpretations, and to the unbending rectitude of the artistic conscience, a lonely, scarcely a lovable, but surely an heroic figure.

Watts presents at almost every point the completest contrast to Whistler. His temperamental optimism grew and expanded in the atmosphere of distinguished and aristocratic life with which he was surrounded. The shocks and disillusionments of life were powerless to affect it; he clung always with a genial pertinacity to what was hopeful and elevating. He was positive and generous where Whistler was negative and cynical. His easily kindled enthusiasm for what was noble silenced the critical and discriminating faculties of the intellect. Where Whistler was moved to scornful indignation by

the hasty assumptions of a superficial and facile philosophy, by the easy-going generalisations which were current at the time, Watts's imagination responded with glowing enthusiasm. For this aspect of his character the 'Hope,' hackneyed and commonplace as it now appears to many of us, is indeed admirably expressive of the central fact of his temperament—of its irreducible optimism, its illogical and instinctive clinging to what is exhilarating and consoling to the spirit, its refusal to recognise the reality of what is adverse to its aspirations. To his genial, assimilative nature the harsh abstraction of Whistler's artistic Calvinism, with its insistence on perfection, had no meaning. For him perfection, as the result of deliberate and critical choice, of rejection and exclusion, had no attractions. He created by inclusion and absorption, by identifying himself with some great and elevating idea which gathered to itself, as it grew, what was necessary to its sustenance, careless even if it included some accidental and unnecessary accretions.

We are not, then, to look to Watts for perfection; each picture of his was a struggle to express some idea which stirred his emotions. He was bound to be experimental and tentative in his efforts to find for this the expressive symbol. And the very importance of the ideas to him, the high duty which he believed lay upon him to utter them to the world, prevented him from a curious preoccupation with the mode of their embodiment. So that, beside the clear-cut perfection of some of Whistler's designs, Watts's work must often seem hasty and unfinished.

If we stand before one of Reynolds's greater portrait groups and admire the matchless skill of design which it displays, and ask ourselves if Watts could have done thus, we must almost certainly answer no. And yet Reynolds refused to attempt the grand style as beyond his powers. Where Reynolds hesitated Watts stepped in. He, almost alone of English artists, if we except Haydon's forlorn hope, and Stevens' too rare essays, has attempted the grand style, and on its highest planes. Was he justified? That is the question that posterity will answer; we can hardly do more than make a plausible forecast. But we may say already with confidence that, whether he attained complete success or not, there was nothing arrogant or

absurd in his endeavour. There is nothing to make us think that Watts might have cultivated to perfection some little circumscribed plot, that he ever mistook his vocation, or sacrificed a small talent in the endeavour to make it a great one. His spirit moved at ease in a large orbit; his ears were attuned to majestic strains; he had to be grandiose or nothing. He had to be grandiose, moreover, in an inopportune age. To have been a second Michelangelo in the nineteenth century he would have needed far more than Michelangelo's genius. The attempt might have seemed altogether too hazardous if Watts had had a clearer understanding of its difficulty; fortunately he seems to have lived by the dictates of a sound instinct rather than by self-conscious theories.

Immense as the difficulties were, it is not well to exaggerate them. His age was one in which painting in this country sank to its lowest depths; but, for all that, it was really more propitious, or, let us say, less unpropitious, for this particular essay than some others. Painting in Reynolds's time was far better understood; there was a sound tradition of technique, a general elevation of taste; but, for all that, Reynolds may have been right to refrain, and Watts, less accomplished, less perfectly equipped as a painter, right to attempt. For the imaginative temper of the eighteenth century was too slack to prevent the grandiose from degenerating into the turgid and rhetorical. Reynolds's own attempts are a sufficient proof; but between Reynolds and Watts came Blake, Shelley, Wordsworth, Keats, and thence such an intensifying and rekindling of the poetic sense as made the grandiose no longer seem a dangerous affectation. Even the scientific movement of the Victorian age, while it made life uglier and diminished the artist's opportunities, did in fact help this enlargement of the mental horizon. It was, after all, a great age, and might well inspire here and there one generous soul to attempt great things in art also. In all humility and all seriousness Watts made the attempt; that, at least, is a part of the inspiration of his life-work.

No one could enter the galleries at Burlington House without feeling that here was the impress of a great spirit, that this work was inspired by a great and noble ambition, in which anything like self-assertion and

bravura was cast out by a higher pride. The classic amplitude of the movements, the heroic self-possession and repose of these figures, implied a creator who had succeeded in living in a serener atmosphere than belonged to his time. This is indeed the great mystery of Watts's work—not that he did not paint as Michelangelo or Titian, but that he succeeded in expressing himself in the grand style at all. That in an age of exasperating and nervous activity, greeted on all sides by the jerky briskness of the modern man, in an age of daily increasing ugliness and squalor, he did not despair of humanity; that he could still think of the human form as capable of large and stately gesture, of grave and lofty mien; that he could express once more the pagan ideal of perfect individuals and forget the alert cunning of the man of business—this was success beyond anticipation.

As we passed round the walls and traced his career from his earliest days, we followed with something of the interest of a romance the innumerable dangers which Watts encountered, the hair-breadth escapes, the perilous temptations, and the happy ending of each chapter. Every false canon of taste lay in wait for Watts. There was the primness and respectability of early Victorian life; and he painted one portrait that might pass for the work of any of the nameless dullards of the period. There was the theatre; and in the 'Watchman' and 'Ophelia' one may guess how nearly its cheap sentimentality caught him in its toils. There was always the attraction of fashionable prettiness; and the society in which he lived must have pressed its claims upon him with some exigence. Then the Preraphaelites must have tempted his generous sympathies to share their struggle, their triumphs, and their collapse; finally, his own idealism, the immense importance he attached to vague and nebulous theorising, again and again brought his art to the verge of incoherency. But even from that he recovered; and his latest works have firm, well ascertained designs, a deliberate and calculated geometry.

What was it that saved him? Not the society he kept; for he was surrounded by adulation enough to have killed a dozen ordinary geniuses; nor did he seek the society of men whose criticism might have braced him and turned back his vagrant fancy. Scarcely his intel-

lect, for this seems always to have been subordinate to his emotions. His worship of Titian, Veronese, and the Elgin marbles seems to have been his salvation; and this came about by reason of his robust good sense, his instinctive belief in the rightness and nobility of all the functions of the complete man, in short his paganism. Against this, all that was warped, one-sided, neurotic, or merely ephemeral, appealed in vain. All his idealism, all his speculations about the soul, never made him doubt the importance of the body; and it was the healthy vigour of this creed that saved him from the aberrations of an intellect that may often have been caught by specious sophistries. Fortunately he had the sense to trust his instincts, and to these he always returned. It was indeed the beautiful simplicity and absence of ostentation of his character that enabled him to do this; and it is in this sense true that his art is moral. We feel instinctively that the mind which conceived these heroic figures was moved by no petty vanities, was accustomed to generous and sympathetic impulses.

That other sense of his work being didactic, of which so much has been made both for and against, may be set down at once as an amiable and not altogether unfortunate delusion. Both the praise and the blame which Watts has received on this score seem to be the result of confusion. The praise, so curiously like that which Browning received from earnest souls, who, if they had read him with more understanding, ought rather to have been shocked, implied that Watts's greatness consisted in his power of making a rebus in paint of certain moral platitudes which could have been put more concisely in words, such, for instance, as that 'Love is the chief support of Life,' or that 'Love cannot postpone the day of Death.' Those who blamed were equally at fault in that they likewise assumed that the content of the pictures was only such as could be conveyed by these bald literary statements.

But the accusation that they were literature and not painting is not really justified. It might be urged, perhaps, against such symbolism as Mr Sargent employed in his decorations for the Boston Public Library. There there is a sun-god from which emerge rays ending each one in a hand. Now this is a symbol which can have no

direct meaning for a modern man; it can only touch him if it is explained by means of literary annotation; but the point of most of Watts's pictures requires no such annotation. The symbolism is, as a rule, of broad universal acceptance; it belongs to our popular mythology; and, whereas rays ending in hands cannot possibly arouse any emotions unless we have the clue to their meaning, most of Watts's allegories readily yield nearly all their pictorial and imaginative significance.

There are, it may be admitted, exceptions to this statement. There are cases—the 'Dweller in the Innermost' may be taken as an example—in which Watts, refusing the assistance of any recognised personifications of abstract ideas, endeavoured to externalise directly the nebulous and formless metaphysical notions in which he indulged. There is no reason to suppose that these were ever clear in his own mind, much less that he ever conceived them sufficiently clearly to find for them definite visual symbols. In such works he becomes mystical merely by being misty. The language of art, being formal, cannot hope to transcend the material by becoming formless, but only by the discovery of forms which symbolise the spiritual. But, for the most part, Watts's allegories do convey a definite idea in purely pictorial language by relying on the associated ideas of the objects represented; and these ideas gain immensely in their appeal to the emotions by the manner in which they are rendered, that is to say, by purely pictorial and not literary elements in the work of art. In fact, the objection to literary art, if pressed, would rule out all the ready-made material of the imaginative life, would exclude representations of biblical scenes and all dramatic and historical painting, and would confine us to renderings of things actually seen.

At the same time it may be allowed that Watts's allegorical pictures are not as a rule his best. They are for the most part rather thin in design; the lines tend to repeat a weakly, sinuous curve; they lack the vigour and antithesis and the firm geometry that we find in pictures where the subject supplies more definite material to his imagination. So that, among the creatively imaginative works, exclusive, that is, of portraiture and landscape, Watts's great triumph lies in what used to be

called historical painting. One or two of his biblical scenes will stand out as memorable interpretations, such, for instance, as the 'Prodigal Son' and the nobly dramatic composition of the 'Jacob and Esau.' Among these we would scarcely venture to put the 'Jonah,' one of the rare cases in which theatrical traditions imposed themselves upon his sentiment for the dramatic.

But it is in his interpretations of classical mythology that the finest, most central qualities of Watts's genius find expression. That, after Titian and Veronese had had their say, he could still conceive a Europa which, if not so great as Titian's, is not only original but more near to what one may fancy of Apelles or Zeuxis than either, more entirely in the Greek spirit and yet not without a modern tenderness and sympathy; that he should have given us an Ariadne which is essentially Greek in design, but yet interprets the story for us again more humanely, more intimately than ever before, a Psyche that counts with Keats's ode to make good the lack of 'antique vows,' and a 'Childhood of Zeus' which has some breath of Olympian air—to have done this will ensure a lasting fame, even if future ages should refuse to disentangle the meaning of his more abstract allegories.

Watts was so many-sided in his activity that it is impossible here to discuss more than the general aspects of his genius. That he devoted so much of his energy to portraiture was not of his own choice. He wanted to be a decorative designer, to cover the walls of our public buildings with frescos expressive of national and public themes. Two figures, 'The Sisters,' and the 'Story from Boccaccio' at the Tate Gallery, show what he might have done had his wish been granted. We may even believe that, had he spent his life on work which demands above all else a design built up on firmly asserted contours, that vagueness of modelling and incompleteness of content, which just prevents his work from attaining the highest level, would have disappeared. Fresco being denied him, he found that the only great service he could render to the nation lay in portraiture.

Watts's portraits are coloured by this sense of a public function. They show no great psychological penetration. There is no intimate revelation of character; his sitters appear rather in the character they had for their age;

they are what we might expect of them; they are never revealed to us suddenly in a new and unexpected light, by which we recognise their real essence. But, for all that, they live, not intensely, not in any close personal way, but in their public capacity, bearing on their faces the stamp of their office. A few of them, moreover, are of surpassing beauty both in colour and quality; among the finest we might name the 'Joachim,' the 'Lord Shrewsbury,' and the 'Recorder of London.' These indeed may be taken as the completest refutation of the idea that Watts could not paint well. The fact is that no one of our time has known so much as Watts of the technical possibilities of paint, or has mastered more various and more difficult manners. Scarcely any of the methods of the earlier masters was unfamiliar to him. The glowing enamel-like quality of the 'Aurora,' which reminds one of French painting of the eighteenth century; the heavy glazes and loaded impasto of the 'Joachim,' which reminds us of Reynolds and Rembrandt; the constant reminiscences of the technique of Titian and Veronese, show that it was certainly not incompetence that led Watts finally to adopt that rocky, dry, and crumbled quality which has given rise to the curious legend of his incompetence. Even in these later works, unsympathetic though their surface may be, he shows incomparable skill, using these dry rubbings and scumblings of pigment so as to produce colour which has mystery and infinity, and, most wonderful of all, transparency; so that when, last year, he showed one of his latest works, the 'Lilian,' at the Academy, it turned everything else there by comparison to opaque and discoloured dullness.

Watts's work as a landscape painter, though he did comparatively little, is by no means the least remarkable of what he has left, for he shows here a surprising originality. He is indeed almost the only modern landscape painter of consequence who has beaten out entirely new paths and found his way to real compositions, not mere transcripts of nature, without unconsciously rendering homage to Claude. He found the way to treat landscape with a new simplicity, to abstract more completely, and to reduce his theme to a few elements and one main contrast of tone. He treats thus a cumulus cloud cut by the bare edge of a hill or the gaunt silhouette

of a mountain peak; or he makes his picture of the portrait of a single tree-trunk; or, most remarkable of all, he renders a distant, mist-enveloped prospect and obtains relief without any of the recognised means, without *repoussoirs* or strongly contrasted foregrounds. In these landscapes he shows the power of fixing on one idea, of getting the central emotion of the scene, and rendering that and that only without any explanatory accessories. In no other work does he show a higher power of concentration. And this concentration is the result of the imaginative intensity with which he has grasped the significance, for him, of the landscape.

We may return now to the question with which we started, the attempt to forecast Watts's position among the great artists of the world. The difficulty is, in his case, far greater than with Whistler, for Whistler accomplished something which had never been done before, accomplished it finally and definitively. It is something palpable and evident, but it scarcely claims the very highest rank. But Watts calls up perpetually the memory of the greatest creators, of Michelangelo, of Titian, of Rubens; and, if we are perfectly frank, his work will not quite stand the test thus inevitably applied. This explains, no doubt, the frequent change of attitude which even those who sincerely admire Watts undergo, now feeling that he is among the Olympians, and now confessing to a shy but persistent doubt. We have endeavoured to consider the grounds on which Watts's achievement is to be judged; as yet it would be unwise to do more than hazard a personal opinion as to the conclusion to be drawn. To the present writer it seems that Watts belongs to the race of the great improvisers, the race to which Tintoretto, Blake, and El Greco belong, rather than to the race of the supreme creators, the kindred of Titian or Rubens whom he emulated. The distinction lies in this, that the great creators revealed some new aspect of form, and discovered some new rhythm. They expressed great conceptions in forms moulded anew specially to fit them, while the improvisers modified and adapted to the expression of their own conceptions material that had already been quarried.

In the artists of both classes we find an extraordinary wealth of invention; images pass perpetually across their

inward vision; but with the improvisers these crowd upon one another so rapidly that the artist's whole energy is devoted to recording their general aspect. In the supreme creative designers, in Michelangelo, Titian, or Rubens, there was greater control over the images; they could be held long enough and securely enough for the artist to embody them more completely; and, most important of all, they allowed of a greater content. Michelangelo and Titian, in particular, were able to come to close terms with nature without weakening the unity of their idea. They could observe with penetrating insight and fill out the design to its utmost extent, straining the scheme with the mass of material it was made to contain, but never breaking it by casual, indifferent, or curious statements. Watts stopped short of this penetrating intelligence of form. He felt keenly the main scaffolding of his design, the weight and protrusion of a limb, the curve of a torso; and thus far he is not only noble, grandiose, and impressive, but masterly; but he could not go on to fill out the main masses with a content expressive throughout its whole texture. The design in its main lines is almost always grand, but it is not compactly woven. With him generalisation means too often abstraction.

To make a form that shall be generalised and typical, not merely particular and individual, implies in an artist great imagination; to give to this form the same cogency and completeness that can be given to some rendering of the particular, to realise its infinity and variety as fully as its unity—this is, after all, the supreme problem of the grand style; and the fact that it so far exceeds in difficulty and impressiveness all other artistic performances is the reason why we give almost divine honours to the few who have attained to it. Watts and Puvis de Chavannes are the only artists of our day who have laid serious claims to these honours. Their canonisation may be deferred; but an age and country are illustrious that have produced even one claimant.

ROGER E. FRY.

Art. XIII.—THE UNEMPLOYED.

1. *Report on Agencies and Methods for dealing with Unemployed made to the Board of Trade*, 1893. [C. 7182.]
2. *Reports of Select Committees of the House of Commons upon Distress from want of Employment.* Commons Papers, iii, 253 and 365 of 1895, 321 of 1896.
3. *Report of the Mansion House Committee*, 1904. Printed by Penny and Hull, Leman Street, Whitechapel.
4. *Report to Board of Trade on Agencies, etc., for dealing with the Unemployed in Foreign Countries.* By D. F. Schloss. 1904. [Cd. 2304.]
5. *Report of the Special Committee of the London Charity Organisation Society*, 1905. Denison House, S.W.
6. *Chalmers on Charity; a selection of passages, etc.* Edited by N. Masterman. London: Constable, 1900.
7. *Modern Methods of Charity.* By C. R. Henderson and others. New York and London: Macmillan, 1904.
8. *Co-operative Small Holdings.* By R. Winfrey. The Co-operative Small Holdings Association, 10 Adelphi Terrace, W.C., 1904.
9. *The Unemployed: a National Question.* By Percy Alden. With Preface by Sir J. Gorst. London: King, 1905.
10. *The Old Poor-law.* By F. C. Montagu. Republished by the London Charity Organisation Society, 1905.

And other works and reports.

THE announcement in the King's speech of prospective legislation to create 'permanent machinery' to deal with the unemployed, or, in other words, of a change in the law affecting the relief of the able-bodied poor, has been accepted with complacency by the general public as an instalment of that 'poor-law reform' of which we hear so much. It will be received with serious apprehension by most of those who have concerned themselves with the study and practice of poor-law administration. At the moment that this is written the actual proposals of the Government have not been published, but it is sufficiently intimated that they will be upon the lines of Mr Long's scheme, which undertakes to find employment relief through the rates, but outside the poor law. The fact that permanent legislation is now contemplated upon the basis of an experiment which has had only some three months' trial is not in itself reassuring. As an

exceptional measure to meet an exceptional occasion that scheme was comparatively innocuous, though there were some who at the time expressed doubt as to the occasion being really exceptional, and as to the wisdom of the scheme itself. Now, however, that we are told that it will become part of the 'permanent machinery' of the State, the position is altered. We shall hear, of course, that the machinery is only intended for exceptional occasions; but we may be sure that, when once it is there, it will not be allowed to rust for want of use.

But, whatever the intentions of the Government may be, it is time that the public should recognise the direction in which we are drifting with regard to the whole question. Political memory is short, and there are few to whom study of poor-laws is congenial. It may be permissible, therefore, to tread for a while upon rather well-worn ground, and to recall the fact that it is not many years since the State actually possessed 'permanent machinery' for the purpose of giving work to the unemployed, or, as it was then termed, 'setting the poor to work.' There are doubtless a few still living who had experience of those times in their childhood. There must be many who have heard of them at first hand from the generation preceding them. It is but two or three years since the death of the Rt Hon. C. P. Villiers, who was one of the assistant commissioners to the Royal Commission of 1834. The 'Quarterly Review' itself was of respectable age at the time of the passing of the Poor-law Amendment Act, and took no inconsiderable part in the discussion.

For nearly three hundred years, down to 1834, the State had accepted the duty of finding work. There had been at times a swing of the pendulum. Defoe protested against it in his 'petition to Parliament,' pointing out that the State, in giving work to one, only takes it away from another. In 1697 there was a temporary reaction in favour of institutional relief in workhouses 'as a best means of restraining idleness,' and workhouses were accordingly built at Bristol and other places; but generally speaking the tendency was in the other direction. Finally, in 1782, it was provided—

'That no person shall be sent to the poorhouse except such as become indigent by age or infirmities, and are unable to

acquire a maintenance by their labour'; further, 'where there shall be in any parish, township, or place, any poor person or persons who shall be able or willing to work, but who cannot get employment, the guardian of the poor of such parish, etc., is required to agree for the labour of such poor person or persons at any work or employment suited to his or her strength and capacity, near the place of his or her residence.'

That Act remained in force for about fifty years, until the conditions became no longer endurable.

In 1832 Lord Althorp promised a Royal Commission upon the whole subject, and its report was published in 1834. 'That report,' says Dr Aschrott, 'is a masterly example of a thorough, comprehensive, and unbiassed enquiry.' The Commissioners 'took evidence from every county, and almost every town, and from many villages.'

'It is now our painful duty' (they say) 'to report that the fund which the 43rd Elizabeth directed to be employed in setting to work children and persons capable of labour, is applied to purposes opposed to the letter and, still more, to the spirit of that law, and destructive to the morals of the most numerous class and to the welfare of all.'

Their chief conclusion was that outdoor relief to the able-bodied poor 'in kind or money, without labour, or n aid of labour by the allowance system, the roundsman system, or parish employment,' was the great source of abuse; their chief recommendation, that 'all relief to the able-bodied, otherwise than in well-regulated workhouses, shall cease,' and that thenceforward the position of the pauper should be less eligible than that of the independent labourer.

The Poor Law Amendment Act was carried, and under exceptional conditions. Parliament had been reformed, but the franchise was still a narrow one. Both parties were agreed. The Duke of Wellington, the leader of the Opposition, described the Act as one of the most valuable and courageous measures ever proposed by a Government. Within fifty years, whilst outdoor relief to the able-bodied had been abolished, the workhouses were almost emptied of able-bodied poor. Sir G. Nicholls, writing twenty years later, says: 'No one now doubts the pernicious effect of artificial employment, or is blind to the consequences of tampering with the market for labour,

whether by the parish or in any other way.' Mr Gladstone, writing in 1897, says:—

'In 1834 the Government, and Lord Althorp far beyond all others, did themselves high honour by the new Poor Law Act, which rescued the English peasantry from the total loss of their independence.' ('Life,' vol. i, p. 115.)

After that there was enormous improvement in the condition of the people. Wages, no longer subsidised by the rates, took an upward turn: working-class savings and accumulations multiplied and increased. Apart from crises such as the Manchester cotton famine, which were dealt with by exceptional and temporary measures, the improvement was continuous. There have, it is true, been fluctuations in trade, fluctuations which will always have to be reckoned with in a commercial community; but hitherto they have been met partly by the reserves and accumulations of the working classes themselves, and partly by the operation of philanthropic effort and the reformed poor-law.

In 1886 Mr Chamberlain issued the well-known circular to Boards of Guardians, in which was the germ of a new departure. In it the President, after setting out, in the most precise language, the law for the relief of the able-bodied, and deprecating any departure from it as tending 'to restore the condition of things which, before the reform of the poor-laws, destroyed the independence of the working classes,' proceeds to recommend that work, by way of relief, should be found 'for artisans and others who have hitherto avoided poor-law assistance,' through the vestries, and outside the poor-law altogether. The work to be found is work which 'will not involve the stigma of pauperism, work which all can perform, whatever their previous avocations, and which will not compete with labourers already in employment'—conditions sufficiently difficult of fulfilment. The circular was doubtless intended to apply only to an exceptional occasion. In fact, however, it has been regarded as giving a sanction to the habitual provision of relief-work; and the lower class of labour has learnt to demand this as a right.

In 1892 the circular was again issued by Sir Henry Fowler. In the same year a valuable report upon agencies and methods for dealing with the unemployed

was issued by the Board of Trade. That report points out the ambiguity of the phrase 'unemployed,' which 'covers a problem of considerable complexity.' It describes the various agencies existing both in England and abroad. It includes historical memoranda as to 'parish employment under the old poor-law,' and the *ateliers municipaux* of 1848. Of farm colonies, it says that foreign experience shows that they tend to become receptacles for those who have suffered 'inward as well as outward shipwreck,' and offer no real solution of the problem of want of employment: of relief-works by local bodies, that there is much danger

'lest they should be chiefly embraced by members of the loafing and shiftless class. . . . The work is to them merely one out of the series of casual jobs by which they are accustomed to live. When it is over they are in the same position as when it began.'

It refers to the experience of the old poor-law, and suggests that the facts are of

'more than historical interest in view of the strong tendency to experiment afresh upon the lines of former unsuccessful attempts, under the impression that an entirely new departure is being made.'

The winters from 1892–1895 were critical ones for local bodies. The 'Central Unemployed Committee' was holding daily meetings upon Tower Hill, whence deputations set out, with drums beating and banners flying, to visit vestries and Boards of Guardians. Municipal offices were at times in a state of siege. The following 'Tower Hill' handbill, which was widely distributed at the time, shows the spirit prevailing.

50,000 UNEMPLOYED WORKMEN
WANTED ON TOWER HILL.

'Fellow Unemployed,—We, the Central Unemployed Organisation Committee, are astonished at your apathy. Why not, instead of passing your time in libraries, open spaces, and parks, come to Tower Hill and show by your numbers that you are determined to ASSIST THOSE WHO ARE BATTLING FOR YOUR CAUSE. Past events have shown that it is only by force of numbers that anything can be gained by the Workers of to-day. We are prepared by energetic action to enforce your

rights. Slumber no longer, but join us in the great cry—"We shall not die by slow starvation. We ask but our rights—the right to live by useful and productive labour."

'Do not forget to come down, then, and bring your mates with you who are as unfortunate as yourselves; and, as we are short of funds, pass this circular on to those you know to be out of employment. Our motto is, "We will not be satisfied unless our wants are immediately recognised by the Government and the local authorities." Workmen, assert your rights! Remember that we are fearless, and prepared for anything! Only support us by coming to Tower Hill, and if the Government refuse to accede to our demands we will lead you through the City and the West End, and let them be responsible for the consequences.

'On behalf of the Committee,

'CHARLES WILLIAMS, Secretary.'

In 1895 and 1896 select committees of the House of Commons took a large amount of evidence and reported. They recommended the continuance of the policy of Mr Chamberlain's circular, but add :—

'The evidence shows that very considerable difficulty would be experienced if attempts were made to determine the deserts of recipients of relief by enquiry into individual cases.' And again: 'No well-defined meaning attaches to the expressions "exceptional distress," "deserving man," and ordinary claimants for parish relief. Even if it were possible to give a legislative interpretation to the same, large reliance would have to be placed upon the judgment of those investigating the cases.'

Sir Henry Fowler's circular was not allowed to pass without protest. The Board of Works of St Saviour's, Southwark, pointed out that,

'Of all the classes of work above enumerated, not one can be carried out in frosty weather, which is the season in which the greatest number of men are out of employment; and also that this Board, and probably most other similar bodies, have a large number of workmen who carry on many of the works suggested above in suitable weather who will need all the employment that can be given to them when the weather breaks.

'Secondly, much of the above work requires skilled labour, and all of it much physical effort, and is therefore totally unfit for those whose infirmities prevent their doing con-

tinuous laborious work, and who form such a large proportion of the unemployed in periods of depression.

'When this circular was first issued the Local Government Board doubtless considered that vestries and district boards could find work in the direction suggested; but very slight enquiry, at least as regards the metropolis, would have dissipated that idea long since.'

They considered the circular 'utterly futile,' and recommended its withdrawal.

After 1896 we heard little of the unemployed until 1902–3. Then there came a fresh depression, which was designated as exceptional. We have already seen that there is no definition of the term. The 'Labour Gazette' for February last points out that, though 1904 was below the average, there have been many worse years. Moreover, there has been no hard winter since 1895. Every temporary depression of trade, however, is now looked upon as exceptional. Since 1902 the agitation that prevailed in the nineties has become continuous.

In 1903–4 the Mansion House scheme was started under distinguished auspices, and was designed to tide over a period of 'exceptional distress' for people with 'established homes.' Under it selected heads of families were sent to a labour-colony, either Hadleigh or Osea island, and their families relieved meanwhile. In the same winter the Camberwell scheme was started, with a central committee, and sub-committees composed of 'councillors, guardians, and representatives of charitable bodies,' whose chief duty it was to select men for work under the Borough Council; and Mr Long put forward his scheme, which was based upon the Mansion House and Camberwell schemes, 'experiments well worth following.'

Mr Long provides for all London an organisation similar to that in Camberwell. 'The local committees will' (he says) 'easily divide applicants for work into two classes. They will use every effort to find work locally for selected men,' and, failing that, they will refer them to the central committee, which 'will in all probability require contributions from Borough Councils.'

The principles involved are therefore—(1) an undertaking of the community to find work upon the basis of the circular of 1886 and otherwise; (2) the devolution of poor relief upon Borough Councils; (3) the principle of

co-operation; (4) that of selection by enquiry; (5) that of contributions from the rates both to the central committee and locally.

With regard to some of these points, it may be said that co-operation is an admirable thing, unless it is to do something which is in itself inadmissible. Unless we are satisfied that this provision of relief-work is in itself desirable, then it is clear that co-operation will not make it so. There is danger lest the use of the words 'co-operation' and 'enquiry' should blind us to the wider issues.

Enquiry again is an excellent thing. But the basis of the Poor-law Amendment Act is that destitution is the sole claim for public relief; and the maintenance of that principle was held to be the only effective check upon pauperism. But is selection by enquiry practicable for public bodies? The committee of 1896 came to the conclusion that it is not so. The difficulty with regard to the able-bodied is exceptionally manifest. Municipal offices are apt to be surrounded by crowds of applicants, whilst the number of those selected after strict investigation would be exceedingly small. Meanwhile councillors and other members of joint committees have to appear in public, and have, somehow, to get home from the town-hall. It is no uncommon thing for the unemployed to visit the houses and places of business of their representatives to ask when their turn is coming; at all events, they are encountered daily in the streets; and finally, they have to be reckoned with as constituents at the next local election. There is even a species of unpleasantness about it to which it is hardly fair to expose those who are elected chiefly to look after our drains. Only a few days ago a borough surveyor in South London was assaulted by one of the unemployed whom he had dismissed from work.

But further, working-men themselves, who are predominant upon several of the joint committees, strongly resent enquiry. They see no reason why a man's character should depend upon the report of an employer who may be actuated by trade animus. Recently, when it was proposed, upon a certain joint committee, that enquiries should be made of employers, a labour-representative present remarked, 'I shall strongly object to that. I know what I am talking of, as I have been discharged

without a character myself; and I defy any one to prove anything against my character.' It is of course easy to see that a workman may have a legitimate grievance against his employer. The incident is mentioned to show one difficulty in a matter which appears simple. Again, it is conceivable that the unemployed themselves may be represented upon joint committees. In some places they have already been employed as 'investigators. In Bermondsey a paid organiser of the unemployed is a member of the Board of Guardians, and might at any time, therefore, become a member of the joint committee.*

Apart from special considerations of this kind, however, there is a general disinclination to incur unpopularity. But, even if there were none of these subjective difficulties, the task of ascertaining the facts about innumerable applicants is no easy one in a great city, where the conditions of labour are complex and there is a constant shift of population. In some trades men are taken on by the job. They are perhaps only known by a nickname. No character is required. The job may be a short or a long one. Or again, a man registers himself as a labourer. There are many sorts of labourers.

A man who registers himself as a cabinet-maker may be anything from an artisan to the man who pushes the barrow with the manufactured goods. There are plenty of 'small masters' who have never worked for an employer, and there are others who have worked only for some relation or for 'a mate.' References may be obtained from employers; but we know the value of written references; whereas it is physically impossible to see employers personally in every case. That these are no imaginary difficulties, every one who has had experience in the matter knows well.† Investigation in charitable relief is upon an altogether different footing. There people are dealt with in small numbers instead of in masses, and there is far more personal knowledge available. Moreover, the administrators of charitable relief are not subject to the pressure which is the universal experience of those who administer public funds. Even

* Report of the special committee of the C.O.S., 1135.

† Readers are reminded that Mr Charles Booth dismissed discrimination as impracticable in the case of the aged poor, a much smaller problem ('Aged Poor,' pp. 56–59).

in charitable relief enquiry is always unpopular, and too often inefficacious. It appears, therefore, unlikely that enquiry can be relied upon as an effective test in the public relief of the able-bodied. People cannot be divided into classes so easily as Mr Long suggests.

Shortly after the publication of his scheme a special committee of the Charity Organisation Society issued a report. The evidence, though it contains little that is new, is yet of considerable value because it brings up to date similar evidence collected for previous enquiries, the experiment of 'finding work for the unemployed' through local bodies having now had another ten years' trial. Mr Somers, the chief organiser in Camberwell of the scheme upon which Mr Long relies, is not enthusiastic about it. After a winter's trial, he says, 'the difficulty of suggesting work is what has puzzled us all through' (214). 'The work was simply created, the work was made' (205). 'Any scheme of the kind is bound to be injurious' (286).

The difficulty of finding work runs all through the evidence; and there is plenty of corroboration from other places. Since 1886 local bodies have racked their brains to devise work. In Stepney the horse sweeping-machines have been taken off in order to employ manual labour.* A councillor then suggested—no doubt sarcastically—that the water-carts might be taken off and streets watered with watering-pots. Wanstead Flats have been levelled and levelled again. All the available churchyards have been laid out, and town-halls and board-rooms painted and whitewashed again and again. So long as there has been any 'extra work' to be done, the Borough Councils have put the unemployed on to do it. Now they are obliged to put them on to their ordinary work, at a loss varying from 15 to 50 per cent.

The report shows that the conditions of municipal relief-work are unchanged. Men are still employed in short shifts. The *recidivisme* of applicants continues, and is attested, in 1905, by Mr Toynbee from Bermondsey and by Mr Rusbridge from West Ham: 'I have recognised the same old faces for years past' (1526). The Bermondsey surveyor says: 'We have 300 men every morning at the

* Since this was written the 'horse-scarifier' in Paddington has been taken off in Paddington at the instance of a deputation of the unemployed.

gate right through the year.' Labourers in the poorer districts are learning more and more every year to look to the Borough Council as the normal source of work.

Mr Lansbury's opinion is of great interest, in view of the prominent part he has taken in labour questions. He finds that the applicants for work in Poplar increase year after year (893). 'When a man comes to you once he thinks that he ought always to come' (847). 'The worst feature is that it makes them satisfied to be casual labourers' (856). Not many years ago casual labour at the Docks was in part abolished. Mr Charles Booth had stigmatised it as 'a gigantic system of outdoor relief' ('Life and Labour,' vol. i, p. 203). It is plain that the Borough Councils are taking the place of the Docks in that respect. It will be said that one object of Mr Long's scheme is to discourage this casual work. But that has not been its effect so far in most places. Local bodies are indeed 'between the devil and the deep sea.' To give continuous work to any large proportion of the applicants would spell bankruptcy, whilst selection leaves an enormous residuum at their gates dissatisfied and discontented. These men have been told officially for twenty years to go to the Borough Councils for work, and they believe that work can and should be provided.

The effect of relief-works upon mobility of labour has often been pointed out. Whilst men are waiting at municipal offices clamouring for illusory work they are in danger of falling entirely out of the ordinary labour market. Or again, there are trades which are moribund, and it is far better that men should realise the fact whilst there is time. The familiar illustration of this is derived from the watch-trade in Coventry, which came to an end some years ago owing to the introduction of cheap foreign watches. Those engaged in it suffered acutely for a time, but they are now fully occupied in the bicycle trade. If the issues had been obscured by relief-works this beneficial change would in all probability have been indefinitely postponed. Relief-works, then, chain people to a locality or a trade in which employment is admittedly not to be obtained.

The cost must be ruinous. Local bodies—some of them by no means loth—have been egged on to all kinds of expenditure. The Mayors of Lambeth and Southwark

boast that seven South London boroughs have spent this winter 52,000*l.* upon the unemployed, of which 21,000*l.* was for wages ('Times,' March 6). In one district the expenditure for extra work has quintupled itself; yet trade is no worse than it was last year. The position of Borough Councils, some of them almost bankrupt, and compelled by all sorts of pressure to employ labour they do not require, is like that of the farmers before 1834.

'It is a state of things when all is out of order. Self-preservation, that great law of nature, seems to be set at defiance. For here are farmers unable to pay men for working for them, and yet compelled to pay them for work in doing that which is really of no use to any human being.' (Cobbett, 'Rural Rides,' p. 126.)

We may ask why the unemployed should be treated as a separate class of the community at all? The only apparent answer is that they have physical and electoral force behind them. The position now is that a man, whatever his qualifications, may, by registering himself as unemployed, obtain priority over the labourer of the ordinary market. So far there is abundant evidence that the better sort of labourer does not apply. His self-respect disinclines him to mix with the motley crowd of applicants at a municipal labour-yard. If it is necessary to create work at all, it would appear to be much better that it should be done through the ordinary labour market. Napoleon III kept the workmen quiet for many years by the 'Haussmanisation' of Paris. The work came to an end in time, as all such work must; and we then saw the overthrow of the Empire and the Franco-German war. But at least the population had not lost caste in the interim, and the work was efficiently done. We may ask whether it would not have been better that the work which has been done by Borough Councils and other agencies as relief-work should have been done through the open market.

The elaborate report of the Mansion House Committee of 1904 is worth careful attention; and Mr Maynard, the hon. secretary of the fund, is to be congratulated upon it. The work of that committee was an experiment upon a small scale, conducted upon voluntary lines, with the view of helping the better class of

man out of employment, 'of tiding over a bad season and thus saving him from degradation' (p. 27). They claim, and no doubt justly, to have helped a considerable number of men of 'good industrial character' who were out of work. Still only four or five of those who were helped belonged to a friendly society or trade union; and it is clear that the higher class of labour did not avail itself of colony treatment. To the lower class of labour 'the test (that of entering an institution) was not so complete as it was expected to be.' The vital question whether those assisted are reabsorbed in the labour market cannot yet be answered.

'The dangers that attend the repetition of such a scheme may be minimised by a strict adherence to the policy adopted by the executive committee. Limitation to times of exceptional distress would avoid the evils that would follow the regular assistance to workers in seasonal trades during their normal period of temporary depression. Such assistance would be equivalent to a permanent addition to their wages at the public expense, and would remove all incentive to thrift and organisation.'

One is reluctant to say anything which might even appear to be unnecessary criticism of a scheme so carefully devised and so admirably carried out. Still there is one consideration which lies at the back of it, and which is of so much importance that it cannot be ignored. It is this. The desire of its initiators—a desire which all will share—is to help a class of working-men who are undoubtedly having a hard struggle. But these men, and perhaps others besides them, have had many such a struggle in the past; and, on the whole, as history shows, they have made steady progress in status and well-being. But if, at a critical time, when there is every temptation to find an easier way out of a difficulty, the easier way presents itself, it is certain to be taken. With the poor the temptation to abandon self-reliance is always present, and 'ce n'est que le premier pas qui coûte.' The question is one which lies deep in human nature. Dr Chalmers long ago put it very clearly:—

'It is reluctance on the part of the poor man to become a pauper which forms the mighty barrier against the extension of pauperism. . . . There is not a labourer in the country,

however well paid he may be, who might not become a pauper at the first moment of his decaying strength or of his declining wages; and that just by such a relaxation of his previous economy as could not be detected by the most watchful guardianship. . . . To relax the industry by a very little, or to let down, to a small and imperceptible extent, the economical habits . . . these are the simple expedients by which, when once the mighty hold of self-dependence is loosened, the daily increasing thousands of a city population may, in the shape of famished wives, ragged children, or destitute old men, inundate the amplest charity . . . to the full extent of its capabilities and of its funds.'

It would appear, therefore, that any measures calculated to draw down members of a class not normally dependent into the dependent class involve a grave danger.

The usual argument urged is that unemployability is the natural corollary of unemployment, and that relief of some kind is required 'to prevent further degradation.' But much stronger proof of this would have to be forthcoming in order to justify an alteration in a system of poor relief which has hitherto, by general admission, worked beneficially. It is indeed a libel upon workingmen to suggest that their moral fibre is so dependent upon physical conditions; and it would have to be plainly shown that any large proportion of the 'unemployables' have ever belonged to the genuine industrial class. A great proportion of these are still young men; and it is the fact that a vast number of boys, on leaving school, take up no trade, but become errand-boys, newspaper boys, and 'corner' boys. Again, it is only too clear that the conditions of a soldier's training have too often the effect of disqualifying him for civil life. The causes of 'unemployability' are too many to enumerate. Even if there are cases where want of employment leads to degradation, we must set off against them the far more certain degradation, proved over and over again, that results from laxity in the distribution of public relief.

Mr Percy Alden's pamphlet, 'The Unemployed: a National Question,' will no doubt have a large circulation. Mr Alden represents the frankly socialist section of those who have written upon the subject. His view is that the unemployed question is 'rooted in our social system,' and that its solution depends upon the 'recon-

struction and reorganisation of society.' He disposes in a few sentences of the 'classical economists'—to whom, by the way, he imputes, rather disingenuously, a sole desire to maintain a supply of surplus labour—and alleges that a 'more scientific' view of the problem is now becoming general. That 'more scientific' view is that the community must 'discharge its responsibility' to the unemployed by finding them work.

Criticism of details is almost superfluous when there is no possibility of agreement upon the wider question. As to that, Mr Alden is, of course, perfectly entitled to his opinion. All we can say for certain is that the numerous attempts which have been made to form communities upon the 'ethical and co-operative basis' have uniformly failed.

One cannot, however, help noticing that Mr Alden appears to attach surprisingly small importance to personal responsibility and personal character. He dismisses in a single sentence the views of the 'Atomists' that character must be a paramount consideration; and personal responsibility has no place in his economy. The 'vicious vagrant' is not responsible for his condition. 'He has been so long neglected,' and is a product of 'the sins of society.' Man is a creature of environment; which means, apparently, that if he is in comfortable circumstances he may be good, if he is not, he must be bad. Our experience of life does not, however, lead us to that conclusion. Many believe that character is formed in spite of circumstances, rather than because of them. Again, Mr Alden, except for a passing hit at 'the well-meant efforts of charitable persons,' ignores altogether the effects of relief upon character. He admits, so far as charity is concerned, the possibility of 'intensifying the evil by lessening the independence of those who receive.' As to the effects in the same direction of state action, he is silent. Mr Alden is a leader of many who have had less opportunity of studying these questions than he has had himself, and by his silence he is incurring a serious responsibility.

His 'more scientific methods' include every palliative that has been suggested either in this country or in any other, and much besides: a minister of commerce, a government department of 'unemployment,' labour

bureaux, relief-stations, as in Germany, five grades of labour-colonies, local unemployment committees, government works of afforestation and reclamation of foreshores, government purchase and improvement of canals and of the Docks and Port of London, government grants to trade-union unemployed assurance, a shorter working day—this, as a 'scientific method,' would appear to rank with the removal of horse-brooms and road scarifiers—abolition of disfranchisement for all classes of paupers. But that is not all. He would also have universal old-age pensions, state-homes for every form of disablement, etc. The book contains a preface by Sir John Gorst, who would, as we know, add to these methods the universal state-feeding of school-children. It has also apparently the general approval, subject to certain mild criticisms, of Toynbee Hall ('Toynbee Record,' February 1905).

Mr Schloss's report to the Board of Trade is issued as a supplement to that of 1893. It comes opportunely as a comment upon several of the methods advocated by Mr Alden. Twelve years' further experience of foreign labour-colonies shows that they still remain 'colonies of social wreckage, not colonies of unemployed.' They are, in fact, either open-air prisons or open-air workhouses. Their reformatory influence is admitted to be a negative quantity. He might have added that in Germany and elsewhere they have no workhouse system similar to ours. If we adopt the colony system here, we shall, in fact, be duplicating our workhouse system with very doubtful results. The experience of Germany shows that the very existence of these colonies has produced the 'Koloniebummler,' and that 75 per cent. of the colonists belong to that class ('Times,' February 11, 1905). We do not want to add the 'Koloniebummler' to our tramps and vagrants. The relief-stations, again, advocated by Mr Alden, do not appear to be an unmixed blessing. They are protected by a long list of stringent regulations, and when these are not strictly observed they 'are capable of producing anything but satisfactory results.' In Austria, for instance, a shoemaker visited in eight months 180 relief-stations.

Trade unions abroad, as in England, provide insurance against want of employment for their members, but they

do not touch the unskilled workman. Proposals have therefore been made for a national system of insurance against want of work, but, in view of 'grave difficulties,' they have come to nothing. In Cologne, St Gall, Antwerp, and other places, municipal schemes for the insurance of all classes of workmen have been instituted; but either they have failed, or where, as in Cologne, they have met their obligations, it has been 'entirely due to the very large subventions from the municipality and philanthropists.' The information in the memorandum indicates great practical difficulties of administration.

Mr Schloss also refers to labour registries, which have in Germany 'attained a marked degree of success.' He expresses no opinion as to their utility as agencies for dealing with the unemployed in this country, but he considers the foreign experience of them worthy of 'attentive consideration.' In England many localities have experimented with them; but, as a means of bringing masters and workmen together, they have hitherto failed. Whether they might be made centres of information for the better distribution of labour is a question which might well be considered.

The production of blue-books, reports, and other literature upon the unemployed has been prodigious, and there is some danger lest, in the clash of opinions, we lose sight of the main issues. 'There is often more ado to interpret interpretations than to interpret facts.' One thing that is very clear is this, that outdoor relief to the able-bodied, precisely similar to that which existed under the old poor-law, is once more with us. Once more the pauper, for such he is, by whatever name we call him, has priority over the independent labourer. Wages are again subsidised, and people again being taught that they need make no provision. The evil is increasing, and a fresh supply of paupers is being tapped every year. Mr Long's scheme has given us a further push down the inclined plane upon which we are travelling; and it is now proposed that that scheme should be embodied in permanent legislation. It is time therefore that we should consider the position before we have definitely and openly broken with the traditions of the present poor-law.

The Board of Trade report of 1893 has pointed out

that the unemployed may be roughly divided into four classes: (1) those who are ordinarily employed, but seasonally unemployed; (2) those who are unemployed because they are 'economically superfluous'; (3) those who are so because they are 'economically worthless, or the unemployable'; (4) those who are so because of some altogether exceptional and temporary cause. It adds: 'Any hopeful solution is less a question of remedying results than of removing causes.'

As to the last class there is comparatively no difficulty. Every one recognises that, in times such as those of the Irish and Manchester famines, exceptional remedies must be applied, both by the State and philanthropy. We may yet have to face similar catastrophes, and whilst we are crying 'wolf,' the wolf may appear at the door.

It is impossible to dogmatise upon the question of 'economic superfluity' in the absence of precise information. Experience leads us to believe that the great majority of those who are supposed to be economically superfluous become absorbed in normal times in the labour market. It was so in 1834, and it has been so since upon more than one occasion when relief-works have been suddenly stopped.

With regard to those who are 'ordinarily employed, but seasonally out of work,' there can only be one real solution; and that is that they should, whilst at work, be able to command such a wage as will enable them to provide against slack times, and that they should so provide. A strong and vigorous industrial class has the power of enforcing its demands, which is denied to those who depend upon relief-works. If it is really impossible that the bulk of the labouring population should, taking good years and bad years together, live by its labour, the prospect is dark indeed. But experience affords no grounds for such pessimism. Since the restriction of relief in 1834 the bulk of the population have, in fact, lived by their labour; and moreover their accumulations in registered provident societies and in savings-banks alone are estimated at three hundred and eighty millions.*

The central difficulty is, according to the same report,

* Summary issued by Registry of Friendly Societies, 100 Wt 21976, 1/05. D & S 15, 19999.

'not so much in the existence of an unemployed class, as in the economic deterioration of the casually and insufficiently employed.' Here again we must look to prevention rather than cure. Probably every great industrial centre will always have a fringe of 'unemployables.' But whether that fringe is to be a broad one or a narrow one will rest largely with itself. Wherever the line of unemployability is fixed—and the class itself includes every grade and distinction—there must always be those just above it who are prevented from sinking to it by the stimulus of the discipline of life. Directly that stimulus is removed, the downward movement sets in, and the fringe broadens. The 'Labour Gazette' for February last shows that there were some 40,000 men upon relief-works in January, of whom 20,000 were Londoners. Alongside of this great increase of unavowed able-bodied pauperism there is also a great increase of officially recognised pauperism. Vagrancy is on the increase; and, at the same time, philanthropic agencies of all kinds, such as shelters, lodging-houses, and free meals, dealing with the same class, have multiplied to an unprecedented extent.

What is the effect of all this upon the condition of the people? Mr Lansbury says: 'I view the condition of things with a great deal of apprehension as to the future well-being of the people of London. . . . I see the work of the community being handed over to the inefficient.' His words are a lamentable commentary upon years of civic and philanthropic effort. So far that effort has spent itself chiefly in palliatives. The cry has been for relief of all kinds and in all directions. Every extension of relief has led to further extensions.

The position is, in view of political pressure, an extremely difficult one, and requires the highest courage from any statesman who may grapple with it. But it will have to be grappled with, and that mainly by preventive measures. The first condition of improvement is probably a renewed recognition of the importance of family life, because it is in the family that the unemployable is chiefly manufactured. So long as parents are told that the duty of training and supporting children lies on every one except those who bring them into the world, there will be not a few who will acquiesce. But nothing can remedy the sins of omission and commission that are found in the home.

We may perhaps improve the quality of our state education, though the teachers in a huge board-school can do little in comparison with what might be done by parents. Boys on leaving school might be apprenticed to trades or brought under the influence of the great friendly societies which have done so much to raise the standard of life amongst the industrial classes. The friendly societies might be officially recognised in connexion with the thrift-teaching of the schools and, subject to proper credentials, afforded the opportunity of recruiting there.

The conditions of a soldier's training might be altered, and he might be made a better citizen and perhaps a better soldier. Remedial measures, such as emigration and further provision for certain classes of physical disability, might be safely adopted. Co-operative small holdings, upon the lines advocated by Mr Winfrey, might do much to prevent excessive immigration into towns. Co-operation of all kinds and profit-sharing would reduce the numbers of the dependent class. At the last meeting of the South Metropolitan Gas Company it was stated that '5000, or nearly all the employés of the company had become shareholders.'

A matter of vital importance to both employers and employed, but one which is but little recognised at present by those who govern us locally, is the reduction of municipal expenditure, which is fettering the expansion of trade and permanently impairing the prosperity of the country. Employment is reduced by it, and the cost of living greatly increased. At a recent meeting in East London there was a question whether certain ground should be built upon or kept as an open space. A working-man present expressed the opinion that it would be better to keep it as an open space because, if a certain class of house-property were built upon it, it would cost in rates more than it produced. At the last annual meeting of the Great Eastern Railway the chairman pointed out that the rates had increased by 20,000*l.* in a single year. Better industrial organisation might prevent excessive oscillations and bring about a better distribution of labour and improved relations between it and capital.

To conclude, the unemployed question is only part of a

much wider one; and, if we are really to improve the conditions with regard to it, we must submit to learn how to do so. 'It is time for us to stop bragging and to apply ourselves humbly to the science and art of administration.' Modern philanthropy declines to accept past experience. What has been done in the past has failed 'because it has been done in the wrong way,' or 'circumstances have changed and the old evils would not recur.' Parliamentary committees recommend 'fresh experiments'; and on all sides there is a demand for 'wise experiments.'

But to repeat past failures under the guise of experiments is suicidal. Whatever else has changed, human nature has not done so, but will always follow the line of least resistance by a law as sure as the law of gravitation. We need not go to the past for our experience. Wherever we have the old conditions we find the old results. In West Ham and Poplar, where Mr Alden's doctrines have prevailed, we find the same conditions as those under the old poor-law. In Poplar one in every fifteen of the population is a pauper.

This refusal to accept experience finds its chief support in the species of agnosticism adopted towards social questions by the leaders of scientific thought to whom the public looks for guidance. We have not, they say, sufficient data to prove the existence of social science. Professor Henderson, whose comprehensive survey of 'modern methods of charity' in all civilised countries has just been published, is of the contrary opinion. He is in agreement with those who have made a special study of these questions in this country, and who have long been of opinion that, as in the last thirty years or more the facts and statistics of poor relief have been more and more carefully recorded and collated, a new science of applied sociology has gradually revealed itself. Professor Henderson's enquiry is cosmopolitan. He says of it:

'The ultimate object of the entire investigation is the foundation of principles for the guidance of conduct. . . . The phenomena here placed in order for comparison reveal certain tendencies of expert judgment which, within the limits of our conditions, are reliable and authoritative. If the metaphysician scorns these judgments as lacking in the sublime qualities of eternity, universality, and absoluteness, we can

at least affirm that they are useful and necessary, even morally obligatory, in our times. . . . In all civilised countries which have become rich enough to afford the luxury, a dependent group appears. When the domestic group no longer suffices for support, and slavery or serfdom has been abolished, the liberated labourer becomes free to be a pauper.' ('Modern Methods of Charity,' pp. ix, x.)

The problem then is how to counteract this tendency; and the conclusion is that it can be done by 'preventive and prophylactic' methods only. If we recognise the existence of social science, the problem of the future is how best to spread it among the people. 'The education of the benevolent public will be one of the most important factors.' The millionaire who would found a chair of social science at one of the universities might do more to cure poverty than by giving all his property for the relief of the poor.

We have, however, to be on our guard against accepting as scientific everything that 'comes from abroad.' Many things that are practicable and even scientific where there is universal military service and every one is 'pigeonholed,' would not be so here. But even abroad there is already a reaction against many of the methods adopted there; and eminent men, such as Dr Aschrott, are warm advocates of our system of poor relief in preference to their own. 'There is a growing feeling in Germany in favour of restricting public relief to such institutions as the workhouses.'

Academic sociology has hitherto confined itself chiefly to speculations as to the conditions existing amongst prehistoric man. It is time that we should bring it up to date. Is it vain to hope that these questions may be some day removed from the arena of politics and treated seriously by all patriotic citizens upon a rational and judicial basis?

NOTE ON THE SUGAR CONVENTION.

In an incidental reference to the Sugar Convention in the 'Quarterly Review' for January last (p. 259), it was remarked that, 'owing to the Sugar Convention, Swiss manufacturers are able to buy sugar at less than half the price that British makers have to pay.' This statement was made on the authority of a letter from Messrs Icke and Sharp, of Birmingham, to Mr Chamberlain, and not challenged by him. Messrs Icke and Sharp may be able to substantiate their assertion. We cannot. What our enquiries show is that on July 1, 1904, the price of Austrian white granulated crystal sugar at Zurich was 10*s.* 4½*d.*, and on October 1, 12*s.* 6*d.*, per cwt.; that, allowing 1*s.* per cwt. for cost of transit from Hamburg to London and landing expenses there, the cost of granulated German sugar in London was 12*s.* 2½*d.* and 14*s.* per cwt. on the same dates respectively; and that on the same dates respectively the prices of German sugar at Zurich were 11*s.* 11*d.* and 14*s.*, and of French, 10*s.* 11*d.* and 15*s.* 3*d.* Russian sugar at Zurich may have been cheaper; but, as 55 per cent. of the sugar consumed in Switzerland is from Austria, 25 per cent. from Germany, 18 per cent. from France, and only 2 per cent. from Russia and all other countries, the price of odd lots of Russian sugar is scarcely to be taken into account. To the extent of 55 per cent. of its sugar, then, Switzerland, on the dates named, had an advantage of from 1*s.* 6*d.* to 1*s.* 9¾*d.* per cwt. over London, while on German sugar the advantage on July 1 was 8¾*d.* per cwt., and on October 1 the prices were equal.

Corrigendum.—In the same article, p. 252, line 2 from foot, for 'foods' read 'goods.'

INDEX

TO THE

TWO HUNDRED AND SECOND VOLUME OF THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.

[Titles of Articles are printed in heavier type. The names of authors of articles are printed in italics.]

A.

Acton, Lord, 'Cambridge Modern History' planned by, 97.

Ainger, Canon, 169—his lofty religious standard, *ib.*—character of his mouth, 170—gift of moral criticism, 170, 187—his choice of a profession, 171—unchangeableness, *ib.*—love of music, 172—conservatism, 173—appearance, *ib.*—his genius for acting, 174—readings in public and in private, 175, 190—Reader at the Temple, 176—his wit, 177–179—characteristics, 179—power over quotations, *ib.*—his verses, 180, 183–187—friendship with Du Maurier, 181—his genius for friendship, 182—death of his sister, *ib.*—of his friend Mrs Haslehurst, 183—lectures on Shakespeare, 188–190—his translations, 191—friendships in literature, *ib.*—biography of Lamb, 192—his sermons, *ib.*—religious views, 193–195—spiritual humility, 195—charm as a preacher, *ib.*

Alden, Mr Percy, 'The Unemployed: a National Question' criticised, 637 *et seq.*

Arnold, Matthew, his essay on 'The Function of Criticism at the Present Time,' 197—'French Eton,' 205, 235.

Arnold, Matthew, 221—biographical sketches, 222—his father, 223—influences of his childhood, 224—contemporaries, 225—life at Oxford, 226—private Secretary to Lord Lansdowne, 228—withdraws his first book of poems, *ib.*—character, 229—invincible *insouciance*, 230—his ideal, *ib.*—double nature, 231—criticism of himself, 232, 238—marriage, 233—school inspector, *ib.*—services to education, 235, 246—prejudice against the Nonconformists, *ib.*—elected to the professorship of Poetry at Oxford, 236—'Merope,' *ib.*—'New Poems,' 237—political views, 239—view of natural science, 241—his poems, 242—prose contributions, 242, 243—character of his writings, 244, 248—advocacy of a British academy, 245—lack of concentration, 248.

Ashley, Percy, 'Modern Tariff History,' 265, 266, 270.

Ashley, W. J., 'The Progress of the German Working Classes,' 265, 272.

Australia and the policy of Preference, 565–580.

B.

Balfour, Rt Hon. A. J., M.P., definition of his protective policy, 252—view of Retaliation, 254—his speech

at Edinburgh, 311—opposition to a protective policy, *ib.* *See* Prime Minister.

Baltic fleet and the Dogger Bank incident, 296, 314.

Bancroft, George, 'History of the United States,' 91.

Bérard, M. Victor, his 'Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée,' 344 *et seq.*

Bismarck, Prince, his policy of Protection, 268.

Bredt, Dr F. W., on the care of monuments, 504–506.

Byron, The Collected Works of Lord, 429—his complex individuality, *ib.*—as letter-writer, 430—pains of composition and revision, 434–437—occasional faultiness of rhythm, 437 — indebtedness to books, 437 *et seq.*—originals of his heroes, 438—influence of Mrs Radcliffe, 439—Don Juan derived from Casti, 441—appropriation from the ancients, 442—from the moderns, 443—instances of unconscious plagiarism, 444–446—his 'Titanism,' 447—rhetoric and falsetto, *ib.*—contrast with Wordsworth, 448—views of the plastic arts, 449—'Manfred' contrasted with 'The Vision of Judgment,' 450, 451—his versatility, 451—range of composition, 452—'Childe Harold' and 'Don Juan' valued, 453–455—lack of certain essentials, 455—defects as an artist, 456 — continental opinion of Byron, 456—his place among poets, 457.

C.

'Cambridge Modern History,' 97.

Canada and the policy of Preference, 546–565.

Care of the Insane, The, 399. *See* Insane.

Carlile, W. W., 'Economic Method and Economic Fallacies,' 258.

Carson, H. L., 'The Supreme Court of the United States,' 121.

Carter, R. Brudenell, his 'Doctors and their Work' quoted, 426

Chamberlain, Rt Hon. A., M.P., his criticism on Free Trade, 319.

Chamberlain, Rt Hon. J., M.P., his propositions on his fiscal policy, 256–258—on the result of the Sugar Convention, 258—on agriculture, 259 — on the increase of small holders of land, 263—his Commission of enquiry, 274—speech at Luton, 313—his circular to Boards of Guardians *re* relief of the unemployed, 627.

Chapman, S. J., 'Work and Wages,' 274–276.

Churchmen, Two Great, 458. *See* Creighton and *see* Liddon.

Coleridge, Ernest H., as editor of 'The Works of Lord Byron,' 432 *et seq.*

Colonial View of Preference, 546. *See* Preference.

Corbett, Julian S., 'Drake and the Tudor Navy,' 151, 156—'Successors of Drake,' 157, 165, *note*—'England in the Mediterranean,' 167, *note.*

County Council, London, work of the, on education, 207.

Cowper, William, and Horace Walpole, 35. *See* Walpole.

Creighton, Bishop Mandell, compared with Liddon, 458—his great intellectual power, 461—paradox and flippancy, 462—what they hid, 463—early resolve to take orders, 465—ideas of duty, *ib.*—his conception of religion, 466 — progress and divine government, 467—object in taking orders, 468—his use of influence, 469—letters to his wife, 470—two stages in his spiritual development, 471—indebtedness to Goethe, 472 — the application of law to morals, 473–475—absolute confidence in the Christian faith, 475—powers in conversation, 476—his genius for affairs, 477—as tutor and clergyman, *ib.* — devotion to service, 478—as student and man of action, 479—as bishop and historian, 480—his philosophy of history, 481—wise treatment of the Kensit trouble, 482—answer to Sir William Harcourt, 483—why the world misunderstood, 484.

Creighton, Mrs, her success as her husband's biographer, 460.
Crystal Palace District Gas Company, system of profit-sharing, 70.
Cunningham, W., 'The Rise and Decline of the Free-trade Movement,' 269.

D.

Dawson, W. H., on the cult of Matthew Arnold, 245—'Protection in Germany,' 267, 270–272.
Deakin, Mr, on the attitude of Australia *re* Preference, 565, 567, 571.
Denmark, result of co-operation, 79.
Devonshire, Mrs R. L., her translation of the 'Life and Letters of H. Taine,' 371.
Dill, Samuel, 'Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius,' 540 *et seq.*
Dodwell, H. Herbert, 'Hippolyte Taine, Philosopher and Critic,' 371.
Dogger Bank incident, 296, 314.
Dubois, Professor, his study of the origin of pearls, 490.
Duckling 'ranch,' success of a, 143.
Dufferin, Lord, 321—birth and ancestry, 322—his mother, 323—at Eton, *ib.*—and Oxford, 324—present at the siege of Bomarsund, *ib.*—accompanies Lord John Russell to Vienna, 325—'Letters from High Latitudes,' *ib.*—called to the Levant, *ib.*—the joint commission to Syria, 326—French and English differences of opinion, *ib.*—personal success, 327—Under-Secretary at the India Office, 328—death of his mother, *ib.*—marriage, *ib.*—at the War Office, *ib.*—intervenes in the Irish Land controversy, *ib.*—as Irish landlord, 329—Governor-General of Canada, 330—questions in Canada, *ib.*—his work and influence there, 331—making the Canadians imperial, 332—at St Petersburg, *ib.*—violence in Russia, 333—transferred to Constantinople, *ib.*—work in Egypt, 334—representative institutions founded, *ib.*—his report, 335—Viceroy of India, 336—foreign policy of the Indian Empire, 337 *et seq.*—relations with Afghanistan, *ib.*—the Panjdeh incident, *ib.*—Burma, 339, 340—created marquis, 340—last years, 341—characteristics and qualities, 341–343.

E.

East, the Far, War in, 280. *See* War.
'Edinburgh Review,' Sydney Smith's articles on the reform of madhouses, 406.
Education, The Direction and Method of, 197—epoch of expansion, 198—reform of educational machinery, 200—of method, *ib.*—appointment of Mr Morant, 201—aim of legislation, 202—Act of 1899; 203—work of the Board, 204—Act of 1902; 205, 207—abolition of School Boards, 206—the County Council, 207—problems of the teacher and the child, 209—object of state intervention, 210—the new 'Code of Regulations for Public Elementary Schools,' 211—differentiation of function, 212—'Regulations for Secondary Schools,' 213—'for the Training of Teachers,' *ib.*—work of the education committees, 216–219—scheme of county scholarships, 216—inadequate supply of trained teachers, 217.
Eggs, production of, 136—price, *ib.*—number imported, 139—new-laid, *ib.*
Evans, A. J., his discoveries in Crete, 353.

F.

Fielding, the Hon. W. S., on the policy of Canada in regard to Preference, 555.
Fisher, Sydney G., 'True History of the American Revolution,' 102—'Evolution of the Constitution of the United States,' 117.
Fiske, John, 'New France and New

England,' 93 — his 'Essays Historical and Literary,' 94.
Fortescue, Hon. J. W., 'History of the British Army,' 160, *note*.
France, percentage of unemployed, 262—effect of a peasant proprietary, 264—result of Protection, 266.
Free Trade, influence of, 261.
Fry, Roger E., 'Watts and Whistler,' 607.

G.

Gasworks Company, South Metropolitan, profit-sharing at, 64–70.
Germany, result of Protection, 267.
Giraud, M., his judgment of Taine's habit of thought, 388.
Gladstone, W. E., on Bishop Stubbs's 'Lectures,' 7—on Matthew Arnold's style of writing, 244.
Gnelst compared with Stubbs, 28.
Godin, J. B. A., founder of the ironworks at Guise, 70—his copartnership scheme, 71–74.
Goethe, lines from, 248—his influence on Bishop Creighton, 472.
Gordon, R., draws the attention of Parliament to the state of pauper lunatics, 408.

H.

Hakluyt, Richard, 'The Principall Navigations,' 146.
Hardy, Thomas, description of a tithebarn, 500.
Hart, Albert Bushnell, 'The Formation of the Union, 1750–1829'; 92 —'The Foundations of American Foreign Policy,' 113.
Hatch, Ernest, M.P., on the circular of the Gorton election, 315.
Henderson, B. W., 'The Life and Principate of the Emperor Nero,' 540.
Herdman, Professor, report of, on the Ceylon pearl fisheries, 493.
Hereford, Bishop of, on Matthew Arnold's views on education, 246.
Hildreth, R., 'History of the United States,' 91.
Holmes, T. Rice, 'Cæsar's Conquest of Gaul' reviewed, 523.
'*Home-Counties*,' 'Poultry-keeping as a Business,' 125.
Howard, John, and the treatment of the insane, 405.
Hutton, W. H., 'Letters of William Stubbs, Bishop of Oxford,' edited by, 1.

I.

Impressionists, the French, 607, 614.
Insane, The Care of the, 399—the Lord Chancellor the head of the Board of Lunacy, *ib.*—'Prerogativa Regis,' 399–401—the King's charge of idiots, 400—medieval treatment of maniacs, 401–403—good work of the religious orders, 402—'Bedlam,' 403—private homes in the eighteenth century, 404—want of legal control, *ib.*—St Luke's Hospital, *ib.*—cruelties practised on the insane poor, 405, 407—John Howard and Samuel Tuke, *ib.*—Sydney Smith's opinion of Tuke's 'York Retreat,' 406 — efforts of Parliament, 406 *et seq.*—the report of 1815; 407—abolition of severe restraint, *ib.*—position of the College of Physicians, 408—numbers and condition of the pauper insane, *ib.*—consequences of the report of 1844; 409—'the Magna Charta of the insane,' *ib.*—report of 1877, *ib.*—Consolidation Act of 1890; 410—present-day supervision of the pauper insane, 411–414—need for more Commissioners, 412—constitution of the Commission, 413—the legal element, 414–417 — arrangements in Scotland, 417, 423—supervision of lunatics possessing means, 418, 419—possible amalgamation of the two departments, 420—financial position, *ib.*—semi-public hospitals, 421—treatment of persons with incipient insanity, 422—need for modifying the lunacy law, 424 —the medical officer of health, 425 — example of a bad private asylum, 426—need for reform, 428.

Ireland, economic condition, 74 — organisation of creameries, 78—establishment of Raiffeisen banks, 80—number of federations, 81—Land Act of 1903; 82.

J.

Jameson, Mr Lyster, his researches into the causes of the formation of pearls, 488–490.
Japan, war with Russia, 282. *See* War.
Johnston, Rev. J. D., his 'Life and Letters of Henry Parry Liddon' reviewed, 458–461.
Jowett, Professor, on Matthew Arnold's style of writing, 244.

K.

Kelaart, Dr, his report on the Ceylon pearl-oyster fishery, 487.
King, Rev. J., protests against vandalism at Berwick-on-Tweed, 498.

L.

Lansbury, Mr, on the effects of municipal relief on the unemployed, 634.
Larned, Professor J. N., 'Literature of American History,' edited by, 90.
Laurier, Sir Wilfrid, on the tariff policy of Canada, 556.
Lee, Guy C., 'True History of the Civil War,' 119.
Liddon, Henry Parry, compared with Bishop Creighton, 458—his position in the Church, 459—defects of the perfect priest, 461.
List, Friedrich, his advocacy of 'nationality,' 255.
Livesey, Sir George, his system of profit-sharing, 64—speech at the Crystal Palace, 67.
Long, the Rt Hon. W. H., his scheme for relief of the unemployed, 630 *et seq.*
Lyall, Sir Alfred, as Lord Dufferin's biographer, 321.

M.

Maurier, G. Du, his friendship with Canon Ainger, 181.
McKinley, W., 'The Tariff,' 269, 271.
Meredith, H. O., 'Protection in France,' 262.
Monuments, Our Neglected, 497—historic remains at Berwick-on-Tweed, *ib.*—injured or destroyed, 498 — remains at Newcastle-on-Tyne, 499 — tithe-barn at Peterborough, 500—destroyed, 501—the Whitgift Hospital at Croydon, *ib.* — threatened, 502 — how foreign countries regard their ancient monuments, *ib.*—present machinery for preserving them, 503 — public opinion the eventual arbiter, 504—care of monuments in Germany, 505—the official machinery, 506—the Austrian Commission, *ib.* —the French, 506–508—Italy and Germany, 508–510—other countries, 510 — foreign legislative enactments, 510–514 — compared with British, 514–516 — the London County Council inventory, 517 — call for a royal commission, 517–519—case of Penrith, 518—a permissive Act, 519—what the Government might do, 520.
Morant, Mr, his appointment on the Board of Education, 201.
Morley, Rt Hon. J., M.P., on Matthew Arnold, 246.
Moseley, Sir Alfred, his Industrial Report, 62, 84.
Murray, Gilbert, 'The Wanderings of Odysseus,' 344.
Myres, J. L., his discoveries in Cyprus, 353.

N.

Navy, The Tudors and the, 145. *See* Tudors.
Navy Records Society, works of the, 146.
Newport, Mr, 'Paying Poultry,' 140.
Nicholson, J. S., 'History of the English Corn Laws,' 260.
Noailles, Vicomte de, 'Marins et Soldats français en Amérique,' 110.

O.

Odysseus, The Wanderings of, 344—M. Bérard's theory, *ib.*—the 'Odyssey' one of the 'Nostoi,' 345—a 'Mediterranean Pilot,' *ib.*—topology, 346—the position of Mycenæ, *ib.*—'la loi des Isthmes,' 347—the case of Troy, 348—Homeric ships starting in the night, 349—'La Course,' 350 — Lampeduza and Delos, 351 — uncertainty of M. Bérard's theory of Phœnician influence, *ib.* — the Mediterranean never possessed by one Power, 352—the evidence of Crete, 353—and Cyprus, *ib.* — of Palestine and Egypt, 354 — the sea-power of Phœnicia, *ib.* — Greek words of Phœnician origin, 355—'systems of doublets,' 356–359—chronology, 360–362—difficulties in the conception, *ib.*—references to Phœnicians in Homer, 361—the Spring of the Bear, 363–365—Porto Pozzo, 365—the Doves' Rock, 366—the harpooning of Achæans, 367—the pierced rock, 368 — examination of the theories, 368–370.

Oppenheim, M., 'History of the Administration of the Royal Navy,' 152—his introduction to Monson's 'Naval Tracts,' 158, *note*, 157.

Our Neglected Monuments, 497—*See* Monuments.

P.

Palmer, Walter, 'Poultry Management on a Farm,' 139.

Pater, Walter, on the tendency of education, 220.

Paul, H. W., 'Matthew Arnold,' 222.

Pearls and Parasites, 485—cause of the formation of pearls, *ib.*—constitution of the oyster-shell, *ib.*—process of the formation, 486—Dr Kelaart's report, 487—Scotch and British pearls, 488—cause of pearls in the edible mussel, *ib.*—Mr Jameson's researches, 488–490—and those of Professor Dubois, 490 — ancient Cingalese pearl fisheries, 491 — dates of recent fisheries, *ib.*—how the oysters are obtained and sold, 492, 493—a report by experts, 493—chief causes of failure, 494—life-history of the parasite not yet ascertained, 495—present investigations, 496 — last year's fishery, *ib.*

***Pelham, H. F.*, 'The Early Roman Emperors,'** 521.

Plunkett, Sir Horace, 'Ireland in the New Century,' 75.

Port Arthur, siege of, 293 — surrender, 295.

Poultry-keeping as a Business, 125—hens kept by a cottager, 127—a suburban kitchen-garden, 128—poultry-farms, 128–131—breeding of show-birds, 132—merits of utility poultry, 134—invention of the trap register or recording-nest, 136—price of eggs, *ib.*—management on farms, 137—advantages to farmers, 138 — profitable feeding, *ib.* — amount of eggs and poultry imported, 139—'new-laid' eggs, *ib.*—supply of English, 140—American 'poultry-plants,' 142 — duckling 'ranch,' 143.

Pratt, E. A., 'The Organisation of Agriculture,' 264.

Preference: the Colonial View, 546. I. CANADA, *ib.*—the idea of Protection before 1847; 547—the first protective tariff, *ib.*—Mr Gladstone's remonstrance, 548—Reciprocity treaty with the United States, 549—the tariff of 1858; 550—protest of Mr Galt against home interference, *ib.* — general tariff policy till to-day, 550, 551 — the 'offer,' 551—percentage of duty on dutiable imports, 552—resolutions of colonial conferences, 553—failure of the movement for Preference in Canada, 554—waiting for England to move, 555 *et seq*—resolution of the Chambers of Commerce of the Empire, 559—statistics, 560 — dilemma of Preferentialists at home,

562 — the question of continuity, 563—consequences of alterations of the tariff, 564—summary of effects, *ib.* II. AUSTRALIA, 565—attitude of leaders and parties, 565, 566—resolutions, 568 — defeat of the principle of Preference, 569—relations with India, 572—apathy in Australia, 572–574—various definitions of Preference, 575—the Press generally hostile, 578—the Labour party, *ib.*—Australia and Imperial defence, 580.

Prime Minister's Duty, 309—concentration of the Opposition on the fiscal issue, 310—Mr Balfour's speech at Edinburgh, 311—his opposition to a protective policy, *ib.* —advocacy of an Imperial conference, 312—declaration of policy, *ib.*—Mr Chamberlain's speech at Luton, 313—Anglo-Russian crisis, 314—circular on the Gorton election, 316—aggressive attitude of free-trade Unionists, *ib.*—voting in favour of Liberal candidates, 317—proposed temporary alliance, *ib.*—Mr Balfour's policy of consideration, 318—need for a definite statement, 319.

Profit-sharing and Copartnership, 61—spirit of trade-unionism, 62—losses to the national productive power, *ib.*—joint-stock principle, 63—system of the South Metropolitan Gasworks Company, 64–70—Crystal Palace District Gas Company, 70—M. Godin's scheme, 70–74—economic condition of Ireland, 74—Sir H. Plunkett's work on, 75–78 — organisation of the creameries, 78—establishment of Raiffeisen banks, 80—number of federations, 81—Land Act of 1903; 82—adaptability of co-operation, 83—'premium' system, 84–87.

Protection, policy of, 252.

Prothero, Rowland E., 'Horace Walpole and William Cowper,' 35—editor of 'The Letters of Lord Byron,' 430–432.

R.

Reid, Mr, on Preference, 569.

Retaliation, policy of, 254.

Roman Emperors, The Early, 521—tendency for ancient history to become impersonal, *ib.* — Mommsen's influence, *ib.*—interest in the history of individuals reviving, 522 — progress of investigation, 523—Julius Cæsar, 523–526—Augustus, 527–531—Tacitus as historian of the Cæsars, 531–533—Tiberius, 533–535—Gaius or Caligula, 535—Claudius, 536–540—Nero, 540–542—authority of the Cæsars, 542 — Seneca, 543–545.

Russell, G. W. E., 'Matthew Arnold,' 222.

Russia, The Condition of, 581—revolution or restlessness? *ib.*—the Western mind and Russia, 582—the autocracy, 583—the December ukase of the Tsar, 584—Prince Miraky's régime, *ib.*—the Press, 585—appeal of the intellectuals, 586—the autocracy obstinate, *ib.*—effect of the Japanese successes, 587 — desperate condition of the peasants, 587–589 — their wrath smouldering, 589—forces of revolution, 590—the murder of Plehve, *ib.*—the massacre at Baku, 591—widespread government cruelties, 593—possibilities of outbreak in the Caucasus, 594–597—the Armenians, 595—the Polish movement, 597–599—the labour movement, 599 *et seq.*—the St Petersburg massacre, 600—the strike, 601—demand for responsible government, 604—position of the Tsar, 606.

Russia, war with Japan, 282. *See* War.

S.

Sadler, Professor M. E., his 'Report on Secondary Education in Liverpool,' 201, 210, 218.

Sainte-Beuve, his relations with Taine, 387, 394, 397.

Saintsbury, George, 'Matthew Arnold,' 222.
Schools, Board, abolition of, 206—'Elementary, Code of Regulations,' 211—'Secondary, Regulations for,' 213.
Scott, Frank J., 'Portraitures of Julius Cæsar,' 523.
Shaftesbury, Earl of (Lord Ashley), secures 'the Magna Charta of the insane,' 409.
Shakespeare, Canon Ainger's readings of, 175, 188–190.
Shipley, A. E., 'Pearls and Parasites,' 485.
Shuckburgh, E. S., his 'Augustus' criticised, 528–530.
Sichel, Edith, 'Canon Ainger,' 169.
Sidgwick, Professor, his criticism on 'In Memoriam,' 240.
Smith, Sydney, articles in the 'Edinburgh Review' on the condition of the insane, 406, 407.
Stubbs, William, Churchman and Historian, 1—his characteristics, 2, 3, 10—ordination, 4—'Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum,' *ib.*—appointed librarian at Lambeth, *ib.*—professor of Modern History at Oxford, 5—'Constitutional History,' *ib.*—political views, 6—power of concentration, *ib.* — 'Select Statutes,' 7—on the Royal Commission of enquiry into the Ecclesiastical Courts, 7–9 — Bishop of Chester, 9—religious views, 10—apparent want of sympathy, 11—assessor in the Bishop of Lincoln's case, *ib.*—on the 'joint action of Convocations,' 12—character of his preaching, 14 — attitude towards Biblical research, 15—on the danger of disestablishment, 16—his distrust of public opinion, *ib.*—character of his writings, 18–22, 33—distrust of generalisations, 20—constructive character of his work, 21—his prefaces, 22—lack of artistic power, *ib.*—estimates of character, 23—his study of constitutional development, 24–26—compared with Waitz and Gneist, 28—'Lectures on European History,' 29, 33—'Medieval and Modern History,' 29—his qualities of criticism, 29–31—Teutonic impulses, 31—predilection for periods, 32.

T.

Taine, Hippolyte, Philosopher and Critic, 371—his intellect and ideals, *ib.*—birth, 372—school-life, 373—search for general truths, 374—admitted to L'École Normale, *ib.*—application for the *agrégation* in philosophy refused, 375—professor of philosophy at Nevers, 376—his thesis on sensations, *ib.*—disgusted by the *coup d'état* and self-seeking politicians, 376, 377—professor of rhetoric at Poitiers, 377—relations with Napoleon III, 378—depression of spirits, 379—academic honours, *ib.*—'Voyage aux Eaux des Pyrénées, 380—attempts to secure the Academy prize, 380, 381—'Philosophes Classiques,' 381—'History of English Literature,' 382, 395—impressions of England, 383–385—'Étienne Mayran,' 385—visit to Italy, 386—professor of æsthetics, *ib.*—'De l'Intelligence,' 387—his pessimism, 388—'Origines de la France Contemporaine,' *ib.* — his metaphysical position, 389 — as philosopher and psychologist, 390–395 — his criticism of English writers, 396 *et seq.*—present value of his conclusions, 398.
Tariffs and National Well-being, 250—works on, 251—Mr Balfour's definition of his protective policy, 252—his view of Retaliation and Preference, 254—List's advocacy of 'nationality,' 255—Mr Chamberlain's propositions, 257—result of the Sugar Convention, 258—agriculture, 259 — influences of Free Trade, 261—percentage of unemployed in France, 262—effect of a peasant proprietary, 264—result of protection in France, 266 — Germany, 267–271—America, 269, 271 — Mr Chamberlain's Commission of enquiry into fiscal conditions, 274—Professor Chapman's 'Work

and Wages,' 274–276 — note and corrigendum, 646.
'Teachers, Regulations for the Training of,' 213.
Toynbee, Mrs Paget, 'The Letters of Horace Walpole,' edited by, 36.
Trade-unionism, spirit of, 62.
Trevelyan, Sir George, 'The American Revolution,' 109.
Tudors, The, and the Navy, 145 —works published by the Navy Records Society, 146 — Hakluyt's 'Principall Navigations,' 146–148—maritime character of the Tudor period, 148—establishment of the Navy Board in 1546; 150—development of the sailing-ship, 151—M. Oppenheim's 'History of the Administration of the Royal Navy,' 152—achievements of Henry VIII, *ib.*—the warship, 153—during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, 154—war with Spain, 156—its two aspects, 157—the 'Counter-Armada,' 159—causes of the failure, 160 — the 'Flota' policy, 161—policy of Queen Elizabeth, 163–166—of James I, 167 —Charles I, 168.
Tuke, Samuel, founds 'York Retreat' for the insane poor, 405.
Two Great Churchmen, 458. *See* Creighton and *see* Liddon.
Tyne, C. H. Van, 'The Loyalists in the American Revolution,' 105.

U.

Unemployed, The, 624 — the promise of legislation, *ib.*—history of the poor-law, 625 — the Poor-law Amendment Act, 626—Mr Chamberlain's circular to Boards of Guardians, 627—and Sir Henry Fowler's, *ib.*—meetings on Tower Hill, 628 — recommendations of select committees, 629 — the Mansion House scheme, 630—and that of Mr Long, *ib.*—difficulties of selection and enquiry, 631—of providing work, 633 — *recidivisme* of applicants, *ib.* — casual labour, 634 — effect of relief-works, *ib.*—the cost, *ib.*—report of the Mansion House Committee, 635—'unemployables, 637—methods of treatment, 638–640—the progress of pauperisation, 640, 644 — four classes of unemployed, 641—ways of improvement, 643—the need of social science, 645.
Unionist free-traders, proposed temporary alliance with the Liberal party, 317.
United States, the premium system of paying wages, 84.
United States, The Making of the, 88—Professor Larned's 'Literature of American History,' 90—G. Bancroft's 'History of the United States,' 91—R. Hildreth's history, *ib.*—A. B. Hart's 'The Formation of the Union, 1750–1829'; 92—J. Fiske's 'New France and New England,' 93—Professor W. Wilson's 'History of the American People,' 94–97 — 'Cambridge Modern History,' 97–102, 115—S. Fisher's 'True History of the American Revolution,' 102–104—C. H. Van Tyne's 'The Loyalists in the American Revolution,' 104–107—Sir G. Trevelyan's 'American Revolution,' 107–110 — Vicomte de Noailles's history, 110–112—A. B. Hart's 'Foundations of American Foreign Policy,' 113—S. Fisher's 'Evolution of the Constitution of the United States,' 117–119—G. C. Lee's 'True History of the Civil War,' 119—H. L. Carson's 'Supreme Court of the United States,' 121—'poultry-plants,' 142—result of Protection, 271.

W.

Wages, the premium system of paying, 84.
Waitz, compared with Dr Stubbs, 28.
Walpole, Horace, and William Cowper, 35—character of their letters, 35–38—tastes in common, 38—love of animals, 39—of gardening, 40—dogs, *ib.*—literature, 40–42—dissimilarity of their outward circumstances, 43–49 — their pictures of clerical life, 49—comparison

between a picnic at Olney and Vauxhall, 50–52—changes in town and country life, 52–55—views on Methodism, 56—political views, 57—patriotism, 59.

War, The, in the Far East, 280—commencement of hostilities between Japan and Russia, 282—first successes of Japan, *ib.*—unpreparedness of Russia, 284—operations, 286—condition of the railway, 287—battles of Liaoyang and Shaho, 288–292—siege of Port Arthur, 293–295—surrender, 295—destruction of the Pacific squadron, 296—the Dogger Bank incident, 296–299—lessons taught by the war, 299–305—issues of the campaign, 305–308—voyage of the Baltic fleet, 307.

Ward, Humphry, his 'British Poets,' 240.

Warren, T. Herbert, 'Matthew Arnold,' 221.

Watson, Mr J. C., views on Preference, 566.

Watson, William, 'In Laleham Churchyard,' 248.

Watts and Whistler, 607—likeness and unlikeness, 608—Whistler's personality, *ib.*—his love of real beauty, 609—the Nocturnes, 610—his creed as an artist, 610 *et seq.*—the quest of Oriental beauty, 612—the portraits of Carlyle and his mother, 613—occasional triviality, 614—his heroic isolation, *ib.*—Watts a contrast to Whistler, *ib.*—greatness of his ideas and aims, 615—effect of the age, 616—the health of his creed, 618—his symbolism and allegories, 619—interpretations of classical mythology, 620—national designs, *ib.*—portraits, *ib.*—a landscape painter, 621—his place among artists, 622.

Whistler as artist, 607–614.

Willrich, Herr H., his study of Caligula, 535.

Wilson, Professor Woodrow, 'History of the American People,' 94.

Wright, Lewis, 'The New Book of Poultry,' 131, 137.

Wright, Thomas, 'The Correspondence of William Cowper,' arranged by, 36.

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West in an interview revealed a remark- ain for his company during the past year. began the year, said Mr. Harry F. West, ent of the Penn Mutual Life of Philadel- with $308,000,000 of insurance in force and it with $342,000,000, a gain of $34,000,000, r 11 per cent., after providing for discon- ces from all causes. Every respectable ny has, I believe, improved their business the same period, but I have yet to see, and sitive that I shall not see, reported so large rease by any other company. Keeping in he fact that life insurance is the barometer eral business conditions, it will be agreed the report just issued by the Penn Mutual he country at large, and our clientele is ous in every State, may find abundant for felicitation.

ial significance may be attached to this un- ented percentage of increased business. It t an evidence of progress, shows the in- g popularity of a company, and represents just so many more families whose heads have prudently cast an anchor to windward. Our expense ratio last year was approximately some two per cent. less than the average of all the companies. This means a saving, a very considerable one, for our members' benefit. You will see that two per cent. on $16,775,501 of income, to say nothing of other sources of surplus or savings, is of some moment. Our net surplus was increased $990,912.85, being now $4,640,026.62, while our general surplus has grown to $8,974,620.48, being a gain of $1,537,152.45 over the corresponding period of one year ago. Healthy growth is at all times desirable; but when expenses are unduly increased, surplus reduced and dividends to members diminished, the conditions are unfavorable and must react on a company thus conducted.

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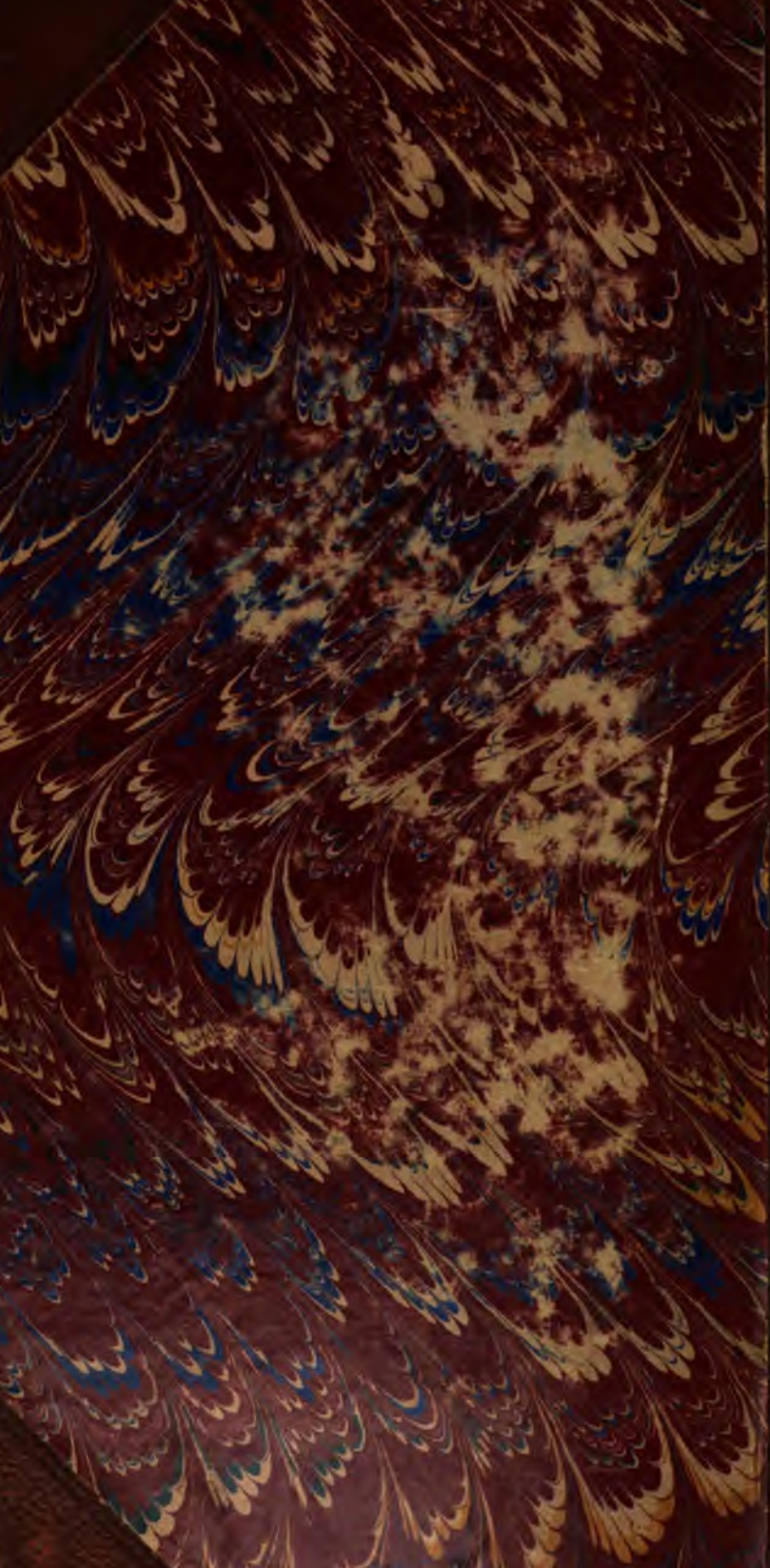
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